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The Modern Review

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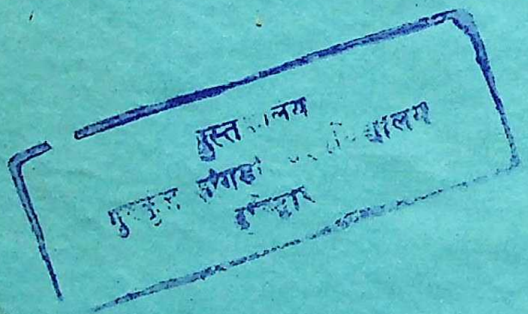

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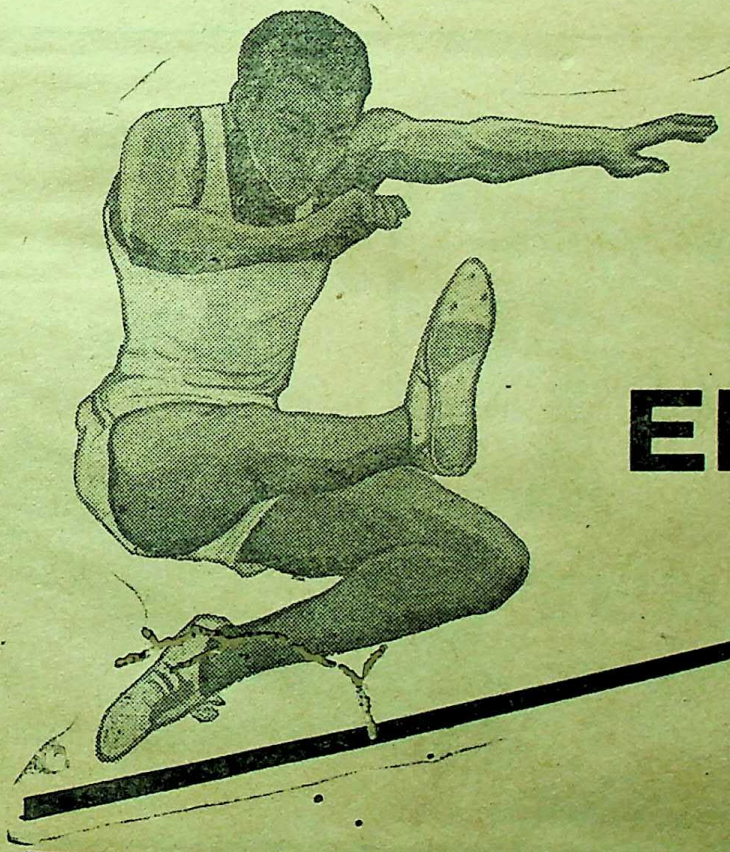

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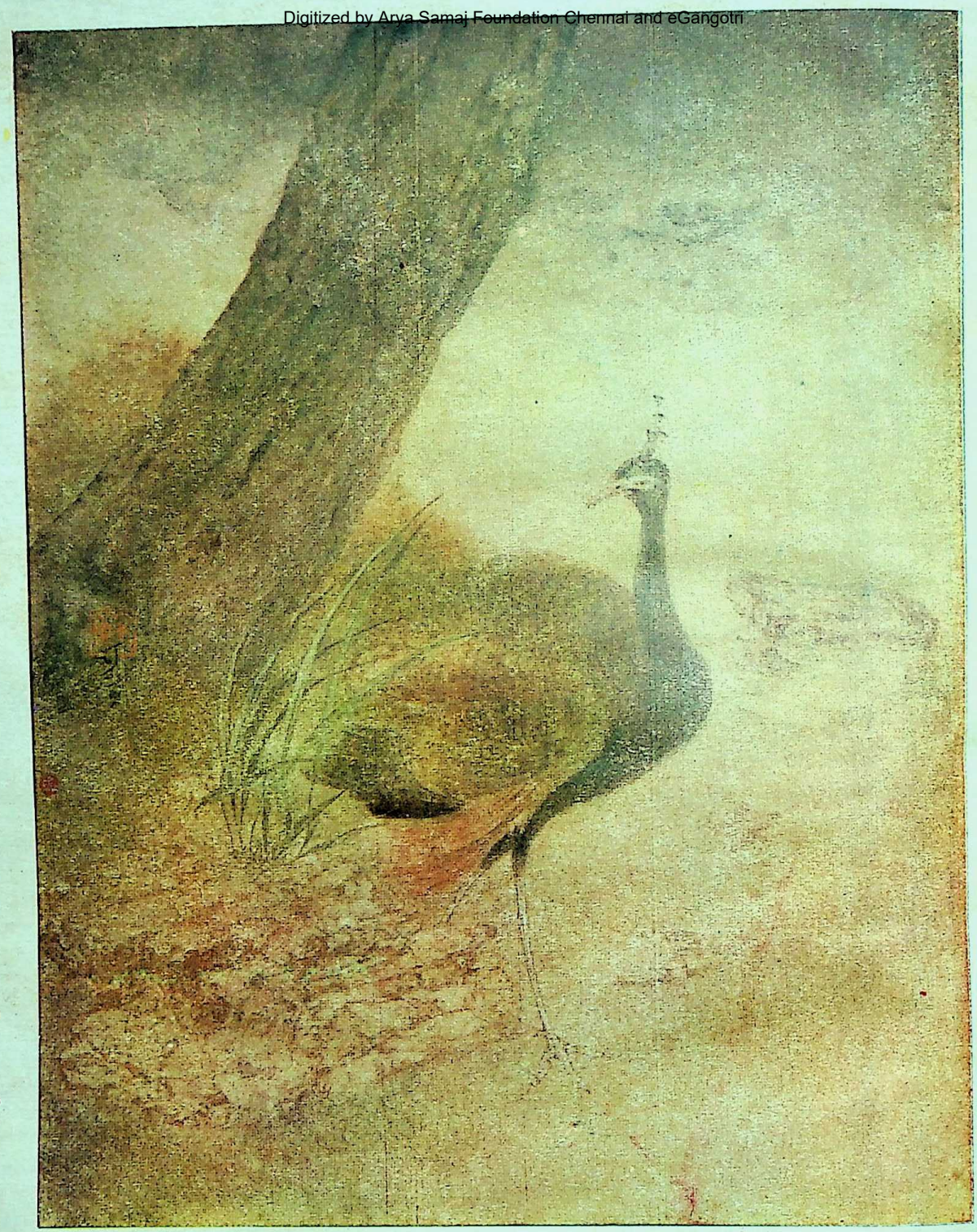

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The bird with lucid eyes, to lure thee fail?
—"*The Cloud Messenger*" *of Kalidasa.*

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1963

VOL. CXIV, No. 1 WHOLE No. 679

NOTES

The World

In the normal course of things, the death of a Pope or the election of a new one, is not classed as an world event. But the passing of Pope John XXIII, who on October 28, 1958, became the Supreme Pontiff, the head and supreme ruler of the Roman Catholic Church on June 3, 1963, is undoubtedly to be regarded as such because of the benign influence he had made felt all over the Christian world during his short reign of four years and a half.

Pope John, who was the 261st Supreme Pontiff, strove continuously and tirelessly to bring the divided Christian churches closer together and also to spread the urge for peace and goodwill all over the earth and amongst all mankind during his all too short reign of four years. It is almost tragic that such a major force that was working for the establishment of universal peace by effectively dispelling mutual fear, distrust and enmity amongst the nations, should have been removed from the sphere of his work.

A gentle, non-aggressive—indeed non-assertive—spirit, a fatherly concern for the welfare, temporal [illegible] spiritual, of his vast fold, and the transparent sincerity with which he strove for the establishment of mutual goodwill amongst all mankind irrespective of religion, creed or colour, earned for him the names "The Pope of Unity" and "The Pope of Peace".

His was the shortest reign since Pius VIII who reigned for 20 months in 1829-30. But there was no doubt that short though it was, it had gained its place in the history of the Roman Catholic Church and in that of his contemporary world. In the Roman Catholic world the three main events of this all too brief span are the convocation of the 21st Ecumenical Council and the two encyclicals, "Mater et Magistra" which was on modern social problems and "Pacem in Terris" on peace on earth. In the world outside the Roman Catholic Church his reign will be remembered for the moves he actively initiated for mutual understanding and rapprochement all over his vast worldly fold, not only amongst the different denominations of the Christian world but also amongst those who were outside. He had thus won the esteem and the friendly regard of the Soviets and re-established contact with the European Communist nations. His death automatically terminates the second Vatican Council, one of his most cherished achievements and leaves in an uncertain position the contacts the Vatican had made with the Communist Governments of Poland and Hungary.

He was born as Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, the eldest son of a peasant farmer on November 25, 1881.

President Radhakrishnan said, on hearing the death news, that the Pope was 'a great servant of God and the human race' who had worked for world reconciliation. President Kennedy said that the concern of

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Pope John XXIII for the human spirit "transcended all boundaries of belief or geography."

Giovanni Battista Cardinal Montini, the Archbishop of Milan, a 65-year-old prelate, was elected by the cardinals in secret conclave at the Sistine Chapel as the 262nd supreme head of the 510 million Catholics of the world. He chose the name of Paul and would be the sixth bearer of that name in the line of Popes. It is to be hoped that he would be given the inspiration and the strength to complete the work that his great predecessor had initiated.

Great Britain is passing through the aftermath of a major scandal which resulted in the exposure and final downfall of the Secretary of State for War, John Profumo, and the serious parliamentary and party crisis which involved Mr. Macmillan's Conservative Cabinet. After surviving the no confidence motion, Mr. Macmillan has had to yield to the pressure of public and party opinion and to announce on June 21 in the House of Commons that his Government was going to appoint a prominent judge, Lord Denning, to make further enquiries into the security aspect of the Profumo affair. The judge is to decide for himself how to conduct the enquiry, though it was made clear that he would not be empowered to call witnesses although such powers may be granted to him by Parliament at a later stage.

Mr. Harold Wilson, the leader of the Labour Party, which is the major party in opposition, had at once protested that **an inquiry by a single judge with narrow powers was "totally inadequate to allay public anxiety."** And that the impression would persist in the country that the Government was engaged in "a bigger and vaster cover-up" than before.

This unsavoury affair came to light during the trial of a West Indian singer from Jamaica, named Johnnie Edgecombe, who was one of the lovers of a woman of easy virtue named Christine Keeler and out of jealousy had assaulted her and had fired several shots from a revolver into her door which was shut on his face. He was arrested by the police and was sent up for trial.

In March last the prime characters involved in the scandal were identified as Christine Keeler, a 21-year-old private strumpet, John Profumo, the War Minister, in Mr. Macmillan's Cabinet and Dr. Stephen Ward, society osteopath, painter and dealer in "call-girls." What was presumably unknown to the War Minister was that Christine Keeler had another regular visitor, Evgeny Ivanov by name, who was a naval attache at the Soviet Embassy in London. Later on it was said that Ivanov tried to obtain news about the despatch of nucleur war-heads to West Germany from Britain by employing Keeler to pry the secrets out of Profumo. This put the fat into the fire, for Profumo undoubtedly had the secrets that Ivanov desired—and more—and a man who had lost his senses to the extent of indulging in such lewd sports in that indiscreet fashion might have leaked out the secrets when he was not in complete control of his faculties.

The matter came to a head when a Labour M.P. challenged the Government to deny the rumours that were flying about a minister's indiscretions with Christine. The challenge was met by the seemingly firm denial by Profumo, in open Parliament, of any indiscretion and the scandal might have blown away had not Stephen Ward told the British Prime Minister's private secretary that the War Minister had lied in Parliament. Seven weeks after Profumo's denial before the Commons, Ward persistently repeated his charges before the Home Secretary, Henry Brooke, and the Labour Party leader, Harold Wilson. Profumo was confronted with Ward's accusation and at last he blurted out the truth and sent in his resignation, vaccating his post as War Minister and also his seat in Parliament.

The charge against Profumo is not so much about his moral turpitude as about his having lied so brazenly in Parliament and of his having laid himself open to security lapses by his sharing a bed with a woman with a Soviet naval attache. Mr. Macmillan is accused of being acquainted with this scandalous affair through the agency of the British security officials and yet not taking steps in time to cut short this likely channel for leakages. The affair has been given pro-

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fuse publicity on both sides of the Atlantic, with full salacious details, by the sensation-hungry popular press and as a result it has assumed a prominence out of all proportion to its real import and implications.

It might be noted in passing that though Profumo has ruined his own career and reputation and has brought on disgrace to his family and on the Cabinet to which he belonged, it is yet to be proved that he has in any way damaged or jeopardized national security or finance. And yet there is such a furore in the press and in public—which has taken the shape of moral indignation, strangely and ludicrously for Britain—and so much insistence by the Opposition against any possible move by the Government that bears any semblance to "White-washing." And here at home, in India, we have a major scandal in another shape, in the Serajuddin affair, in which there are persistent rumours against the integrity of a Minister—who has since resigned—and some others, who are said to have not only conspired to cheat the national exchequer out of its dues for their private gain, but have also let loose corruption on the entire administration by their actions. And yet is there any paper here that has said "What The Hell Is Going On In This Country" like the **Daily Mirror** of London?

In the United States of America, the racial problem in the 'South' has come to the show-down stage. In all fairness, it must be noted at the beginning of these comments, that the vast majority of the Americans view with dismay and disgust the rabid anti-negro attitude and the brutal actions of the segregationist groups in he Southern States of the U.S.A. The U.S. press has, by and large, expressed its disapprobation in fairly clear terms, and the highest strata of the judiciary has upheld the rights of the American Negro in clear terms, free from ambiguity of any legalistic nature.

But racial prejudice, particularly when it is based on old traditions regarding colour, caste or on the cleavage between the Master and the Helot, die hard and possibly that is why the lawgivers and the highest Executive of the U.S. upto President Kennedy himself, feel that they are treading on treacherous soil when they excercise their authority, which is the Federal authority of the U.S., in curbing the demented mobs that are reacting against the Negro's claim for his rights. The elections are not very far off, and any strong positive action by the Federal authorities might react subtley in the matter of votes.

The American Negro, whose forbears were brought to the United States by slave-traders after they had been torn away from their homes by violence, fraud and deceit, have lived in simulated freedom for exactly a century now since Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 by which he said, "I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and hence-forward shall be, free." His march towards the full attainment of his rights as a citizen of the United States has been slow, painful and beset with humiliation at every step. It is only after World War II that the American in general has realized that he is handing out a scurvy deal to his fellow citizen the American Negro. The Supreme Court's Desegregation Decisions of 1954-55 regarding the admission of the Negro student to public educational institutions was an indicator of this awareness. But even so the way was long and the path was thorny and beset with danger of organized violence—sometimes in the garb of law—emanating out of the frenzy of the brute passions of sub-human mobs.

The Negro population forms about 10% of the total population of the U.S., and it is now becoming aware that it must unite in its demands for equality and justice. At the time of writing these the situation in the south is fairly under control but the atmosphere is still tense.

In Africa, Jomo Kenyatta, the newly elected Premier of Kenya, formulated a serious, sensible and well-considered plan for the formation of an East African Federation, at a conference which took place at Nairobi on or about the middle of June. With him sat Uganda's Prime Minister, Milton Apollo Obote and President Julius Nyerene of Tanganyika. Kenya is due to attain full independence later this year and possibly

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would merge in a Federation with 25 million peoples forming the third largest nation in Africa. There are many difficulties yet in the way but Kenyatta's approach was on a sound and liberal basis. He declared that "We have a common history, culture and customs, which make our unity both logical and natural" and roundly denounced tribalism, racialism or inward-looking policies, thereby setting at rest speculations about his own tribal and racial outlook.

The Security Council of the U.N. approved Secretary General U Thant's plan to send a U.N. truce team to Yemen, by a 10-0 vote with the Soviets abstaining, about the middle of last month. The truce team, led by Sweden's Major General Carl von Horn has gone to San'a the Capital of Yemen to start the peace programme with the creation of a 25 mile demilitarized strip along the border of Yemen with Saudi Arabia. Pourparlers are being set on foot to stop Saudi Arabia's aid to the royalist rebels and to supervise the phased withdrawal of the 28000 Egyption troops that are supporting President Abdullah Sallal of Yemen. Von Horn has long experience gathered in years spent on the Gaza strip between Israel and the U.A.R. and in the Congo. But the Yemen presents difficulties of a different type because of the fanatic war-like tribals that are supporting the deposed Imam Mohamed el Badr.

Iran was troubled during the last month, with explosions of mob violence which broke out in Teheran. The troubles started with the reaction of fanatic moslem crowds which had been incited by Moslem Mullahs led by Ayatullah Rouhollah Khomaini of the holy city of Qum, with the cry of "protect your religion." In denouncing as heretical the reforms of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi which would emancipate the women of Iran by giving them votes and would redistribute land amongst the real tillers of the soil, they were in reality trying to protect their vast religious fiefs, and their absolute hold over a female population steeped in ignorance and shut up behind veils. Behind the mullahs were the big landlords and the corrupt bureaucrats of Iran. The Shah has further stated that money and arms have been supplied to the trouble-makers by some foreign powers but he has not revealed their identity as yet. The riots spreads from Qum to Teheran where troops had to quell violent mobs. This rebellion against progress has now been brought under control.

The position in Laos does not seem to improve; the same tense critical state prevails there.

In South Viet-Nam, where the Buddhists who form 80% of the 15 million people, feel that they are being given a most unfair treatment by the autocratic President Ngo Dinh Diem and his Roman Catholic regime. There have been demonstrations climaxed by the self-immolation, in open day light and on a main road-crossing, by fire of a 75-year old Buddhist monk named Thich Quang Duc. He sat crossed-legged in a pose of meditation while gallons of petrol were poured over him which he himself set alight by striking a match. His serene pose lasted unto death. He had left a will asking President Diem to be kind and tolerant towards his people and to enforce a policy of religious equality. President Diem whose regime is bolstered up by U.S. money arms and fighting "technicians" etc., has been placed in a quandary as this act has brought to U.S. notice his intransigence in dealing with the Buddhists.

On the Himalayan frontiers of India, Red China has again started aggressive moves in Ladakh. There has been, of course, an endless flow of mendacious statements in Peking's press and on radio and together with that the series of false accusations regarding violation of Chinese territory etcetera have continued.

Pakistan now is copying Red China in the nature and substance of the lying propaganda against India that has lately emanated from Karachi and Rawalpindi. Typical of such propaganda was the statement made by Z. A. Bhutto, Pakistan's Minister for External Affairs, on June 12 in the Pakistan National Assembly. In that he had said that he had suggested during the bilateral talks on Kashmir and other related affairs that a joint Indo-Pakistan Commission should be established to determine the nationality of

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illegal immigrants from Pakistan, but no response came from the Indian side.

The brazen nature of this mendacious statement made by a Cabinet Minister of Pakistan during an open session of Pakistan's National Assembly was exposed by our External Affairs Ministry.

The fact was, Mr. Bhutto made no such proposal nor had he ever suggested official level talks which he claimed in his statement. Further, although the Indian delegation to these talks had 'time and again' tried to have the matter discussed at the conference, they met with a blunt opposition from the self-same Mr. Bhutto and his colleagues, who insisted that "nothing but Kashmir should be discussed at those talks."

Our President's Tour

The President, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, has come back to New Delhi on June 24 after his 23 day goodwill tour of the United States and Britain. He had left for these formal State visits at the beginning of June.

On arrival at the Palam airport he gave the assembled reporters a lucid and concise account of the purpose and results of this tour in his own inimitable fashion. **The Statesman** gave the following summary :—

In spite of domestic troubles in America and Britain, his programme was carried out and not modified, the President said.

He and members of his party explained to the two countries India's general policies. On the international situation he told them that India's policy was to work for peace, bring about a ban on nuclear tests and work for disarmament "without losing patience or hope."

The essential conditions of peace were that colonialism must be ended as soon as possible, racial discrimination stopped and emerging nations, which were "sunk in economic misery" should be assisted to become self-sufficient.

Economic and military aid, with which other people dealt, were not his concern during the trip, Dr. Radhakrishnan observed. His object was to "create a climate of goodwill and friendliness" and he tried to do what he could in that direction, he added."

In the U.S. his visit has done much to clear-up a hazy and muddled idea about India and the Indians, which has helped enemies of our country and cause on work in that country, that has prevailed in the minds of the Americans, thanks to the extremely inept and inefficient publicity arrangements made there by our wonderful External Affairs department. His simple and clear statements, free from any esoteric concatenation of abstruse causes resulting from thoughts on concrete subjects, has possibly made those U.S. citizens who spare any time or thought for us aware that the real India is something quite different from the picture presented either by our enemies in the NATO and CENTO groups or by the grossly maladroit representatives and delegations, that have been posted or deputed to the U.S. by the powers that be at New Delhi.

The following short editorial from **The New York Times** international edition, dated June 9, gives a fair idea of the U.S. reaction to this visit, at least amongst the intellectuals :—

The visit to the United States of India's new President, Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, comes opportunely at a time of greatly increased preoccupation in this country with India's destiny.

Largely responsible for this is the Chinese Communist attack on India's Himalayan frontier. The assault swept away Indian illusions about peaceful coexistence with Communist China and thus made possible a common attitude in India and the United States toward a nation that now proclaims itself the enemy of both countries. The attack has also caused India to turn to the United States for military aid, thereby creating a new American concern with India's defense. Prime Minister Nehru declares India is still non-aligned, but if such is the case it is a nonalignment much more heavily weighted than before toward closer ties and rapport with the West.

As a renowned philosopher, educator and diplomat, Dr. Radhakrishnan is a visitor of high individual prestige, irrespective of the new importance of his country in American eyes. In recent months, moreover, he has begun to emerge as a key personality on the

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Indian political scene. The Chinese attack, with its shattering of Mr. Nehru's policy of friendship with Communist China, has palpably damaged the Prime Minister's political stature in India. Candidates he backed in three recent by-elections have lost.

Formerly he exercised an almost unlimited authority in the Indian Government, the Congress party and, in particular, in relation to the former President, Rajendra Prasad. Now, as his leadership of the Congress party and the Government declines, the center of gravity has begun to shift to the President with his residual control in time of emergency over the military and the bureaucracy. Increasingly, Indian leaders are consulting the President, and Dr. Radhakrishnan is feeling his way toward a more significant role for himself as well as his office.

New York will welcome being host this week to a man of his eminence."

Of course the goodwill tour has not completely cleared the atmosphere in the States where India is concerned and brought the peoples of the two great nations perceptibly nearer. But it has undoubtedly helped in clearing the way to mutual understanding. The rest can only be achieved by a prolonged and skilful handling of all the problems, through a convincing presentation of facts and a lucid exposition thereof.

There were instances of such presentation and exposition in the answers given by the President to the questions put to him during the radio and television interview arranged by the American Broadcasting Corporation at Washington on June 9. The full text of that interview is worthy of perusal as an example of clarity in thought and in expression. But the text of that half-hour long interview is too long to be presented in these columns. The following excerpt may however, help to illustrate the quality and tenor of the questions and answers. The questioner was ABC's diplomatic correspondent Mr. John Scali :—

Mr. Scali: President Radhakrishnan, one of the more memorable contributions of India's struggle for independence is the memory of how passive resistence succeeded in winning freedom for India when violence did not work.

Could you tell us, sir, where and how passive resistence succeeded in India and whether this principle can be adopted in other lands, say in the United States, to enforce the drive for civil rights ?

President: It is happening in some ways, even in the United States for the enforcement of civil rights. But it is not for me to give any opinion no that question. So far as we are concerned, we were able to win our freedom without the employment of political deceit, cunning or violence, and circumstances in the world also collaborated toward the realization of that ideal and the example of India has been one of the great lessons for humanity. I can't say whether it could be adopted in other countries under other conditions and circumstances. It all depends.

Mr. Scali: Would you say passive resistence is one of the truly great forces in the world today ?

President: I can't say it is one of the great forces in the world today. I think here and there a few people are practising it but we can't say more.

Mr. Scali: Mr. President, Secretary Rusk pointed out recently that because the United States is the leader, so-called, of the free world, that many countries expect the maximum from us in the way of civil rights and progress toward equality and that this sometimes creates an unfair impression abroad when there are race disturbances in the United States.

Could you say, as an observer, whether progress that has been made in the civil rights field is understood abroad or whether the image of America now as a result of the happenings of the past few weeks is one of violence and police clubbing people ?

President: Sir, we know our difficulties. We know the way in which we are trying to abolish caste untouchability, et cetera. We have introduced them into our constitution. But implementing them takes a long way. I think the conscience of America is clear that desegregation of Negro people and the accession of civil rights must be established and therefore, I believe

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that you are going in the right way and that things are moving in the right direction.

The reception given to our President was warmer and more friendly in Britain for obvious reasons. We do not mean that the President met with any cold or unfriendly reception anywhere in the U.S.A. But the contacts between India and Britain have been prolonged over three centuries and mutual understanding has already reached far greater depths. The Transfer of Power in India, which the President rightly termed the greatest act of reconciliation in history, has indeed gone a long way towards clearing up old resentments and misunderstandings.

The reaction in the British press has been good as the press comments indicate and the public reception to the President was on an intimate footing.

It may be said in conclusion that our President has had a fair amount of achievement in his tour for establishing goodwill abroad for us.

Memorials to Brahmananda Keshub Chunder

We learn through the columns of a Bengali daily, **The Basumati** dated June 23, that the Education Ministry of the West Bengal Goverment has decided to acquire the premises at 122 A & B & C Chittaranjan Avenue and 34 Ramkamal Sen Lane, which was the birth place of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen. We do hope that this decision is final and that the Government will take early steps to acquire and preserve as much as be possible of this old and worn structure. It is stated that a memorial building is to be constructed on the site and that it would be utilized for the spread of education. This decision is already late as it is and any further hesitation may result in the total obliteration of this historic building, as has happened to the ancestral home of Keshub Chunder's forbears at Gorifa in 24 Parganas.

We in Bengal have been exceedingly forgetful about the debt of gratitude that has been laid on us by those giants of the early, mid and late nineteenth century Bengal, but for whose strenuous endeavours against desperate odds in the fields of social, educational and political reform and progress Bengal—and India—would have remained as backward as some of the darkest parts of continental Asia that have been less fortunate in the matter of raising illustrious sons. The Congress, in and outside West Bengal has been accused—with considerable justification, be it said—of deliberately engineering the passage into oblivion of the names and fame of these great personalities.

The Bengali, who has shorn himself of his heritage of national glory by this progressive immolation of the great names, is undergoing an eclipse as an inevitable consequence, for torn apart from his ancestral heritage of fame and glory, his is but the fate of a rootless flotsam. It is about time therefore that we remember our debts and pay homage to the memory of the great path finders and nation-builders of the days of national realization, renaissance and resurgence.

Keshub Chaunder Sen was one of the greatest figures of the Renaissance Movement during the third quarter of the last century. He has left indelible marks in the annals of social, literary and political uplift movements in Bengal and India. It should be insisted upon by all right thinking peoples that his memory be cherished in proper fashion. We heartily endorse the proposals for renaming the "Jubilee Bridge" at Naihati as Brahmananda Bridge and the erection of a memorial at Gorifa as suggested in a letter by Sri Mononit Sen to the **Hindusthan Standard** of April 29.

THE EDITOR

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

By KARUNA K. NANDI

Corruption In Government

With the formal acceptance of the resignation of the Union Minister of Oil and Fuel, Shri K. D. Malaviya, form the Central Cabinet, announced last week by the President's Secretariat, the curtain would seem to have been rung down on a very murky and a wholly deplorable business. The question, however, would seem to have still been left unresolved if whether this really indicated the final end of a sorry business in which authority as a whole, the Prime Minister of India included, has been shewn up in a most luridly ugly light? If that were so, the further question that would be bound to stem from the former, and one which every right-thinking and conscientious person would be bound to ask himself, is what salutory purpose, if any at all, can be claimed to have been served by this single sacrifice to an evil which, it would be the height of hypocrisy on anybody's part to deny, is far too widespread and much too deeply intrenched in the Government and the administration to be propitiated by this lone victim?

The question involves such basic considerations of morality and propriety in the country's public life, its Government and their administration, to be as lightly dismissed with a single sacrifice to their demand as would seem to be the intention of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and his Government. What would seem to be carrying even more far-reaching implications in this sad and murky affair, is that the Congress party as a whole and, perhaps, even the country at large, would seem to be acquiescing in, if not quite actively endorsing this rather cavalier manner of glossing over a matter which cannot and must not be glossed over, if institutional democracy has to survive the onslaughts of large-scale corruption and nepotism in this country.

The Prime Minister's tolerance for, even tacit acceptance of gross imporprieties by his Cabinet colleagues and members of his administration, even in the highest echelons of the country's public services, have been already too notorious to need any recapitulation here. His resistance to and impatience of public probes into instances of impropriety by his Government (as a whole), his colleagues and his officers, and his all too ready proneness to abuse the press when, inspite of all his most strenuous endeavours to the contrary, occasional instances of such improprieties break out into the columns of the public press, has also been equally notorious. It was characteristic of his usual stance that when asked by a correspondent during his recent press conference in New Delhi on the eve of his departure from the Capital on a Kashmir holiday, as to how he proposed to deal with the relations between corrupt business men and corrupt politicians and set up standards of public administration, the Prime Minister was reported to have returned the amazing answer that "the best answer (he supposed) will be non-corrupt press people to deal with them." That the Prime Minister could find it within himself to be as frivolous as to have returned such a sarcastic answer to a serious question of the most far-reaching public importance seriously posed to him, and especially so in the face of his Government's present embarrassments is, perhaps, a measure of his insensibility to the responsibilities of the high office which he has been called upon to fill, and which he must be condemned to have been adorning with inexcuseable and unrelieved incompetence for over the last fifteen years. The sorriest part of the whole story would seem to be that the press in India, by and large, would appear to have been proving itself to be far too weak and, perhaps, also far too prone to regimentation to be a really effective instrument of public education and opinion. Perhaps this explains, in part, the facility with which Government and the public administration would appear to have been getting away with too many serious derelictions of propriety without being touched in any part of their vital public being. With a national press alert and alive to its responsibilities, it could not have been possile for either Mr. Nehru, his Union Government, or even the Party which he claims to lead, to have misruled the country and direct the nation's destiny towards deeper and deeper frustrations

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and futilities as they, demonstrably, have been doing for so long. It is, no doubt tragic, but it is unquestionably true that the country lacks, and has always done so ever since Independence, the two vital instruments of ordered democratic development, *an alert and an independent press* and an *effective and responsible Opposition.*

Comparisons have been traditionally held to be odious in most things in life, but the contrast between the public behaviour of a Prime Minister Nehru in a nascent Indian Parliamentary Democracy and that of a British Prime Minister, Mcmillian (a country from which India derives most of her democratic inspirations and institutions) is far too striking to be disregarded in this context. The British press has, perhaps, been the most persistently embarrassing factor in the recent public discomfiture of Prime Minister, Mcmillian in respect of the unsavoury Profumo affair. And, yet, Mr. Mcmillian generously and publicly acknowledged the fact that in pillorying him and his Government, the British press has only been demonstrating its basic sense of national responsibility and expressed the hope that there might be larger measures of understanding and co-operation between the press and the country's Government in the future. The Opposition, which demonstrated a most welcome circumspection and a sense of proportion by refusing to concern itself with the private morals of a Minsiter of Government and scrupulously confined itself, in its scathing attacks on Mr. Mcmillian's Government, to issues of national security only, commanded a volume of respect from the Prime Minister and the press alike which might seem most extraordinary to most people in this country, who have been used, during the last fifteen years of a so-called parliamentary system of democratic government, to seeing the Opposition, either in the Central Parliament or in the State Assemblies, to being generally ignored or treated with scant respect, in fact, with the utmost contempt. In a measure this must be accounted for by the fact that we do not seem, so far, to have been able to organise any effctive Parliamentary opposition at all, either at the Centre or in the States, and which, perhaps, accounts for, in turn, the fact that institutional democracy in this country, of only nascent growth as it is, has already been spending itself out into the arid wastes of increasing totalitarianism.

What would, however, seem to be of far greater and more far-reaching impact on the public ilfe of the country, even more than the needs of correct democratic development, is the dangrously increasing trends of public toleration, even positive endorsement of corruption, nepotism and necessarily consequential incompetence in Government and the administration alike, for which Shri Nehru and certain sections of the national press must share the major responsibility. Corruption of sorts, especially nepotism of more or less degree had, perhaps, always infested tne process of governance in a minor measure throughout the course of modern history. But never before has the corrupt and the evil-doer been known to have acquired that status of respectability and acceptance in the society of ordinarily decent men and women, as they seem to possess to-day. To-day persons who have already acquired a measure of notriety in this regard seem also to have easy access to the innermost sanctums of the powers that be either in the central presidium of government or in the State administrations. And since such rights of entry into the higher echelons of policy makers and the administration inevitably invests such persons with an aura of power and respectability in popular estimation, the widespread breakdown of character that seems to surround us on all sides to-day, has become an inevitable corollary of current public and private life.

It is, perhaps, on this account that we see a canard being raised anent the Malaviya affair by a certain section of the press that the Oil & Fuel Minister has been sacrificed as a victim to the intrigues and manouvers of the so-called right-wing in the Union Cabinet, and not really so much for the supposed wrong-doing and impropriety for which he is being held responsible. It is not, indeed, denied that he may have, as accused, accepted gratification while serving as a Minister of Government, but the implications of this is sought to be attenuated, even shrugged away as being hardly of any serious consequence since, according to an eminent front-line financial weekly of Bombay, "it would be the worst kind of hypocrisy to claim that other Congress leaders, Cabinet Ministers included, have not collected funds from business companies....in amounts twenty, or fifty or even one hundred times larger than for what Malaviya is being pilloried."

While there can be no reason to condone

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corruption or improprieties in others and public opinion should by all means organize itself to fight out this widespread evil, the fact that such evils prevail among others can hardly, we feel, be offered as an extenuation for condoning what Malaviya is alleged to have been guilty of. This appears to us to be a symptom, and we consider this a most dangerous symptom, of the state of the obviously widespread and increasing proneness to compromise with evil even among ordinarily decent, law-abiding and normally ethical people.

The Prime Minister's own part in dealing the Malaviya affair from the beginning to end, has been of an order which, we feel, is itself of seriously questionable propriety. The facts are too well known to need any detailed recapitulation here. In course of certain investigations carried out into the business dealings of a firm in Calcutta, certain evidences were alleged to have been discovered implicating Malaviya in transactions of a questionable character. In fact, according to the information that were later given out to Parliament, entries relating to a payment of a sum of Rs. 10,000 to Malaviya were found in the books of this firm. It has been alleged that this was not the only questionable entry found in these books, nor Malaviya the only Minister of Government who was thus implicated and that there were several others including a Chief and other Ministers of a State who were implicated; this latter allegation, it is significant, has so far been neither confirmed nor repudiated by authoritative Government sources. The matter was ventilated in Parliament and Malaviya, at that stage, instead of explaining his position to Parliament, as he should have done, made a statement to the Congress Parliamentary Party executive, explaining how and for what reason he had received this money which, according to him, was for subventing the election expenses of a Congress candidate for the State Assembly from his own constituency. In course of this explanation he also vehemently defended himself against the yet not clearly formulated charge that he had received this amount in consideration of services rendered to the firm concerned in his capacity as a Minister of Government then, or to be rendered thereafter in the future. As to whether Malaviya, by offering his explanation to his Party executive instead of to Parliament where the question was first raised, committed a breach of the privileges of the House is only incidental to the event although it might appear that this was also a very important question of propriety that should have been thoroughly sifted on the occasion. Anyway, his statement to his party executive and his later answers to interpellations in Parliament seemed to have left the House unconvinced and in the face of insistent demands the Prime Minister had to concede, with obvious reluctance, that he would, in accordance with the advice of the Attorney-General, request a Judge of the Supreme Court to investigate the matter and let him have a report; and he aso made it clear to the House on the occasion that the report would be a confidential one as the Judge had refused to carry out the inquiry if his report were to be made public. The Judge reported in due course and even before it reached the Prime Minister's hands, the Minister resigned in a hurry which, in view of the findings of the Judge, the latter agreed to recommend to the President for acceptance. It may be recalled that during the earlier event the Minister concerned had offered to resign which, then, the Prime Minister advised him to hold in abeyance. When the Prime Minister was asked why he did not offer to accept the resignation on the earlier occasion, he gave the hardly plausible reply that on that occasion there was a mere offer of resignation while, on the present occasion, the Minister had actually resigned.

Questions of propriety of the deepest significance would seem to claim consideration in this context. In the first instance it may be asked why the Prime Minister insisted that the Judge's inquiry he, under compulsion from Parliament, ultimately conceded, would be only a confidential personal report to himself for his own guidance and would not be disclosed to Parliament. His explanation that no Supreme Court Judge was prepared to undertake the responsibility if his report were expected to be made the subject of a public discussion, is too thin to find credence anywhere. It is also a moot question if by making such a stipulation he also was not infringing a fundamental privilege of the House. It was not absolutely necessary that the inquiry should have been carried out by a Judge still on the bench; the purpose might as well have been served by an ex-Judge or a high-ranking jurist of experience. Secondly, since the Judge's confidential report appears to have led to a hurried resig-

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ation by the Minister concerned and its all too ready recommendation for acceptance by the Prime Minister himself, the popular impression would be inescapable that the findings which have led to these results must have included acts of gross impropriety by the Minister concerned. The nagging suspicion would be bound to persist in the circumstances that the nature of the improprieties might even be such as would be cognizable under the ordinary laws of the country. The comments of an eminent financial weekly of more than half-a-century's standing in this connection, would seem to be very peritnent : "It is a great pity" says this journal, "that on a matter of great public importance involving questions of rectitude in public life, the Prime Minister had bound himself to secrecy regarding the contents of the Judge's report. Whether he had a right so to commit himself, or the Judge to demand secrecy in a matter in which the public is expected to take the Government's version of the Judge's report as conclusive, will continue to be debated. And there will continue to be curiosity regarding the others reported to be mentioned in the firm's books."

What would seem to be equally important in this connection and a matter on which the public will have the fullest right to demand an unequivocal reply from the Prime Minister, is as to whether this whole unsavoury matter would be allowed to rest where it stands. We would again quote :

"Will there be a further inquiry into these other aspects ? Since Parliament is not in session no effective demand can be made; the public has the right to know whether or not there are several squalid transactions for the benefit of the party or individuals. If some officials are to be prosecuted, some facts may come to light later on but that is no reason for their suppression now. Such embarrassing situations were not unforeseen when Mr. Nehru announced his decision to keep the Judge's findings confidential. The question is whether he should at all have gone to a Judge in office for obtaining private opinion when he could as easily have secured an ex-Judge or a senior jurist for purely personal advice. Mr. Malaviya had often claimed before that except for the one case of money received for election assistance to a Congress candidate (*which was not considered sufficient to justify resignation at an earlier stage*— emphasis ours) he has been blameless. Does not his resignation indicate there were more and hence a lack of candour ?"

While resigning his office is the leasat that Malaviya could be expected to do in these murky circumstances, we are far from convinced that the Prime Minister can be said to have fully discharged his obligations to Parliament and especially to the country at large, by merely signifying his acceptance of the resignation. We most emphatically do not endorse the questionable view that Malaviya has been made a scapegoat of powerful intrigues within the Union Cabinet. The fact of the existence of such a poweful conclave my be true; it may even be true that it may have vented its political antagonism to Malaviya by helping to force the issue leading to his resignation in this opportunity. But that does not detract from the basic fact that he was supposed to have been guilty of gross improprieties and deserved to be thrown out of the Government. The question would still, however, seem to persist if this single fact of a resignation would be likely to solve the fundamental problem of corruption and nepotism in the Government ? The root of the evil, it would seem, springs from more deep-laid sources. The Companies Act, for instance, has been sufficiently tinkered with to subsume the gross immorality of business subsidy to political parties. It is significant and symptomatic of the dangerous apathy of our leaders to basic foundations of public morality that neither the ruling party nor those in the so-called opposition, especially the supposedly newly resurgent Swatantra Party, seem to find any fault with the fact and would not even dream of altering the arrangement. The apparent insensibility of all political parties,—although the Congress may be condemned to have been the prime mover in this direction—to the unwholesomeness of undertaking legislative processing for enabling business to subvent political parties, is one of the most dangerous facts in this whole shabby process. To any right-thinking person anywhere in the world, this matter of making it legally permissible for business houses in the private sector to openly subsidize the political parties in power, would be bound to be regarded as subversive of the very basic ethics of parliamentary democracy. And, human nature being unfortunately what it has alwa;s

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proved to be, from subsidizing a political party to subsidizing individuals in power is only a very short and almost unobtrusive step; and that is what, it would appear, has been happening all the time with apparently no remedy being available for stemming the process or atleast materially arresting its spread.

In fact there would seem to be hardly any genuine desire on the part of the leaders in power, and we refer especially to Mr. Nehru in this connection, to at all do something to apply effective correctives in the matter. When circumstances have made it absolutely compulsive, he has ended, on occasions, by sacrificing a Minister or two from his Government. But both the Prime Minister and his Party colleagues would appear to have consistely evaded the necessity of attacking the evil at its very roots. Indeed, it woud seem that deliberate measures have been taken to make it increasingly impossible for any major disclosures to find their way out into the light of day. The so-called "Ginger Group" in the Party which were, in the past, responsible for a few major scandals in Parliament and the rolling of a Ministerial head or two on occasions, it is significant have, almost all of them, been denied nominations for seats in Parliament during the last general elections but for one or two notable exceptions who could not, by any manner of means, be kept out. But of even those who were able to force their way in in spite of the best efforts of the coterie constituting the Parlamientary Board, at least one has been wholly depotentized by being elevated to a gubarnatorial appointment. Tragically enough the most incorruptible of this "Group," the late Feroze Gandhi, the Prime Ministr own son-in-law, who was the one man primarily responsible for forcing the Prime Minister's hands to disclose to Parliament the shabby state of our defences and the facts regarding Chinese incursions into our territory for the first time, has passed away from the ken of human activities at a juncture when he would seem to have been needed the most direly. In the virtually wholesale absence of this group now from Parliament, the Prime Minister and his Government apparently feel safe from possible embarrassments from his own Party, and gross acts of impropriety, even allegedly criminal offences, are understood to be glossed over or suppressed with the result that the hope of a clean administration free from nepotism and corruption would appear to have been receding further and further away. It is only an accident of circumstances—and it is thus that murder is out—that the Malaviya affair would appear to have come to light and hints of yet further graver scandals have been poisoning the air. The Prime Minister, instead of being grateful for a vigilant press for having helped him to discover such festering sores in his administration was, amazingly enough, scathing, as he generally has been, in his condemnation of the press on this account and, as earlier observed, has been shameless enough to wax sarcastic about what he caustically described as a "non-corrupt press." One could wish that the press were really far more vigilant and, what is even more important, *independent and fearless*, than it has so far really proved itself to be. It is only thus that adequate public awareness could be generated of the dangers of living under a corrupt administration and a criminally irresponsible Prime Minister (he would deserve to be also considered quite shameless if he were not regarded as somewhat helpless) who would deliberately and knowingly compound his Cabinet's and his administration's graft and nepotism if not also their dowright felonies !

An Economic Survey For 1962-63

The recently released Report on **Currency and Finance** by the Reserve Bank of India for the year 1962-63, seeks to bring up-to-date the economic data for the year, a rather incomplete version of which was circulated earlier in Government's **Economic Survey** along with the Budget papers at the end of February last. On a cursory perusal of the Report it might seem that it would appear to cover much the same ground as the Government's **Survey** claims to do, but its principal virtue lies in the greater exhaustiveness of the information supplied by it in contrast with the Government **Survey**, and thus helps to present a more complete and cohesive picture of the state of the national economy and the trends and pressures to which it is being currently exposed or subjected, than the survey of the Finance Ministry seems to do. In another important particular also the Reserve Bank's Report is materially

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different from the Government's **Economic Survey** in that while the latter attempts a rather tendentious appraisal, although in fairly broad terms, of the prospects for the following year, the former Report keeps itself scrupulously free from venturing into such speculative fields.

The Report take into account the latest available estimates of the national income for 1961-62 which, at constant (1948-49) prices aggregated Rs. 13,020 crores representing the very modest rise of only just about 2.1 per cent over the preceding year's level and demonstrates a retrogressive trend after the growth rates of 3.4 per cent and 4.1 per cent respectively calculated to have been achieved during the First and the Second Plan periods. It is, of course, pointed out in this connection that during the year the agricultural sector of the economy registered a distinct decline in production and the rise in the national income over the year, such as it was, was mainly accounted for by sectors other than the agricultural. The all-round progress registered in the over-all field of economic activity, both agricultural and non-agricultural during 1960-61, the last year of the Second Plan, would appear to have yielded to a static slowing down of the dynamics of development in the very following year and even industrial production, which registered an increase in the preceding year of 11 per cent, had significantly fallen to the level of 7.3 per cent. That the position has not much improved during the next following year (1962-63) for which no national income estimates are yet available, would be evident from the fact that agricultural production was not significantly higher (indeed, it remained more or less static during the year) and industrial production was estimated to have only marginally risen over the previous year (7.4 per cent higher than in 1960-61). Considering that investments in the public sector received additional impetus during the first two years of the Third Plan,—they were of the order of Rs. 1,140 crores in 1961-62 and Rs. 1,465 crores in the following year,—economic growth in the over-all sense, comprising the industrial, the agricultural and other sectors as represented by the incidence of production increase, could not be said to have received any significant fillip.

But that these heavy 'developmental outlays' were not entirely without any impact, whatever the measure of beneficial consequences that may have flown from them in other directions, would be evident from the mounting inflationary pressures that have been making themselves felt on the economy. The Report frankly acknowledges this indisputable fact and states that "there was an increase in inflationary pressures resulting mainly from developmental outlays." Paradoxical as such a statement would seem to be on the face of it, it is not really very surprising when regard is had to the fact that a very substantial measure of the increased developmental expenditure has been financed by recourse to "deficit financing." The Reserve Bank, indeed, frankly admits that "deficit financing in the wider meaning of net bank credit to the Govvernment sector, was enlarging the money supply at a considerably faster rate than the corresponding period of 1961." Net bank credit to Government after necessary adjustments for PL 480 and PL 665 Funds, aggregated Rs. 277 crores in 1962-63 and Rs. 279 crores in 1961-62 and within the restricted sense of the over-all deficit in the Union Government's budgetary transactions, the magnitude of deficit finance was of a considerable order and must have, in consequence, exerted correspondingly decisive inflationary pulls on the price structure.

As a matter of fact there is not the least reason to controvert the indisputable fact that pressures on the price structure has been a continuing feature and even in recent months the price indices have been registering a continual and significant upward spurt both in the wholesale sector and even more so in the retail field. The over-all increase in April last, even before the market had begun to awaken to a realization the full implications of the current Budget and, therefore, had yet to begin to feel the impact of its effects, has been assesed at 5

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points since March this year (compared to 1952-53 prices as the base) and in respect of food articles the rise has been even far steeper to 8 points during the same period. Only wholesale prices have been taken into consideration to arrive at the above findings and there can be no doubt that in the retail price sector, which have a more direct bearing on the cost of living indices, the impact must have been correspondingly far heavier. A little of this rise, it must be frankly recognized, may have been derived from the latest budget with its heavy excise imposts on a wide range of commodities including some articles of essential primary consumption, but the full impact of the budget had not yet begun to be communicated to the market at that stage and deficit finance must, in a measure, be held to account for this rise to a corresponding extent. The Reserve Bank Report does not take these facts and trends into consideration, although it admits that "the increase in indirect taxation in the 1962-63 and 1963-64 Budgets and the prices allowed by Government in respect of certain price-administered commodities, also contributed to the general price increase." It is necessary to realise in this context that this trend of rising prices, which does not seem to have yielded so far to the variety of administrative and other measures devised by Government to arrest its course and which have, in fact, registered further upward movements in the meanwhile, especially substantially in the retail essential consumer sector, would be bound, if allowed to continue in its unhampered way, to vitiate, in very large measure, the objectives of some of the fiscal measures devised in this regard by the Union Finance Minister and would make their attainment correspondingly impossible.

It is somewhat curious in this connection to note the contradictions inherent in some of the conslusions advanced in the Report under discussion. As already noted earlier, the Report sought to wholly attribute the reason for the mounting inflationary pressures upon the price structure to the impact of the Budget with its wide range of indirect taxation measures, but when in a later chapter the Report asserts that "the Budget for 1963-64 represents a bold attempt to maintain the tempo of development and to meet the needs of defence without generating inflationary pressures" it rather obviously contradicts its own earlier consclusions. What would seem to be an even more anomalous, almost a meaninglessly vague generalization attempted in the Report, is when the strange statement is made that "the enhanced direct taxes on individuals would keep down their purchasing power and would mark a step in the direction of an **incomes policy**" (emphasis ours). Without any further clarification, as there is none to be found in the Report, this would be a most invidiously intriguing statement. If, by an "incomes policy" is implied a general limitation of individual incomes in the sense of available expendable income, the implications might be even obnoxious in the extreme. Such a view of the statement would seem to require enunciation of fresh policies over such a wide field covering prices, profits, rents, land values and a whole host of other things, that we cannot visualize it to be within the competence of our present fiscal masters or their advisers (however high the level of this expertise may be claimed to be) to even remotely conceive of an integrated and appropriately co-ordinated policy that would be likely to be capable of effective implementation in this direction. The failures of our financial pundits and administrators at the Centre have been so many and so varied even on simple matters of budgeting for normal years, that no one in his right senses looks forward to obtaining from them anything like balanced judgment and effective action conducive to growth and a rising living standard which are said to be the two primary objectives of planned development. It had been claimed by the Union Finance Minister and his high-level expertise that the current Budget was devised primarily to serve the twin and urgent purposes of covering the basic needs of defence and development without in any way unduly depressing living standards. The results of development are already being reflected in the static level of national income progress that is being evinced since last year, the stangant state of our agricultural produc-

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tion and the almost visibly downward trends of industrial production. The claims to living standards remaining undepressed is, correspondingly, being mocked by the steeply rising price levels and the reports of starvation and deaths that are pouring in from remote corners of the country and, in spite of facile denials by authority of the existence of virtually famine conditions in many places, the truth of which is incontrovertible.

We are not really interested in the jugglery of figures through which futile attempts are being made to convince that trends of progress and growth are waiting just around the corner to start moving again in the desired direction almost any moment now. What, to us, is the most important question of the moment is how to ensure growth and increasing employment towards a level of adequacy and fulness without actually stepping into the quicksands of inflation.

U.S. Arms Aid To India

At a press conference held by him in Bombay last week, Prof. John K. Galbraith, U. S. Ambassador to India, was reported to have said that "arms aid programme included a substantial range of items" although there were some items which would have to await appropriation by the Congress. From this and other positive statements ascribed to the U. S. Ambassador at this press conference, it appears that the matter of U.S. arms aid to India is now on its way to gradually emerge from the confusion which appeared to have been cluttering it up.

This, from India's point of view, would be bound to be regarded as good news as far as it goes, especially in view of the renewing Chinese pressures. And, yet, the suspicion seems to persist that the atmosphere of confusion which seems to have been surrounding the question of our defence preparations, have not been quite dispelled and that the realities of the situation and its requirements are not yet well and clearly within the grasp of those who are responsible for conceiving our defence policies and putting them into operation.

Emergency can, it would appear to be the country's present experience, be a doubledged problem. As far as one is able to gauge, so many tiers of secrecy have been built up around our defence needs and preparations, that it becomes quite doubtful if there is, at any level, where policy and action can be formulated with vigour, grasp of a totality of things. The nagging suspicion persists that there is absence of co-ordination between the various tiers of decision and policy making referred to above to enable a complete picture to emerge. It is impossible to try to get at the hard core of facts for the outside public and assess what may be happening, for such research may easily violate the Defence of India Regulations, and the feeling is increasingly gaining ground, even among those who went all out to lend their unquestioned support to the assumption of massive powers by the Government on the pretext of a national emergency, that, perhaps, too wide a latitude has ben given to the Executive Government to ensure the emergence of a realistic defence policy and enunciation of vigorous action.

For instance, it has now gradually begun to emerge from the plethora of defence aid missions that have currently been visiting the Western democracies, that, perhaps, our representatives have been labouring under exaggerated notions of the type of military build-up that the country would need to cope with Chinese threat. In spite of various kinds of canards and rumours that have been floating around, —and it is necessary to realise the subsersive possibilities of these in the absence of clear and unambiguous official assessment of our needs in these behalf,—the popular suspicion appears to have been gaining ground that the reason that the U.S.A. and the U.K. have been refusing to meet our demands as regards arms-aid to the extent and in the manner we have been asking for it, is because they assess this to be unrealistic. Such a view of the matter would now be further reinforced by what Prof. Galbraith had to say at his press conference when he referrred to our request for supersonic aircraft, that they were very expensive and highly sophisticated and that the cost of one such aircraft would comfortably finance "acquisition of much needed modernized army equipment in *quantity* (emphasis ours)." In our own Government's view, however, our present defence programmes are said to represent, in their view, the absolute minimum that we would require, and the view is sought to be put across that the Western democracies'-refu-

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sal to comply with our long-term aid-demands is, in part, explained by their effort to placcate Pakistan. It is difficult for our people to accept such a view without question, for even the comparatively unsophisticated seems to instictively realise that in the current power-alignments of the modern world a free and independent India, in spite of her policy of non-alignment, is a vital life line to the democracies and it is impossible to visualize that they would be willing to jeopardize their own safety simply with a view to placcating Pakistan whose importance to them, in any case, must be far less vital than that of India. The impression is left inevitably that our defence - needs have never been very clearly visualized, possibly even by those responsible for making policy. It were better that some effort were made to educate the people on the problems of defence, a process which might, presumably, enable authority also to educate itself at the same time, so that issues would not continue to be judged, as they seem to being done at the moment, wishfully and without facts.

As far as one is able to gather from information published piece-meal from time to time, our defence reorganization has been programmed to be phased in two instalments, first, much needed re-equipment of the existing army together with the 6 new divisions that were planned to be organized before the Chinese invasion ; the second phase being the projected build up to a strength of 21 divisions. It is generally supposed, although precise information is not naturally available, that much of this projected expansion will have been completed next year, which will include a fairly large increase in the striking capacity of the air force. The three year programme of expansion would cost somewhere around Rs. 3,000 crores, of which the Rs. 750 crores at the rate of Rs. 250 crores every year. So far, only Rs. 75 crores worth of assistance is said to have emanated from the U.S.A.

These figures may not be quite as sacrosanct as might generally be supposed, for very soon after the second Chinese offensive it had been argued that just about Rs. 500 crores would see our armed forces and the air force re-equipped and to build a fully modernized army consisting of a million personnel, a further Rs. 2,000 crores would be required. These are parts of rumours which, it would seem very urgent at the moment, to be properly dispelled by a factual study of inter-related questions of defence and a clear and dependable determination of requirements that would be just strong enough to protect our vital interests adequately and yet would not straddle our rather slender resources to such an extent that we would not be able to support it without jeopardizing development and progress. It is presumably possible to build up such a vast army with massive foreign assistance, but there would seem to be hardly any purpose in acquiring a military machine which would, in the end, be bound to sit on the country's chest with asphyxating impact. Nor, of course, there is any sense in maintaining an antiquated military machine such as we seem to possess at the moment.

This would seem to be a problem of the utmost seriousness and would brook no delay in arriving at a balanced, scientific and, as far as possible, abstemeous assessment of our actual defence needs. It must, of course, be strong enough to effectively defend our borders from possible aggression, but it need not be so strong as to overstep needs of defence and develop into an aggressive military machine of immense power. The urgency of such an assessment is conditioned by the fact that unless this is done, we are not able to go ahead with the task of economic development, or with anything else that is required to be done to maintain a healthy, progressive and wide awake national existence. To go ahead with our economic development programmes without a proper and realistic assessment of our possible defence involvement, might invite fresh set-backs on a two-pronged front, both economic and diplomatic. It is not nearly enough merely to say, as our Prime Minister seems to be very fond of doing frequently, that defence and development are inter-related problems. They are certainly inter-related, but there must be an assessment of priorities as between the two in physical terms and only when we know how we want to build up our defences as well as the type and the size of the military machine we want to have for the purpose, can we really purposefully address ourselves to development and other urgent national requirements.

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THE DEPRESSED ECONOMY OF WEST BENGAL*

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

A wealth of data on the economy of West Bengal has been collected in the report of the National Council of Applied Economic Research. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to summarise the findings of the survey on the economy of the State.

Illusion and Reality

The divergence between appearance and reality in the field of economic affairs in India is nowhere so pronounced as it is in West Bengal. The State has achieved a very high degree of land utilization (15 per cent more than the all-India average for agriculture, 60 per cent the geographical area being under plough. It has built up an industrial structure more varied and complex than anywhere else in India. As would be expected under such circumstances the State also enjoys a *per capita* income which is higher than in any other State. But, paradoxically, this apparent prosperity is not reflected in the realities of the standard of living of the people of the State who live in extreme poverty and misery. As the NCAER team observes : "West Bengal enjoys a higher *per capita* income (Rs. 281) compared to India as a whole. This comparison gives a misleading picture as the majority of the population do not earn enough to have a reasonable standard of living. Unemployment and underemployment are widespread and heavily encumber the economy. Productivity rates in all the sectors except for the few modern adjuncts of large-scale industries and commerce are among the lowest in the country." (Pp. 205-206).

Extreme Inequality

The inequality in the distribution of income is the most pronounced in West Bengal. Moreover, much of the income is transferred out of the State, leaving the State with very scant savings. West Bengal presents many features of a colonial economy where the benefits of development do not accrue to the local people but enrich the coffers of outside investors. To quote the NCAER, "Statistics of Income Tax returns reveal that income distribution within the State is more unequal than anywhere else in India. It is also seen that the corporate sector is relatively more developed in the State. Here is apparently a built-in mechanism for a relatively higher rate of saving. *However, there are extraordinary leakages in the shape of transfer of income and profits outside the State.* This means that the State income as a geographical concept is larger than the State income considered otherwise. *The higher State income and also average per capita income are thus a handsome, though, an elusive facade, behind which lurks extreme mystery* (misery ?). This, among other things, underlines the need for Central grants for development." (Para 1.29 Italics added).

Excessive Pressure on Land

West Bengal is the second most densely populated State in India, next only to Kerala. The average density of population rose by 258 persons during the past decade,—from 773 persons per square mile in 1951 to 1031 persons in 1961, and is expected to rise to 1,200 persons in 1966 and 1,360 persons in 1971. The following table shows the changing pattern of density of population in different districts of West Bengal :

* *Techno-Economic Survey of West Bengal*, National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi, 1962.

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TABLE I

Population Growth and Changing Pattern of Density of Population, 1951-1961.

Districts	1951 Area in sq. mile*	1951 Population†	1951 Density per sq. mile	1961 Area in sq. mile†	1961 Population†	1961 Density per sq. mile	Percentage increase of population 1951-1961
Darjeeling	1,854	459,617	248	1,160	624,879	539	35.96
Jalpaiguri	2,407	914,538	380	2,407	1,360,110	563	48.72
Cooch Behar	1,291	671,158	520	1,291	1,019,747	790	51.94
West Dinajpur	1,378	979,288	710	2,115	1,330,346	629	35.85
Malda	1,429	937,580	656	1,425	1,220,491	856	30.17
Murshidabad	2,095	1,715,759	819	2,086	2,293,074	1,099	33.65
Nadia	1,527	1,144,924	750	1,527	1,715,068	1,123	49.80
24-Parganas	5,306	4,459,492	840	5,288	6,293,758	1,190	41.13
Calcutta	10	2,698,494	269,849	39	2,926,498	75,038	8.45
Howrah	575	1,611,373	2,802	575	2,043,225	3,553	25.80
Hooghly	1,217	1,604,229	1,318	1,217	2,233,798	1,835	39.24
Burdwan	2,717	2,191,667	806	2,717	3,083,564	1,135	40.69
Birbhum	1,754	1,066,889	608	1,757	1,447,638	824	35.69
Bankura	2,653	1,319,259	497	2,653	1,667,527	629	26.40
Midnapur	5,264	3,359,022	638	5,264	4,349,069	826	29.47
Purulia	2,408	1,169,097	486	2,408	1,358,842	564	16.23
West Bengal	33,885	26,302,386	776	33,928	34,967,634	1,031	32.94

* *Census of India*, 1951, Paper No. 1, 1957. † Provisional population totals—1961 *Census*.

The pressure on land is excessive. Despite a very high degree of land utilisation for agriculture, the net area sown per head of agricultural population is only 0.80 acre in the State as against 1.80 acres in India as a whole. Expectedly the State has a lower *per capita* forest area than other States. The following table shows land utilisation in the districts. (See Table II on next page).

The cultivable waste land is estimated at 1.5 million acres or 7.5 per cent of the total area of the State. From the table above it would be seen that the areas supposed to be fit for reclamation are to be found in the districts of 24-Parganas (250,000 acres), Midnapore (246,000 acres), Bankura (237,000 acres), Jalpaiguri (185,000 acres), Burdwan (116,000 acres), Murshidabad (90,000 acres) and Cooch Behar (85,000 acres). But most of these areas are in fact unsuitable for cultivation. After careful consideration the NCAER estimates that only about 500,000 acres in all could be expected to be reclaimed at the most, involving an outlay of Rs. 10 crores.

Under such excessive pressure of population on land agriculture cannot prosper. West Bengal is no exception. It is a chronically food deficit area, and has a lower yield per acre than in many other States. The facts have been duly noted in the report : "The problems relating to agriculture in the State are mainly scarcity of arable land, low output per acre and per worker and underemployment of labour. In the prevailing situation these problems can be solved only in part through possible changes and adjustments in agriculture. A complete solution, however, will depend on a programme of integrated development spanning agriculture and other segments of the economy." (Para 3.2).

Distorted Urbanisation

A little less than a quarter of the population of West Bengal (23 per cent) resides in urban areas. But this is a misleading figure and does not reflect any genuine progress in urbanization and industrialisation. The increase in urban population (23 per cent during the past decade

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TABLE II

Districtise Land Utilization, 1956-57

('000 acres)

Districts	Area according to village papers	Area** under forest	Not available for cultivation	Other uncultivated land excluding current fallow	Current fallow	Net area sown	Area sown more than once	Total cropped area
Burdwan	1,731.5	31.6 (1.5%)	338.4 (19.5%)	116.4 (6.6%)	49.2 (2.8%)	1,195.7 (69.6%)	83.0	1,278.7 (73.8%)
Birbhum	1,115.5	6.0 (0.5%)	175.0 (15.6%)	41.0 (3.7%)	78.3 (7.1%)	815.2 (73.1%)	94.0	909.2 (81.5%)
Bankura	1,694.0	195.5 (11.5%)	149.5 (8.9%)	237.3 (14.0%)	260.5 (15.4%)	851.2 (50.2%)	53.0	904.2 (53.3%)
Midnapore	3,362.0	381.3 (11.2%)	311.7 (9.3%)	246.0 (7.3%)	207.8 (6.1%)	2,215.2 (66.1%)	125.7	2,340.9 (69.6%)
Howrah	358.5	—	87.0 (24.3%)	12.1 (3.3%)	35.3 (9.8%)	224.1 (62.6%)	41.0	265.1 (74.0%)
Hooghly	775.7	0.6	148.4 (19.0%)	31.9 (4.2%)	7.8 (1.1%)	587.0 (75.7%)	70.1	657.1 (84.7%)
24-Parganas	3,630.2	1,053.0 (29.1%)	635.0 (17.5%)	250.0 (6.8%)	67.2 (1.8%)	1,625.0 (44.8%)	270.1	1,895.1 (52.2%)
Nadia	965.8	—	138.0 (14.3%)	80.0 (8.3%)	56.5 (6.9%)	691.8 (71.5%)	360.3	1,052.1 (109.0%)
Murshidabad	1,326.1	—	183.0 (13.7%)	90.0 (6.9%)	120.6 (9.1%)	931.6 (70.3%)	402.0	833.8 (62.7%)
West Dinajpur	886.7	—	145.5 (16.3%)	38.7 (4.3%)	18.1 (2.0%)	684.4 (77.4%)	135.0	819.4 (92.4%)
Malda	890.9	—	89.0 (10.0%)	51.0 (5.7%)	41.4 (4.6%)	709.5 (79.7%)	186.2	895.7 (100.5%)
Jalpaiguri	1,519.6	361.4 (23.7%)	269.0 (17.8%)	185.0 (12.2%)	50.9 (3.4%)	653.3 (42.9%)	65.0	718.3 (47.2%)
Darjeeling	767.8	290.8 (37.9%)	184.5 (24.0%)	49.0 (6.3%)	26.0 (3.3%)	217.5 (28.5%)	40.1	257.6 (33.5%)
Cooch Behar*	823.4	—	111.7 (13.5%)	85.8 (10.4%)	10.1 (1.3%)	615.8 (74.8%)	103.7	719.5 (87.3%)
West Bengal†	19,847.7	2,320.2 (11.6%)	2,966.4 (14.7%)	1,514.4 (7.5%)	1,029.7 (5.8%)	12,017.0 (60.4%)	2029.5	14,046.5 (70.7%)

** Reserved and Protected forests.

* The Geographical area of Cooch Behar is 846,500 acres of which return for agricultural statistics does not exist for 23,100 acres. Classified break-ups are shown only for the remaining area of 823,400 acres.

† Excluding Purulia district.

Source : *Statistical Abstract, West Bengal*, 1958.

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1951-1961) was the result of the influx into existing urban centres of a large number of persons displaced in consequence of the partition of the State. The unevenness in the urban growth is reflected in the fact that about 86 per cent of the urban population is concentrated within the five districts of Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas, Burdwan and Calcutta (Together they account for less than 48 per cent of the total population of West Bengal). Malda is the least urbanized district where only 3.7 per cent of the population live in urban areas. In nine districts (out of a total of 16) urban population constitutes less than ten per cent of the total population. In eleven districts the percentage of urban population falls below the national average of 17. The following table shows the extent of urbanization in the various districts :

TABLE III

Urban Population as Percentage of Total Population by Districts (1951).

District	Urban population	Rural population	Percentage of urban to total population	Percentage of rural to total population
Darjeeling	94,481	350,779	13.1	86.9
Jalpaiguri	66,145	848,393	7.2	92.8
Cooch Behar	50,180	620,978	7.5	92.5
West Dinajpur	41,940	951,705	5.8	94.2
Malda	35,161	902,419	3.7	96.3
Murshidabad	134,927	1,580,832	7.8	82.2
Nadia	208,101	936,823	18.2	81.8
24-Parganas	1,365,969	3,243,340	29.8	70.2
Calcutta	2,548,677	—	100.0	—
Howrah	522,320	1,089,053	32.4	67.6
Hooghly	394,839	1,209,390	24.6	75.4
Burdwan	323,941	1,867,726	14.8	85.2
Birbhum	68,993	997,896	6.5	93.5
Bankura	94,618	1,224,641	7.2	92.8
Midnapore	252,880	3,106,142	7.5	92.5
Purulia	78,470	1,090,627	6.7	93.3
West Bengal	6,281,642	20,020,744	23.8	76.2

Sources : 1. *Census of India*, 1951, Paper 1, 1957.
2. *Statistical Abstract of West Bengal*—1958, State Statistical Bureau.

While 24 per cent of the people live in urban areas only less than 9 per cent of the population (or 15 per cent of the working force) is dependent on secondary occupations excluding mining. In other words there is no close correlation between urbanization and industrialisation.

EXCESSIVE LOCALISATION OF INDUSTRIES

Another disturbing aspect of the State's economy is the locational concentration of industries. All the industries are concentrated in Calcutta and its surrounding areas, the presently developing Asansol-Durgapur region and the tea growing districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. There is no industrial development in the other districts. There is wide regional variation in the availability of power as well. In 1958-59 about 90 per cent of the total energy consumption took place within the licensed area of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation,—Asansol, Durgapur, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling accounting for almost the whole of the remaining energy consumption in the State. The following table shows the regional pattern of power supply and demand :

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TABLE IV

Regional Pattern of Power Supply and Demand in West Bengal

Name of the area	Expected firm capacity at the end of Second Five-Year Plan Period (mW)	Anticipated demand in 1965-66 based on CWPC Load Survey (mW)
Region A		
Comprising the districts of Nadia, 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly, Midnapore, Bankura, Birbhum, Murshidabad	417.10* (Utilities) 99.59 (Self-generating industries)	1,138.59
Region B		
Comprising the districts of Malda and West Dinajpur	0.25	1.50
Region C		
Comprising the districts of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar	4.15	25.00

* The utilities in Region A do not include the recently completed 150 mW capacity of DVC Power Station at Durgapur.

Source : *State Electricity Board.*

Referring to the "unparalleled concentration" of industries in the Greater Calcutta Area the NCAER team observes : "With overcrowding, acute shortage of space and unbearable pressures on transport and civic amenities, this area is physically and almost completely saturated now and threatens to turn fast into an endless slum. Unless new regions within the State are developed and there is a drastic dispersal of industries to these regions, the State's unquestionable advantages for industrial location will suffer considerably." (Para 7.2).

Regional Imbalance in Education

The acute regional imbalance in the availability of power and the location of industrial units is also reflected in the literacy rates. The indusrtialised districts have generally higher literacy rates. Malda, the least urbanized district shows the lowest literacy rates. The following table is self-explanatory :

TABLE V

Number of Literate per 1000 persons, 1951 and 1961

District	1951*	1961†
Darjeeling	211	284
Jalpaiguri	144	193
Cooch Behar	150	211
West Dinajpur	147	198
Malda	95	136
Murshidabad	130	159
Nadia	210	269
24-Parganas	273	326
Calcutta	531	585
Howrah	283	360
Hooghly	246	345
Burdwan	206	294
Birbhum	176	222
Bankura	172	229
Midnapore	231	271
Purulia	141‡	183
West Bengal	245	291

* *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. VI, Part I-C—Report.
† Provisional Population Totals—*Census* 1961.
‡ *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. V, Bihar, Part II-A—Tables.

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Manpower Utilisation

Persons in the working age group (15—60 years) constitute about 60 per cent of the population. While the general sex-ratio is 100 males for every 86 females, the sex ratio in the working force is 100 males for 18 females disclosing an abnormal situation. Although during the period of three decades 1921-1951 the quantum of total manpower rose by 6.15 million, the population-manpower ratio remained virtually static since 1921 (when it was 59.1 per cent). Out of a total population of 26.30 million in 1951, the agricultural classes numbered 15.50 million (about 59 per cent of the total population). The incidence of dependency among the agricultural population is very high, the ratio of earners to dependents being 28 to 72.

Of the total manpower, 11.69 million (about 74 per cent) beong to the rural areas and the rest (26 per cent) belong to the urban areas. There was a higher percentage of workers (66 per cent) among urban population than among rural population (58 per cent). About 53 per cent of the workers are engaged in primary activities (including mining) while 47 per cent of the workers depend on agriculture for their living. The secondary occupations provide employment to 15 per cent of the working force while the tertiar sector accounts for 32 per cent of the workin force. The labour force is expected to rise upt 16.21 million by 1971. The following table show the projections of the NCAER.

TABLE VI

Population and Working Force Projections, West Bengal, 1961-71
(Millions of Persons)

Year	Population	Manpower	Labour force
1961	34.96	20.96	12.79
1966	39.36	23.62	14.41
1971	44.29	26.37	16.21

It has been found that over the thirty-yea period ending in 1951 the global (self-supportin working force) participation rate had gone dow by 15 per cent which would suggest that durin that period "the distribution of primary incom had turned to be more unequal. . . ." (Par 2.24).

A comparison of the sectorwise employment income pattern in West Bengal, India and th USA is shown in the following table prepare by the NCAER :

TABLE VII

Sectorwise Employment-Income Distribution in West Bengal, India and USA, 1951

Industries	*Per cent of Employment* (SS Workers)			*Per cent of Income*		
	West Bengal	India	U.S.A.	West Bengal	India	U.S.A
Primary (including mining)	53.4 (of which agriculture —47.3)	71.0 (of which agriculture —68.0)	13.3 (—)	40.0	52.0	10.5
Secondary (excluding mining)	15.3	9.0	29.2	18.2	15.0	32.0
Tertiary	31.3	20.0	57.5	41.8	33.0	57.5

Sources : For India and West Bengal, employm ent percentages are derived from the *Census of India*, 1951, and income percentages from the *State Income of West Bengal*, 1948-4 to 1951-52 (West Bengal Statistical Bureau) ; for the USA employment and incom percentages are from Colin Clark's *Condition of Economic Progress*. The US figures include a very insignificant percentage of employment for the armed ser vices in the tertiary sector.

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Unemployment

West Bengal is one of the States worst hit by unemployment. About five lakhs of persons (12 per cent of the urban manpower) were unempolyed in Calcutta and the industrial belt while about 5 per cent of the persons of working age were seeking full-time jobs in rural areas. "Increasing rural and urban unemployment is imposing a heavy burden on the economy and threatening to undermine the economic and social structure of the State," observes the NCAER team (p. 126).

Lagging Growth Rate

Another indication of West Bengal's economic illness is to be found in the extremely low rate of growth of per capita income which was 0.40 per cent per annum compared with the all-India growth rate of 1.5 per cent per annum (at 1955-56 prices) during the Second Five-Year Plan. (Para 11.8). Between 1921 and 1951 "the standard of living of the people remained virtually static, and the overall backwardness of the economy scarcely changed at all." (Para 2.22).

Prospect

The improvement in the economic conditions of West Bengal calls for adequate investment. The predominantly agricultural rural economy has to be diversified. It may also be necessary to encourage emigration of population from the State to other States.

The NCAER team has called for an investment of Rs. 2015.5 crores during the current decade (1961-71) which would bring about a rise in the State income from Rs. 1011.4 crores in 1961 to Rs. 1,758.5 crores in 1971. The investment works out at Rs. 46 *per capita* per annum and would ensure a growth rate of 7.4 per cent per annum. The *per capita* income is expected to go up at the rate of 3.7 per cent per annum, to reach the figure Rs. 397 by 1971 against an all-India average *per capita* income of Rs. 364 in that year. The following table shows the projected investment and rate of growth. (Please see Table VIII on next page).

Of the total proposed investment of Rs. 2015.5 crores during the decade ending in 1971, Rs. 644.9 crores will fall in the State sector, i.e., the State Government is expected to mobilize resources to the tune of Rs. 644.9 crores while the balance would be in the Central Sector. On the basis of existing taxation the State Government is expected to be able to mobilize Rs. 243.0 crores (or Rs. 307.6 crores at 1960-61 prices). There is thus a gap of Rs. 401.9 crores over the ten-year period which has to be filled up by additional taxation and Central assistance. The Central investment will have to be of the order of Rs. 1370.6 crores. This is not excessive in the context of all-India plans.

The projected investment "represents a little over 8 per cent of the anticipated total all-India investment of about Rs. 24,300,00 crores at 1955-56 prices (or Rs. 27,500.00 crores at 1960-61) prices. Since West Bengal accounts for about the same proportion of the country's population, the proposed investment for the State is justified also on the basis of the relative size of its population," the team observes. (Para 11.16 on p. 182. See also para 12.28 on p. 193).

Rural Industrialization

The emphasis is on industrialization as it should be, since there is no further scope for the generation of new employment opportunities in agriculture. An integrated programme of rural industrialization has been suggested to meet the needs of development of rural areas. The NCAER team observes: "Rural industrialization is one of the surest means of improving the conditions of living of the agricultural population. Agriculture being completely saturated and incapable of providing any further remunerative occupation to the people in the countryside, it is necessary to undertake an integrated programme of rural development in the coming years. Small industries will have an important part to play in such a programme." (Para 8.91). To obviate unhealthy competition between the large-scale industries and the decentralized industries the formulation of a common production programme has been suggested (para 8.96).

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TABLE VIII

Estimated Growth of Income in West Bengal during 1961-71.

(Income and Investment at 1955-56 prices)

Sectors	Projected income for 1960-61 (Rs. crores)	Investment proposed for 1961-71 (Rs. crores)	Capital output ratio	Projected additional income for 1961-71 (Rs. crores)	Projected total income for 1961-71 (Rs. crores)	Percentage increasé in income 1961-71	Weighted percentage increase in income 1961-71
Agricultural	253.0	85.0	0.75 : 1	106.2	359.2	41.98	10.50
Sericulture	—	1.1	—	—	—	—	—
Animal Husbandry	37.3	14.5	0.50 : 1	10.7	48.0	28.69	1.05
Forests	1.1	6.1	4.07 : 1	1.5	2.6	136.36	0.15
Fisheries	5.0	22.5	2.12 : 1	10.6	15.6	212.00	1.05
Total primary output	296.4	129.2	0.88 : 1	129.0	425.4	43.5	12.75
Factory industry	217.0	699.0	2.29 : 1	238.1	455.1	109.72	23.54
Non-factory industry	53.2	5.5	0.50 : 1	11.10	64.2	20.68	1.09
Mining	37.0	126.0	2.63 : 1	48.0	85.0	129.73	4.74
Power	2.8	320.0	15.24 : 1	21.0	23.8	750.00	2.08
Transport secondary output	310.0	1,150.5	3.13 : 1	318.1	628.1	102.61	31.45
Transport	N.A.	300.0	4 : 1	75.0	—	—	—
Social services	N.A.	435.8	2 : 1	225.0	—	—	—
Total tertiary output	405.0	735.8	2.50 : 1	300.0	705.0	74.07	29.67
Grand total	1,011.4	2,015.5	1.69 : 1	747.1	1,758.5	73.87	73.87

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EVOLUTION OF HINDI DRAMA

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

It is said that Brahma created Natya-veda as the fifth Veda by taking 'path' from the Rig-veda, 'gan' from the Samveda, 'abhinaya' from the Yajur-veda and 'ras' from the Atharva-veda. Shiva performed 'tandava' nrityam (the cosmic dance), Parvati gave 'lasya' nrityam (the creative dance) and Bharat Muni took up the art of 'abhinaya' (acting), **i.e.**, creation in order to give happiness (ras) and bring good (mangal) to mankind. In 'Theory of Drama' Nicoll, an eminent critic of English literature says that 'Drama is a copy of life, a mirror of custom, a reflection of truth: copying or imitating is an inherent trait of man because man is by nature imaginative. In India the origin of drama can perhaps be traced back to the Vedic period. In the Rigveda itself we come across a number of dialogue-hymns in which two or more characters address each other in verses: reference may be made to the famous Pururava-Urvasi hymn (Rig-veda x, 95) which "embodies one of the most romantic stories in literature." Dating from the third century B.C. at Sitabenga and Jogimara caves in Ramgarh Hill in south Bihar there are inscriptions to suggest that a developed dramatic art existed in India at that time. From the available sources it can be gleaned that well-known dramatists like Bhasa of Southern India (Kerala or Malabar) existed before Kalidasa, the greatest poet and dramatist of classical Sanskrit in India in the fifth century A.D. The plays of Bhasa, the play of Sudraka (Mrichha-katika: The Little Clay Cart), the immortal plays of Kalidasa and those of Bhavabhuti (8th century A.D.) are the representatives of ancient Indian drama.

In a country which has thus a long tradition in the sphere of literature, Hindi has her own importance although the history of Hindi drama is not very old. As a matter of fact, the art of writing dramas began with Babu Bharatendu Harishchandra whose period is taken to be a great turning point of Hindi literature. It is from his time that Hindi entered a new era. His changed outlook was practically brought by a sense of modernism. We, of course, get some dramas prior to Bharatendu but almost all of them lacked the spirit of a true drama. The drama 'Anand Raghunandan' written by Maharaja Biswanath Singh in Brajabhasha is very important and is claimed by Bharatendu himself to be the earliest drama in Hindi. Babu Gopalchandra alias Shri Giridhardas, father of Babu Bhartendu, wrote an original drama (moulik natak) 'Nahush' written in Brajabhasha and could not captivate the mind of the general public. After Gopalchandra mention may be made of Raja Lakshman Singh who translated the famous Sanskrit drama 'Shakuntala' into Hindi. This was perhaps the first work which was written in **Khadi-boli.** The author carefully translated this from pure Sanskrit avoiding Arabic and Persian words to make it commonly intelligible. In this drama we also find that the author has represented truly the thoughts of Kalidasa. It will not be wrong to say that before Bharatendu dramas in Hindi were written in Brajabhasha and in verse-form and they were more often than not translations.

At this time a strong influence of English drama was felt in India. In Bengal specially writing dramas with English spirit had already started. Bharatendu Babu, a good scholar of Bengali, was very much influenced by Bengali dramas. As a result he first translated the famous Bengali drama 'Vidyasundar' into Hindi. Vidyasundar in poetical form was the creation of the famous Bengali poet, Rai-Gunakar Bharat Chandra Rai and whose dramatic representation was made by Maharaja Jatindra Mohon. Bharatendu Babu with a reformative mind had the intention of presenting a true picture of the extant society. At the same time being imbued with a spirit of patriotism he had more often a nationalistic approach in his dramas. He was always conscious of the life of oppression which

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his countrymen were living at that time and from the core of his heart he intended to inject into the mind of his people a sense of unity, and a spirit of nationalism against foreign domination. He had the belief that if he could sow the seed of nationalism his successors would reap the whirlwind some time in future. In his 'Bharat Durdasha' he thus cried out:

'Aawahu sab milkar rowahu bhai
Ha, ha, Bharat-durdasha na dekhi jai'

[Come, let us cry out together; indeed, we can bear no more the pitiable condition of India]

Bharatendu Babu, in fact, had rightly watched the dark clouds that were looming large in the political and social sky of the country and in almost all his dramas he warned the Indian people about the catastrophe by asking them to be more cautious and courageous. Babu Bharatendu wrote a number of dramas which encourage the maimed spirit of man for times to come: some of his dramas being translations and some being original. His 'Pakhand Biramban' is a literal translation of the third act of Probodh Chandrodaya. In it we get psychological aspects of man's life like reverence, happiness and compassion. The Sanskrit drama 'Dhananjaya Vijaya' of Kavi Kanchan was translated in a lucid style. This tells us the story of Duryodhana's stealing the cows of the Pandavas who were staying in the capital of King Virat during the period of their disguise and of Arjuna's recovering the cows after defeating the Kauravas. 'Karpura-Manjari' was translated from the Prakrit work of the same name. Bharatendu Babu has kept in this work the true spirit of the original drama. Another important drama which he created at about the same time is 'Mudrarakshasha', translation from the Sanskrit drama written by Vishakhadatta. In 'Mudrarakshasha' whatever was written in verse in the original, the translation was made in verse and the translation was made in prose where the original was in prose. 'Durlabha-Bandhu' was the translation of Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice. In this drama Bharatendu used Indianised forms of names of the original characters—Shylock becoming Shailaksha, Bassanio being called Basanta, Antonio as Ananta, Portia as Purushri, Lorenzo as Lavanga and Jessica as Jashoda.

'Satya-Harishchandra' was a very popular drama and is still one of the famous dramas in Hindi literature. Dr. Shyamsundar Das and Babu Brajaratna think this to be Bharatendu's original composition, although Ramchandra Sukul does not agree with this view. His unfinished play 'Premjogini' deals with the ills of religious organizations of Banaras. In 'Chandravali' the main theme centres around devotion and love of God. Bharatendu has himself regarded his 'Bharat-Janani' more an opera than a drama. In this work there is only one scene and the subject-matter is patriotism, the feeling of which germinates and reaches the culmination only in course of one scene. His 'Bharat-Durdasha' still pains an Indian mind. It is a six-act complete play, in which memories of the past have first been recalled and then a true picture of the existing state of the country is drawn and an effort has been made to rejuvenate the fallen spirit. 'Nil-devi' is a historical tragedy and it is perhaps the first tragedy in Hindi of the modern period. We find, however, a biased Bharatendu in the thoughts of this drama. Cleverness and narrow-mindedness of the Muslims is the main object which the drama has centred round. His 'Sati-pratap' is based on the eternal story of Savitri and Satyavana, which keeps burning the flame of chastity of Indian womanhood. Bharatendu could not complete this drama and to his cousin-brother Babu Radhakrishan Das goes the credit of its completion.

Besides, Bharatendu also successfully wrote several humorous plays (prahasan, i.e., farce); the main idea of writing such works was to hint at the ills of the prevalent society and thereby to entertain the public. His famous 'prahasan' 'Vaidiki Himsa himsa na bhavati' was a sarcasm about meat-eaters who to satisfy their voracious appetite adopted violence in the name of religion. As a matter of fact these people used to propagate their action of killing animals to be non-violent because accord-

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ing to them they were prone to do this only for the sake of religion. In 'Vishashya Vishamahausadham' the incidents relate to the dethroning of Maharaja Malhao Rao of Gaekwad and a policy of 'ti-for-tat' has been pleaded. The last of his humorous plays 'Andher Nagari' is very popular, even up to the present day. This play is written in six acts and in it he has dealt with an eternal problem of life. In this work the character of such a king has been drawn in whose kingdom there is not a single place where one can get justice.

Bharatendu always asked his friends to write such dramas which should inspire the countrymen. Among his friends Lala Srinivasdas wrote several dramas among which 'Tapatismabaran', 'Prahlad-parichay,' 'Samyogita-svayambar' and 'Ranadhir Prem-mohini' are the most important, the last one being a tragedy, and being influenced by the spirit of English drama, Romeo and Juliet. After Srinivasdas, Badrinarayan Chaudhuri's 'Premghan' became very popular. But his 'Bharat Saughagya' viewed from artistic representation claims no importance. At about this time social dramas were also being written in Hindi. After Bharatendu the more famous dramatist was Pratap-narayan Mishra. Mishraji gained wide popularity by writing several humorous sketches among which four are very popular: 'Go-sankat', 'Kali-prabhava', Juari-khwari' and 'Hathi Hammir', the last one relates the story of Alauddin's attack on Chitore. Radhakrishnadas, cousin-brother of Bharatendu, is regarded to be the famous dramatist of this age. His 'Dukhiniwala' is a social drama dealing with the evil effects of the existing marriage custom; 'Maharani Padmavati' and 'Maharana Pratap' are historical dramas. 'Maharana Pratap' is very popular and has been staged on several occasions in different parts of the country. In this drama we find that besides incidents relating to Maharana himself, incidents concerning two other objects, viz., Gulab and Malati made the drama more appealing. Keshabram Bhatta wrote 'Sajjad Sambul' and 'Samshad Sausan' in which the characters are Muslims and thus insertion of many Indo-Persian words was made. After this we get a period of translated dramas of the ffamous dramatist of Bengal, Dwijendra Lal Roy, among which 'Shajahan' and 'Mewar Patan' are the most important. At this time some of Tagore's dramas were also translated but most of them were 'rupak' of the original ones. Shakespeare's dramas were also translated. It was again during this period that some original (maulik) dramas, mostly social, were written but some of them were historical and some humorous. Mishrabandhu wrote his famous 'Netronmilan' : Maithili Sharan came on the field with his 'Madhur Milan' while Badrinath Bhatta wrote several historical dramas and humorous sketches like 'Durgavati,' 'Chandragupta,' 'Ben-Charitra, 'Chungiki-ummedbari' and Rai Deviprasad gave his 'Chandrakanta Bhanukumar.'

Another interesting point which we must not lose sight of is that there were some who wrote dramas only for certain Persian theatre companies. In this group mention may be made of Narayan Prasad 'Betab,' Pandit Radheshyam Kathabachak, Pandit Harikrishna Jauhar and Aga. Among these commerical dramatists the most successful was Radheshyam. His 'Abhimanyu' became a hot favourite of stage-goers and was staged on very many occasions. These dramas, written for theatrical companies, were not so important from literary standpoints but nevertheless they attained wide popularity.

The succeeding period once again produced dramas of high order by bringing in a man of versatile genius. This man was Prasad with whom Hindi drama reached its acme. Prasad is known as the D. L. Roy of Hindi literature. After Bharatendu he is perhaps the greatest dramatist in Hindi. After reading Prasad's dramas it becomes sometimes difficult to assert whether he was first a dramatist and then a poet. Almost all his dramas are historical. The special features of Prasad as a drmatist are that he searched for a solution of modern problems in the past. This became possible only because he had an extensive knowledge of the history of our land. It is indeed difficult to write a historical drama because in this case the dramatist has to present the past in a modern environment. In a sense we can say that the past of India

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really speaks out in Prasad's dramas. According to time of composition his dramas can be arranged in the following order :

(1) Sajjan, (2) Kalyani-parichay, (3) Karunalaya, (4) Prayashchitta, (5) Rajyashri, (6) Vishakh, (7) Ajatshatru, (8) Kamana, (9) Janmejaya ka Nagayajna, (10) Skandagupta, (11) Ek Ghunt, (12) Chandragupta and (13) Dhruvaswamini.

From his dramas it becomes clear that he liked the Buddhist period most and he was, as it were, deeply influenced by Buddhist doctrines. He himself had said once why he preferred writing historical dramas to other types of dramas :

"Itihas ka anushilan kisi bhi jati ko apna adarsh sanghatit karne ke lie atyant labhdayak hota hai.....kyonki hamari giri hui dasha ko uthane ke lie hamare jalvayu ke anukul jo hamari atit sabhyata usse barhkar aur koi adarsh hamare anukul hoga ki nahin mujhmen purna sandeha hai. . . . . Meri ichha bharatiya itihas ke aprakashit amsh men se un prakand ghatnaon ka digdarshan karane ki hai jinhone ki hamari vartaman sthiti ko banane ka bahut kuch prayatan kia hai." Prasadji wrote his dramas 'Sajjan' and 'Janmejaya ka Nagyajna' basing his themes on the Mahabharata. In the second one Prasadji hinted at the relation of Naga Takhshaka with the Naga tribes of India. In this play Indra was regarded not as any deva (god) but the first king of the Aryans. His Chandragupta' depicts the history from the end of the Nandas to the rise of the Mouryas. The special characteristics to be remembered about Prasadji's dramas are (a) historical value, (b) the story is always based on inner conflicts of man, (c) importance of characterisation, (d) a feeling of sympathy and compassion always runs in the readers' mind, (e) the glorification of womanhood, (f) ending in comedy, (g) a musical note and (h) following principles of drama.

Prasadji in fact covered the period from the Mahabharata down to the period of Harshavardhana in his dramas and it has been always his view that India shall always have to learn lessons from the golden periods of her history. He hardly distorted the main characters from their historical entity but in order to cope with the period in which he lived he had to give modern touches to his dramas. The greatest drawback of his dramas is however that all of them were written in verse and the language was pedantic and somewhat obscure and this is the reason why his dramas could not be staged in their orginal forms. Another feature is that the natural trend of each of his dramas bore an abstruse philosophy hardly intelligible to common readers. Prasadji had a high regard for Indian womanhood and the female characters have always been given prominence and males have become more often mere tools in the hands of females.

Round about this period a new kind of play was produced in Hindi. The most important features of this type of dramas were 'the naturalistic presentation of life, an analysis of the individual's inner difficulties lying at the root of social problems and contempt for superficial idealism.' Kripanath Mishra's 'Mani Goswami' belonged to this category and also gained wide populaity. Lakshminarayan Mishra produced a series of challenging plays like 'Sindoor ki holi,' 'Rakshas ka mandir' and 'Mukti ka rahasya.' Ramkumar Varma and Upendra Nath Ashk have attempted and achieved 'a fair measure of synthesis between the realistic and thoughtful drama on the one hand and the dynamic pace and emotional appeal of the stage on the other.' Ashk throughout his various dramas tried to follow a technique 'which is clearly thought out and planned.' He has tried to present an idealistic philosophy, his chracters were always ideal chracters to guide the present society. Seth Govind Das has tried to produce type characters and Vrindaban Lal Varma, a staunch advocate of historical romances, wrote plays dealing with contemporary themes and problems. Writers like Yashpal and Prabhakar have turned to drama and are producing dramas based on the varied problems of modern life. These dramatists are to a great extent, influenced by Shaw and Ibsen and with the co-mingling of thoughts there is every possibility that good dramas will be produced in Hindi and enrich the field of Hindi literature.

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SOCIAL AND PUBLIC SERVICES AND SOCIAL BALANCE

By Prof. Mrs. ASHALATA BOSE, M.A.,
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Human wants are to be provided for by individual and co-operative efforts. Through private efforts (individual and group) production of goods and services continues in society and increased production seems to create opulence as regards goods and services, while the proper enjoyment of these very same goods may presuppose the existence of certain services which can best be provided by ways other than the private, although in the past these were mostly rendered by private agencies. Whenever the latter needs are neglected the result is social imbalance or "Social discomfort and social Unhealth".* Here lies the need for the growth and development of social and public services (welfare services rendered by either private organisations or by public authority—today the special duty of the State) for restoring the balance.

It is the common supposition that the social services are needed mainly in a backward and poverty-stricken society. But they are as much important and necessary in an affluent society which has equally to deal with the problem of maintaining social balance. For, ever-increasing opulence in privately produced goods may easily co-exist with public poverty, (e.g., shortage of municipal and metropolitan services). With economic growth, the need for welfare srvices also grow. Without fulfilling the latter, the performances of the first cannot be spectacular. Functions of welfare services may be deterrent and protective in a less developed society, but in a growing society they are of urgent necessity for providing social balance.

Prof. Galbraith's view on social balance may be put in a summarised form thus: that there is a close relationship between the manufacture of various kinds of products and a change in conditions of production of one industry will always have repercussions on the demand and production of other products. So unless expansion in one direction, is matched by expansion in other directions simultaneously, bottlenecks, shortages, hoarding of scarce supplies and sharp rise in costs will be the result. Similarly there is need for balance in what the community consumes. Increased use of one product creates a requirement for others. Every increase in consumption will require "some facilitating or protective" step by the State. When a satisfactory relation is evolved between private (or public) production and consumption of goods and services on the one hand and the welfare services on the other, a social balance will be achieved. Another factor which causes loss of social balance and is a corollary of private production and consumption is that increased stress on production and consumption, i.e., on opulence will create an urge for increasing the family income by having as many wage-earners as possible within the family. So if both the parents are engaged in earning incomes, the burden on the public services is further increased. If the services of the community do not keep pace with increased production and consumption, there will be social disorder.

From the above-noted theory of social balance it is clear that welfare services should form an essential part of any plan for economic growth. Social services are necessary for redressing the problems arising out of the friction of old and new social and economic forces and thus to solve the problem of social adjustments or for defending society against the long-standing and invisible and therefore apparently invincible enemies such as moral depravities and deplorable habits or traits or to cure the visible maladies like communicable diseases, immoral institutions or economic

*Prof. J. K. Galbraith—**The Affluent Society**, Chapter XVIII.

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insecurities like unemployment, inflation and price instabilities. They are needed also for restoring balance in social and economic life. Increased production creates new problems such as production of new cars require more parking space and wider roads. Increased production and consumption of a variety of foods call for more medical services. Increased production, and therefore increased income creates a number of problems which require the help of social and public services for their appropriate solution. There are today so many things competing for the attention of the young such as motion pictures, television and a number of addictions to obnoxious habits and things besides the **school,** educational institutions or the local dramatic club, that the latter (educational institutions and dramatic clubs) are losing their position of prestige and power, their hold on young lives. The resultant growth of juvenile delinquency, crimes and shameful habits of a magnitude that are worrying western society today. This is the result of the absence of a proper correlation between production and consumption of goods and the so-called welfare services—may we call it social services or public services. Prof. Galbraith uses the word public services and not social services but uses it to include the whole range of social services plus public services like police, medical services as well as education.

Anyway, what is true of an affluent society where every increase in private production should be matched by an increase in the public services, it is all the more true of a so-called under-developed society which has embarked on a programme of development like India. It is not only that India has the burden of past injustices and wrongs to bear which were inflicted on her by foreign rulers but also the legacies of past social forces and institutions which have spent their vitality and outlived their utility. The burden on her has been made all the heavier by the friction of her culture and economic system which might be described as insular within the wider currents of western civilisation and economic forces which began to filter into India, since the end of the 18th century. Over and above this, India is set upon a programme of achieving economic growth which means rapid changes in the social set-up, creation of new prestiges and new values, new privileged classes apeing western culture and increased urbanization of population.

At the same time the old social structure and old values continue to remain. So to restore balance we have all the more need for social welfare agencies, be they private or public, but preferably public. The role of social and public services in economic planning for reducing frictions to the minimum and for helping imbalances to dissolve, therefore, should not be minimised. There is need for very carefully planned and organised welfare services in this respect. There was a time when within the framework of the village the economic and social needs could be fulfilled easily and religious and social traditions and institutions could cope with the problem of keeping balance in society between its economic needs and social problems. But to-day life is exposed to the risks of doubtful new entertainments, new exotic fashions and ideas, new social behaviours, (new types of anti-social behaviours also) new addictions, etc., which have aggravated social instability and which, therefore, require organised effort to stall them. So any slackening of effort in these respects, particularly in the field of education is bound to create bottlenecks in our planning and affect our growth.

At this moment of emergency, social welfare services appear to be doubly necessary as the question of keeping social balance is not only necessary in the interest of keeping the economic system going but to provide greater resources to meet the challange of defence (modern warfare, needless to say, requires a strong economic base). They are also required to keep the social troubles and **unbalance** to the minimum, to make society less vulnerable to ideological attacks as the present emergency indicates need for two sorts of defence, one for the protection of our physical frontiers and the other for the

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protection and preservation of our democratic culture and organisations against ideological attacks from the enemy.

Social work cannot be kept in abeyance in an emergency like the present one. It may be noted that there is not less of social services, rather more; but such services are diverted from our immediate life and problems, i.e., from the civilian life to the military. So the social balance is disturbed as a wider gap is left than before in the matter of these welfare services in our ordinary civilian life. As pointed out above, there is great need for preserving this balance during an emergency to minimise discontent in society, to relieve social tensions so as to foster a sense of national unity and purpose in the face of a national danger.

India being a land of many languages, religions and diverse customs, the task of preserving unity in the midst of diversity is of greater significance than it had ever been before. This task of national integration can only be performed when there is a strong base of well-planned welfare services under the care of the State for preserving the social balance. It cannot be achieved by half-hearted measures or by encouraging a mere patchwork of voluntary efforts which have become to-day a favourite pastime of ladies from well-to-do families or very often they are a means to achieve other goals, viz., to win name and fame in public life and sometimes a means of livelihood even for some interested individuals or groups. This observation does not mean any aspersion on the well-organised voluntary institutions for social welfare work or well-meaning persons of means who with their resources, intelligence and imagination will be an asset to any scheme or plan of welfare service organised by the State for preserving social balance. Such efforts by private individuals or institutions should by all means be encouraged and integrated with State efforts in this respect.

II.

To revert to the public services in the broad sense in which Prof. Galbraith used it in order to assess the importance of such services in the context of planning in a developing country, there is no denying the fact that there is a great and urgent need for them in India in her attempts at rapid economic development. Planning is a necessity for an under-developed country like India. But the very process and methods of the plans to achieve their ends, have raised a cloud of problems besides those of failures to achieve the desired and pre-determined ends or so to say, the shortfalls in expectations. To quote a few, the restrictive import policy makes the producers of some goods inattentive towards improvement of quality or the need for lowering of costs because of the protection enjoyed by them against competition of better-produced foreign goods. Import restrictions on standardised medicines and similar essential goods tend to cause such things to be substituted by inferior and costlier articles produced at home at the cost of health and comfort. Thus a large part of the rise in income generated under the Plans is wiped away in the shape of dearer and inferior essential goods. Here is the need for public services in the shape of institutions for determining standards of quality, for keeping a vigillant eye on costs of production, restrictions of harmful trade practices, etc., in short, any public effort for control of quality and costs. Similarly customs procedure and costs make the prices of technical and scientific books (other books as well) too heavy for the purse of students, teachers and institutions making for the slow progress of scientific and technical knowledge and research in India.

A suitable public service can easily remove the above-mentioned difficulty. Planning of cities, housing, well-planned medical services, education both at the lower and the higher levels—all these public services become urgently necessary with increase in employment and income. Then the heavy taxation, a necessary appendage of planning in India, which is more broad-based than it had been before, reduces the present expendable income and the saving capacity of the people and therefore, must

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organise public welfare services in the shape of provisions for sickness, old age and free or subsidised education for children. Even the scheme of compulsory savings, compelling people at large to save, makes such savings non-available for personal emergencies to meet which a majority in a poor country try to save. All these show that Government has to watch out for the possible effects of its own actions in implementing its policies, on the people for the welfare of whom such policies have been chosen.

Planning itself is a public service agency in a broad sense providing balance among different sectors of the economy in their growth and development. But even after more than a decade of planning in India, a balanced development has not taken place in all the sectors. Agricultural production has not increased to the desired levels. Here also proper attention has not been paid to the need for arranging social and public services for solving the problems of human relations, for providing that individual initiative and drive without which no scheme of agricultural progress will ever be successful, however much attention be paid to the physical aspects of agriculture. It is only through sincere attempts to resolve all social rigidities and differences that agrarian reform can take root in the rural life.

The question would now appear to be this—whether the Government set-up in under-developed countries to-day is able to shoulder or carry on to the finish the stupendous task of economic development, while at the same time avoiding the undesireable effects or **unbalances** which may result from the very effort. Democracy in the newly free countries appears to be either very unstable or little different from autocratic models elsewhere, perhaps, because of lack of strong opposition; too many opposition parties; lack of parliamentary traditions or of the passive acceptance by the illiterate or inert people of the ruling party's actions with very little or no criticism. In a truly free society there can be a matching growth of public services to restore balances and to correct maladjustments in economic and social fields created by efforts towards rapid growth. But in a society where traditions of liberal democracy and independent and fearless public opinion are lacking and governmental activities are not constantly exposed to unsparingly critical examination and evaluation by agencies of public opinion, such a growth of public services as balancing factors can hardly be expected.

The State in newly free countries desiring quick economic transformation but without long traditions of liberal democracy and, therefore, politically immature, is apt to imitate models of autocracy as experimented with more or less apparent success in some countries. Thus it may be tempted to overstep the limit in its anxiety to strike at the root of the possibility of friction and loss of balance and too much of centralisation of control and nationalisation may follow. By doing so it may cease to be a co-ordinating factor and may destroy whatever elasticity or capacity for self-adjustment and self-generating growth the system may possess.

To conclude, therefore,—democratic traditions and ideals should be upheld and maintained by all means. Then only the State will be able to render its public welfare services in such a way that frictions and imbalances are kept to the minimum in social and economic aspects of life.*

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* The writer is indebted to Prof. J. K. Galbraith's book, **The Affluent Society**, Chapter XVIII, entitled "The Theory of Social Balance."

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VIVEKANANDA'S FAITH AND THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION

By MONONIT SEN

It is common knowledge that Swami Vivekananda was vehemently opposed to all forms of priestcraft, casteism and, above all, "samskara," all of which, in his opinion, were eating into the vitals of the nation and dwarfing its growth. He condemned in no unmistakable terms all those trying to perpetuate these social evils. He went so far as to advise his countrymen to shun the company of such people. Regrettably, there has been no improvement in the position worth the name, even after so many years. The masses, as also a considerable section of the educated people, remain victims of priestcraft, superstition and prejudices. Our Government, painfully conscious of these shortcomings in our national life, is making earnest endeavours to root out the evils that stand in the way of national integration and progress.

The sannyasins of the Ramakrishna Mission are the trusted adherents of Vivekananda's articles of faith. But strangely enough, they fight shy of giving adequate publicity to Swami Vivekananda's strong denunciation of priestcraft, casteism and "samskara" lest the sympathy of the orthodox should be alienated, as there is every possibility of their susceptibilities being wounded. The Mission holds classes almost daily in different parts of Calcutta and discourses are given on the **Gita** and the **Bhagavata**; but the holding of a single class for spreading Swami Vivekananda's message on the evils of priestcraft, casteism and "samskara", that will ultimately lead to the all-round progress of the country, has never yet been heard of. Incidentally, it will be quite appropriate to reproduce an extract from Swami Vivekananda's famous lecture delivered at the World Parliament of Religions, Chicago. He said ".....the crying evil in the East is not religion—they have religion enough—but it is bread that the suffering millions of burning India cry out for with parched throats. They ask for bread but we give them stones. It is an insult to a starving people to offer them religion; it is an insult to a starving man to teach him metaphysics." Evidently, the present performance of the Ramakrishna Mission is suggestive of the fact that it is inclined more to the perpetuation rather than the eradication of the aforesaid social evils, so strongly deprecated by Swami Vivekananda which, **ipso facto,** does not also conform to the wishes of our Government. Also the gospel of Harmony Of All Religions, so earnestly preached by both Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, following the example of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen, is no more the concern of the Mission.

Every serious student of Vivekananda literature is equally aware how deeply he felt for the woeful plight of the half-clad, semi-starved, illiterate, downtrodden masses,—the perennial source of supply of articles of food, clothing and other luxuries to the indolent rich. He considered himself a socialist and gave a clarion call to his followers and countrymen to shake off their lethargy and make the best of endeavours to instil into their minds a sense of awareness that they are also sons of God and have the same inherent right to share and enjoy equally with the rich the fruits of their toils and tears. Swami Vivakananda also fully realised that for national regeneration, mass education was an immediate and imperative necessity. He accordingly urged his followers with all emphasis to undertake this all-important work with a missionary zeal without delay.

In order to implement Swami Vivekananda's aforesaid message, one has to move about from village to village throughout the country, visiting every hamlet and its inmates and living on alms and spending the nights under a tree or in the court-yard of a hospitable house-holder, in the same manner as 'Sramanas' carried and spread Gautama

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Buddha's gospel to every nook and corner of the land.

But what we find today is that, the sannyasins of the Ramakrishna Mission live luxuriously in magnificent palaces, built at fabulous cost, the envy of the richest of the rich, while hunger, disease, ignorance, lack of adequate shelter, etc., stalk the land. They make a very poor show of social service by the free distribution of a few pounds of powdered milk or a few phials of medicine, which is nothing but the tiniest drop in the vast ocean of human sufferings. The few schools, opened in and around towns by the Mission for imparting higher secondary education, are the despair of even the middle-class people. The spread of primary education among the masses, the most pressing need of the hour, which entails prolonged stay in the remotest villages, devoid of all modern amenities of urban life, obviously finds no favour with them. A hotel de luxe is run by the Mission under the pseudonym of International Guest House, the finest example of the monastic mode of life of Vivekananda's conception! On present indications, one wonders whether the Ramakrishna Mission is gradually drifting towards the establishment of another Papal State. Swami Vivekananda in his rare wisdom must have clearly foreseen these things among his disciples and as a note of warning he aptly observed, "Sitting in luxurious homes, surrounded by all the comforts of life and doling out a little amateur religion may be good for other lands. But India has a truer instinct. She easily detects the mask." Of all persons, even Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose of hallowed memory was so much disgusted with the doings of the Ramakrishna Mission, that in exasperation he thus wrote in his Autobiography, "Vivekananda's teachings have been neglected by his own followers—by the Ramakrishna Mission which he had founded—and we are going to give effect to them."

Incidentally, a pertinent passage from Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen's writings, is recalled to my mind, in which he gave vent to his feelings more than eight decades ago, in relation to the activities of the Christian Missionaries in India. The aforesaid passage so closely portrays the picture of the present-day Ramakrishna Mission that it is worth reproduction. Thus wrote Brahmananda, "The bearers of the Cross to India have mostly diverted their zeal and energy into other fields. The School-master's vocation seems to have charms for many, and has allured a considerable number of Padris in the great cities into schools and colleges, where they are busy in preparing Hindu. Intellects for University examinations instead of training Hindu souls for Christ's kingdom. The Reverend Professor is always teaching Mathematics and History, neglecting the higher teaching for which he has been sent out. How many secular agents there are in India who can teach secular things! Why then should the valuable talents and energies of Christ's apostles and agents be wasted in such fields of work? Let them go forth where Christ summons them and perform their legitimate duties to which he incessantly calls them. The benighted millions, sunk in idolatory and superstition, in scepticism and worldliness, with hands uplifted are ever and anon imploring spiritual ministration and counsel! Will the missionary refuse them help?"

To pay homage to Swami Vivekananda without proper appreciation and propagation of his teachings would be sheer hypocrisy. If the sannyasins of the Mission are really sincere in doing honour to their illustrious Guru, the only way open to them is to turn their immediate attention to the emancipation of the slumbering masses from all social evils and religious dogmas, which was so near and dear to his heart. Will the sannyasins rise to the occasion? The mere holding of celebrations with the display of selected passages from Swami Vivekananda's various speeches and writings, as also meetings addressed by V.I.P.'s, extolling his virtues, without any serious attempt to follow them up by acts and deeds, may have some temporary emotional effect, but will be of no material benefit to the people and the country.

In conclusion, I would crave the indul-

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gence of the readers for quoting another, a significant passage from Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen's lecture on "Religious And Social Reformation" delivered at Bombay. He said, "There is no want of reformers: there is only want of reform. There is no want of eloquence or orations: there is only want of deeds. There is no want of profession, but there is want of practice".

LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By Mrs. DEVIPROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY

XII

It was the middle of June, 1957. I started on my homeward journey leaving our old home in Madras after years of sojourn in the place. The past has many a tale to tell and with the sound of the revolving wheels of the train, these came crowding into my brain. The uncertain future and the thought that I shall never come back to Madras again, ruffled my mind and I was disconcerted by all sorts of apprehensions.

My husband had a few more days to finish his term as the Principal of the School of Arts and Crafts and could not accompany me in my journey. He gave me to understand, he would join me within a few months' time, as soon as he finished the works he had undertaken. One was the statue of Gandhiji which I have already mentioned. The other was "The Triumph of Labour" which composition in bronze he was then doing for the Madras Government. Both the works were nearing completion and could not take more than six months to finish.

Not long after this I was informed that fresh work was offered and had to be accepted. His plea was, one must earn to live. That meant further extension of his stay in Madras.

The studio for bronze casting was situated at Chromepet, a suburb of Madras, quite a distance from the city.

While at the school the artist had to go there often for inspection of the castings of his works. There is no difficulty about transport since electric trains run at an interval of every 12 or 15 minutes. After his connection with the school had ceased and he could not make further use of the studio there, he resolved to make Chromepet his working centre. But there were a few serious impediments on the way. Crossing the over-bridge was one. Another great aversion of the artist was walking on foot except when going on *shikar* expeditions. Now from Chromepet Station to the studio was quite a few yards' walk and no conveyance were available except a few dilapidated rickshaws. How then this difficulty was to be overcome? The only solution was to find a suitable residential quarter at Chromepet. Since the wife was away and this was going to be a temporary arrangement, he soon rented a small bungalow near the studio and shifted there with his bags and baggages.

During the day the artist was kept busy with his work. The evenings he spent with his thoughts sitting in the small verandah outside, not a very coveted position. These thoughts were not always pleasant. On the contrary, they were most exasperating at times. We are all aware that the amount one earns does not belong to him alone. He has to a share it not only with those who assist him in his work and deserve a portion of it but also with those who though have no part in the labour yet have a claim on the income according to the law of the land. To an artist to calculate and find out how much should come to his share is indeed an irksome job. One faulty step and you are enmeshed in the snare of law. On account of this our artist, I am told, was often found in the tenterhooks of excitement and anxiety. This, added to his lonely atmosphere, soon had a detrimental effect on his once enviable health. He fell into the grip of insomnia. About the end of December, 1958, I was informed by friends that my husband was seriously ill which necessitated my presence in Madras.

Destiny, I suppose, was playing a game with me. For at this juncture I was found unfit to travel such a long distance all by myself. An

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attack of Flu had affected my constitution considerably. As soon as I felt strong enough, I boarded the train for Madras and arrived at the Central Station on the morning of January 19, 1959.

I was received by a number of persons who assured me that my husband's health had much improved and there was no cause for anxiety. I was taken to the hotel where he was residing at the time for undergoing necessary treatment. Sri Deviprosad was standing on the open terrace and welcomed me with a broad smile. He looked much pulled down and his voice was so feeble that it was not audible unless one came close to him. Since he was kept on starvation diet to reduce his weight, this was not surprising. One whose daily meal consisted of all sorts of rich and spicy dishes, had to be content with two *chapatis* or two slices of dry bread and a few inspid vegetable preparations !! Surely this could not have satisfied his palette. But since he had no one to complain to or find fault with, he swallowed this without grumbling. But this attitude changed completely shortly after the arrival of the wife. He became disgruntled and declared he had heavy work before him and must be given some substantial food to bring back his normal strength. "Do you expect me to live on grass all the time?", was his query. I took to the tactics of dealing with a child and said I was willing to give him everything that the doctor permitted but he must get the permission for me. This satisfied him to some extent. I suppose he believed this would not be difficult, he would be able to win the doctor over to his side by drawing his sympathy: But when he found it was not so easy to beguile the doctor he resigned himself to his lot and his complaints became less frequent.

I was happy to be back in Madras for the sake of old associations and also because I could once more be in the midst of friends whom I had learnt to love. This of course was possible so long as I was in the hotel. The period was very brief. My husband was getting impatient to get back to Chromepet and start the work that was waiting for him. Therefore as soon as the doctor allowed we set off for our temporary abode.

I must confess that when I arrived at our destination my spirit was somewhat damped. The little place was more an office than a dwelling house. All the necessities of daily life had to be collected from Madras, not a desirable position at all for a housewife. No possibility of social intercourse either except through telephone or occasional visits to the city. The monotony of the existence was often broken towards the evenings by visits from the students. It was then that we had some interesting and animated discussion on different subjects,—art, music, literature and even *shikar*. Needless to add that my husband conducted the major portion of the conversation while the others listened.

One of the students who was also an assistant of the artist was a good mimic. Whatever might have been his name, my husband insisted on addressing him as Chinu and the latter always answered to that call without even attempting to correct him. Occasionally this Chinu would entertain us by imitating some of those whom we happened to know. The chief victim of his mimicry was of course his master. Chinu had worked under him for years and made a fairly good study of his moods and characteristics. For the amusement of those who care to read this article, I shall narrate a few episodes in connection with the artist which he enacted for our benefit. But I am afraid the beauty of its fun would be lost in translating from its original Bengali. Besides the most important part of the description, the acting, would be missing.

A boy named Kumud was newly admitted in the school and therefore had not had the opportunity to get accustomed to the ways of his master. One morning while the artist was working in his studio, the student was waiting at a distance, watching him work and also assisting him when necessary. Suddenly he called out "Mukunda, come this side quickly." Kumud was puzzled. He stared blankly and then looked round to find whether Mukunda was coming. There was no such person as Mukunda, so none appeared. The artist turned his head and saw Kumud standing. He got terribly annoyed at his behaviour and addressed him in an angry tone "What's wrong with you ? I am calling you and you are not answering." Poor Kumud did not know what to say. He murmured nervously, "You calling Mukunda. He is not here. I am Kumud." "Oh, it is all the same" came promplty from the artist.

On another occasion the artist was working in clay on a double life size statue while Kumud was standing below in order to supply him

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with whatever materials he asked for. After working for some time he stretched out his hand and demanded some Plaster of Paris. Kumud was in a fix. He did not know what to do. He stammered, shall I give plaster or "Yes, yes, plaster, come quick. For Heaven's sake don't delay." Chinu, who was busy working at a distance grasped the whole situation at a glance and did his best by signs and gestures to make Kumud understand that what he wanted was clay and not Plaster of Paris. But the mischief was already done and poor Kumud had to bear the brunt of his scolding. Are you out of your wits? don't you see I am working in clay, hum !

Once Chinu alighted from the electric train at the Egmore station in Madras with one other worker and was approached by some Police Officers who asked them to quit the platform as soon as possible. A dignitory was expected to arrive soon and hence this order. A few minutes later they saw Sri Deviprosad come down from his compartment. He stood on the platform in his usual "who cares" sort of attitude, with his arms akimbo and head thrown back, waiting for his luggage to be brought down. Chinu saw the officers whispering something amongst themselves, coming a few steps forward and then receding back. This action was repeated twice. Chinu noticed it. He gave a nudge to his companion and told him to watch the fun. The other shook his head to say he was watching. On their third attempt the officers gathered sufficient courage to approach the artist and say, "Sir, such and such a person is coming, would you mind making room for him." Deviprosad came tired and irritative. He replied haughtily, "What of that ? he is not an elephant! At the other end of the platform Chinuu and Company were patting each other and giggling away to proclaim their victory.

My husband had to travel fairly often. He did not believe in travelling light, there must be provisions for emergency. Therefore the kits that followed him were never few in mumber. These had to be packed and repacked from weeks ahead of his departure. Even on the final day some last moment touch had to be given. Before any such prospective excursion somebody had to stand attendanc on the artist. After having settled down at Chromepet this work generally fell on the lot of Chinu. Once while he was arranging suitcases, I gave some suggestion as to how things could be kept to best advantage. He became very much perturbed at this and said—"Oh no madam, no change should be made. Then the master is sure to say, 'Chinu touched it and see what a mess he has made. I laughed and left him alone.

One very amusing incident was demonstrated by Chinu with action. This occured during the time when Sri Deviprosad was still the Principal of the School. We had our residential quarters in the School compound. There was a fairly big balcony attached to the ground floor. Here the artist would sit and rest after the breaking of the classes or tend his miniature garden, a recareation which satisfied his creative instinct. The school was distinctly visible from this place. The artist knew a few of the students more intimately than the others, for they often came to watch while he worked. If he was in the mood of talking, these ran the risk of being called to his side. This was not a very attractive prospect for the boys. They had to behave in his presence and this they did not always relish. Their fertile brains soon discovered a unique method of escaping from this perilous position. The moment they suuspected the possibility of danger, they crawled on all fours and hid behind a bush or any other rampart that would give them a temporary refuge. When they felt they had arrived at a place of safety, they would stand on their legs and run outside the school precincts. Some of the peons, I was informed, picked up this tactic to avoid more work.

Chinu admitted most proudly that he was a past master in the art of humbugging. A work which never took more than an hour to finish, if questioned by the artist, he would say unflinchingly that it would take a whole evening. And when the work was over long before the time given, he would quietly slip off, leaving his shoes at the studio door to deceive the master.

On his journey back from any place he went, Deviprosad would often stop at a hotel and collect all sorts of foodstuffs. Perhaps he had a fear that his wife may not keep things ready for him and then he would have to starve ! Once he purchased some "Gulabjams" (a kind of sweet in syrup). The waiter questioned him where he was to put them. The artist looked daggers at him and then replied vehemently "put them on my head" (mere shir por rakho) !

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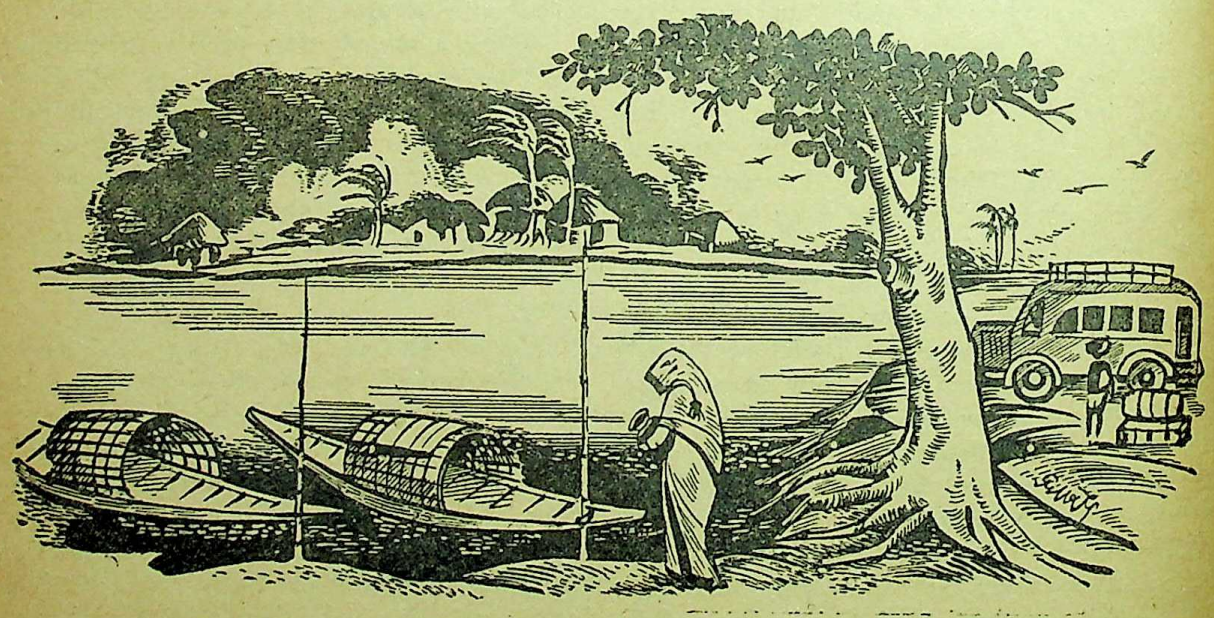
The man was so much impressed by this answer that he did not ask a second question and brought the sweets in great haste in an empty fruit tin. Then unable to suppress his curiosity he gathered enough courage to ask, "To which place do you belong sir ?" Next time when the artist went to the Hotel to buy the same sweet, a new man was at the counter. He was about to put the awkward question,—"Where to put the sweets," when the old fellow came running from somewhere and gagged the other's mouth with his hand. This event was later recounted to me by Chinu with much gusto and a great deal of mirth.

The artist wanted to instal a line of power meter in his office at Chromepet and informed the department that deals with it, to that effect. They sent thir representative to enquire as to the details concerning the matter. The person desired to know when the work should be started. The artist replied that he would like it to be finished as quickly as possible, the sooner the better. I came to learn from the aforesaid Chinu that inspite of Mr. Chowdhury's definite answer the man went on pestering him by repeating the same question. The artist's patience was tried to the extreme. He shouted forcefully— "I want it now, today, at once." The man was flabergasted at this suudden outburst and mumbling "yes sir, yes sir" took to his heels without more ado.

I shall close this chapter by relating an instance of my own experience while sitting with the artist on the little verandah. That particular evening we were left entirely to ourselves. The workers had either gone home or sent on some errand. Only a small servant was waiting on us to do our bidding. At about 6 O'clock a huge lorry arrived at our gate with two tins of Plaster of Paris which was ordered by my husband. I suppose those came from Tuticorin or some such distant place; I am not quite sure. Since no coolies were available near our bungalow and the tins were heavy, my husband requested the driver to put the tins down with the help of his men and charge for it. The driver seemed disinclined to oblige him. He coolly said, "In that case, I shall take the things back to the place from where I brought them." The artist was furious at this impolite response. He shouted, "No, you will not take the things back. Tell me what price you want, I shall buy you off. Come on, tell me." Instantly the fellow became as meek as a lamb and his tone was completely changed. "We are poor people Sir, why are you getting angry with us ?" came from him and with that down came the plaster tins from the lorry.

When I ruminate on the events of my life, I often reflect whether all artists have such abnormal temperament or my husband is a special case.



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SOME EARLY ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS OF THE SUNDARBAN

By KALIDAS DATTA

THE Sundarban forms the southernmost portion of the district of 24-Parganas of West Bengal and extends along the Bay of Bengal from the river Ichamati or Kalindi on the east to the river Hooghly on the west. It is a vast alluvial plain intersected by many rivers, which are connected with each other by a network of branches.

Formerly, this region comprised dense forests and swamps abounding in tigers, rhinoceroses, crocodiles and other wild animals. It's reclamation work commenced in the latter part of the eighteenth century and since then, with the extension of cultivation, numerous villages have grown up in this area. They are mostly inhabited by agriculturists and lie within extensive paddy fields protected by embankments, built on the river banks, to keep out salt and brackish water.

During and after the reclamation of the tract, from the forests as well as from the underground of many of the villages, in the course of excavations of tanks, canals and ditches large number of remains of buildings and temples, stone and metal images of the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist gods and goddesses, inscriptions, coins and other relics of human habitations of the mediaeval and Gupta ages have come to light.[1]

Since 1925, due to erosions of the river Hooghly another village named Harinarainpur, situated within the area on the eastern bank of the river, is also yielding hundreds of antiquities of earlier times. They consist of archaic terracotta and clay statuettes and charms, stone and bone tools, mould-made terra-cotta and clay figurines assignable on stylistic grounds to the Maurya, Sunga and Kushana periods, terra-cotta seals with Brahmi scripts. rectangular and round punch-marked and uninscribed cast copper coins, fragments of stones with Ashokan polish, N.B.P. sherds, grey and black pottery wares, clay, stone and rockcrystal beads, etc.

The discovery of these antiquities now undoubtedly establishes the fact that this part of lower Bengal is not a newly-born region and human settlements existed here from remote times.

I gave an account of some of the archaic statuettes including the stone and bone tools in an article published more than a year back.[2] In this paper I propose to deal with a few of the finds still lying unnoticed. They comprise two terra-cotta and one clay statuettes, four clay charms, two bone arrow-heads and twelve stone tools.

Of the two terra-cotta statuettes one portrays a dancing girl with outstretched arms without hands formed by pinching the clay. It is five inches in height. It's body terminates at the waist and is not furnished with legs but with a cylindrical stand instead. From the waist strips of garment have been depicted floating around. The body does not possess any ornament and is naked with heavy breasts formed by pinching the clay. The face is without eyes and mouth. It bears only a bird-like beak formed by the process noted above. The head dress resembles a hood. It is also pinched. (Plate I. Fig. 1).

Like very old examples of a human statuette it's maker paid no attention to face. He was interested only in the characteristic features of it's body. What purpose this statuette served cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Dance was intimately associated with religious ceremonies of the primitive people. Many statuettes of dancing girls have also come to light from different primitive sites.

The second statuette represents a head only. It is 2½″ in height and ends below the neck in the shape of a small pedestal. It too possesses a bird-like face with a prominent beak and two oblong ears formed by pinching the clay. One of the ears

1. Kalidas Datta, *The Antiquities of Khari*, Varendra Research Society's Monograph No. 3.
Do. The Antiquities of the North-West Sundarban, *Ibid*, No. 4.
Do. The Antiquities of the Sundarban, *Ibid*, No. 5.

2. *Science and Culture*. Vol. I, No. 6, June, 1961, Pages 275-278.

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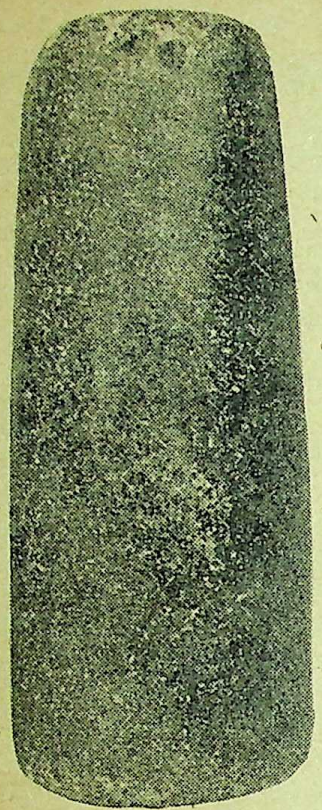

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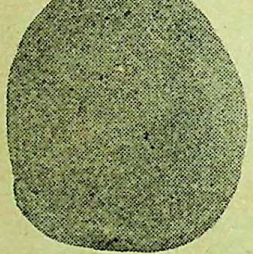

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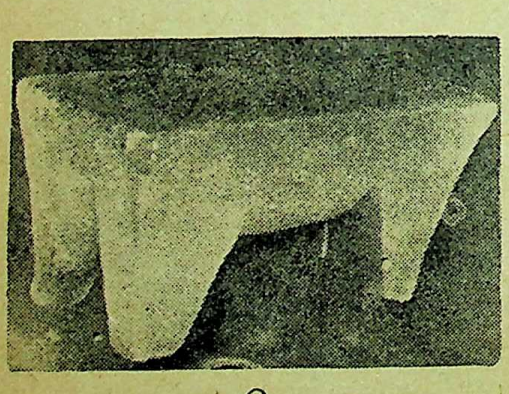

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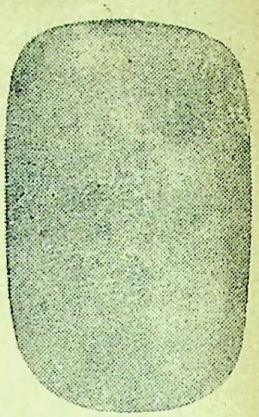

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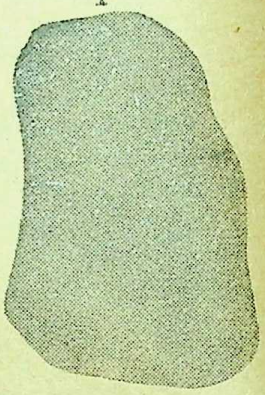

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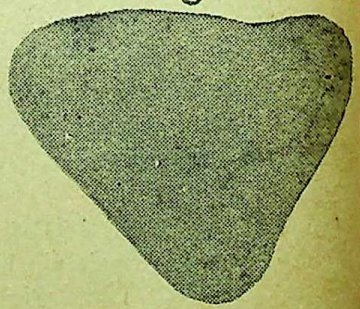

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is lost. (Plate I. Fig. 2). The use of this queer image is also unknown.

The clay statuette is a model of a seated pig. It measures one inch in height. Only the body and the face of the animal have been shown by pinching the clay and no attempt has been made to delineate it's legs and tail. (Plate I. Fig. 3). It may be a representation of a totem for votive offering.

Of the four charms of clay one is oval and the rest are round in shape. They have dotted lines engraved over them, which seem to be spells or incantations. Their hidden meanings are not known to us. Most likely they were used by the witch doctors to ward off evils brought by ghosts, demons and sorcerers. (Plate I. Fig. 4). Several charms identical in form and design with them were discovered at a primitive site within Odell park of America.[3] Many primitive artifacts the world over have such similarities.

The two arrow-heads appear to be manufactured from the bones of birds. One of them is four inches and the other three inches in length. (Plate I. Fig. 5.).

The twelve stone tools were found with a hoard of similar implements more than one hundred in number. They are made of many kinds of rock. Most of them are ground. Some have polished exteriors. These varied forms indicate that they served different purposes. But unfortunately they are chance finds. So we have no way of dating them in the absence of stratigraphic evidence. Only their technological and typological affinity with tools discovered in the neolithic sites now enables us to know that they are handicrafts of some aboriginal people of neolithic culture. Some of them, which are half finished and in early stages of manufacture, also indicate that there was a workshop at or near Harinarainpur for such production.

Before the discovery of the tools we had no idea of existence of any primitive lithic industry of this sort in the Gangetic delta. But how and from what place the aborigines would obtain stones for this industrial pursuit cannot be ascertained. Mr. Bruce Footes is of opinion that the neolithic people were used to procure by barter varieties of stones for the manufacture of their artifacts from great distances from the residents of the regions where such stones occured in nature.[4]

It has been said before that the provenance of the stone implements in the village of Harinarainpur stands on the river Hooghly. The makers of the implements, the aborigines, doubtless lived there and the river provided much of their articles of diet such as fishes, carbs, tortoises, oysters, etc. Accumulations of discarded shells of the oysters have been found in the river eroded portion of the village and one of the accumulations disclosed also fragments of stone net-sinkers.

The terra-cotta statuettes and other objects, described above and in my previous article published in the *Science and Culture*, were most probably made by the aborigines as those objects came to light in association with the stone tools and their features and types are archaic enough to be considered like the tools as lingerings from the prehistoric.

At present, beside the aforesaid artifacts, everything has disappeared which could give us particulars about the aborigines. So paucity of suitable and authentic data do not leave us much scope to dwell upon them.

Short descriptions of some of the stone tools are given below. Among them No. 1 to No. 6 are made of trap and polished.

1. Chopper. (Size 9″×3″). Horizontally shaped. The lower end has cutting edge from which it gently rises to a convex curve towards the upper side which is half round. This tool is in a good state of preservation and its cutting edge is still sharp. (Plate II. Fig. 1).

2. Mealing stone. (Size 4″×2″). Biconvex oval in shape. One tool exactly of this type of pale granite is in the Foote collection of the Madras Museum.[5] (Plate II. Fig. 2).

3. Pestle. (Size 3½″). Barrel shaped with one side flat. Lower part broken. (Plate II. Fig. 3).

4. Celt. (Size 2½″ × 1½″). Triangular body with splayed and convex cutting edge. (Plate II. Fig. 4).

5. Celt. (Size 2″×1½″). Triangular body. Cutting edge at the broader end. (Plate II. Fig. 5).

3. M. Proctor. The Indians of the Winnipesaukee and Pemi gewasset valley. Plates XII and XIII.

4. *Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities.* Vol. II. Introduction. Page 2.

5. *Foote Collection of India Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities.* Vol. II. Plate 48. Fig. 2034.

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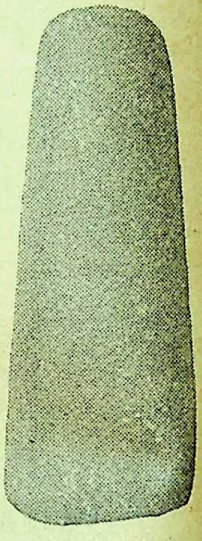

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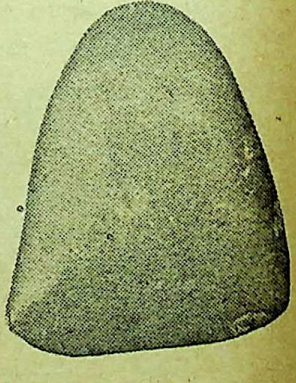

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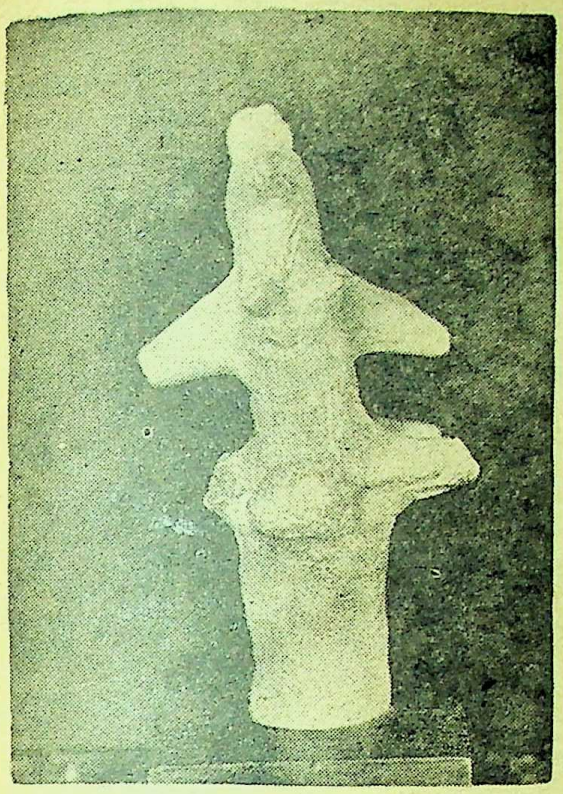

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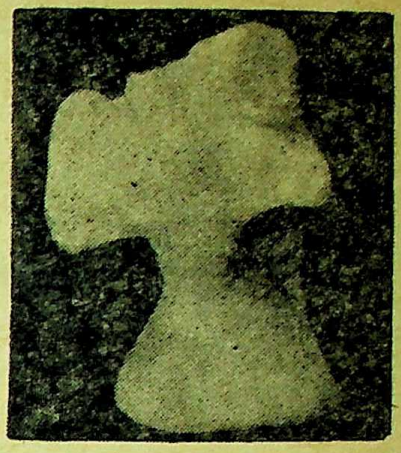

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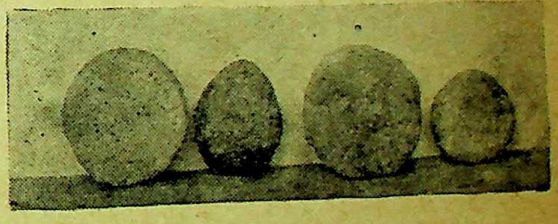

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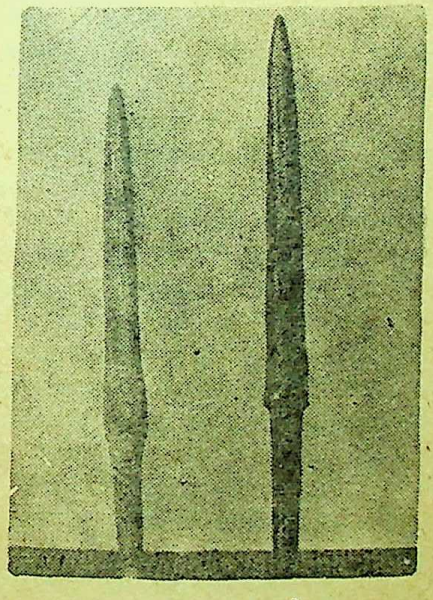

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6. Hammer. (Size 6″×2½″). Barrel shaped. Upper part is broken. (Plate III. Fig. 1).

7. Spherical missile. Made of flint. It's lower side is flat. Most probably for hurling at animals and enemies. (Plate III. Fig. 2).

8. Quern. (Size 13″×9″×8″). Four footed. Shaped like a stool. From hard gritty stone. Probably was in use for grinding grains. (Plate III. Fig. 3).

9. This tool is made of flint. (Size 4″×3″). The purpose for which it was prepared can not be determined. It's upper side is convex and oval with flat lower side. (Plate III. Fig. 4).

10. Whet-stone. (Size 3″×2½″). Shaped from hard sandstone. Rectangular body. Bears rubbing marks on it's surface. Used for sharpening bone tools such as awls, arrow-heads, etc. (Plate III. Fig. 5).

11. Burin. (Size 3″×2″). Manufactured from flint. Traces of polish exist on some parts of it's body. The graving edge has become blunt. (Plate III. Fig. 6).

12. This implement is made of limestone. (Size 3″×3½″). It bears triangular shape. Body oval and convex. (Plate III. Fig. 7).

THE ROLE OF THE LAWGIVER IN MACHIAVELLI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

(A Politico-economic Consideration)

By SISIR KANTI BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.,

Research Fellow in Political Science, Calcutta University

Two important phenomena which were responsible for the concentration of power in the hands of the national monarchs were noticeable for some time before Machiavelli. With the revival of the papal absolutism in the middle of the fifteenth century the power of the monarchs also began to grow considerably at the cost of the medieval institutions like the nobility, free cities, clergy, etc. The political powers which so long belonged to the feudal lords and corporations during the Middle Ages began to concentrate into the hands of the king who became the rallying point for national unity as well as the fountainhead of political justice. Machiavelli was influenced by this movement.

Secondly, the far-reaching changes caused by the discovery of new routes of trade and commerce also helped to make the power and position of the king strong. The medieval political and economic institutions were largely local and the central government had very feeble control over the remote parts of the country. The limitations of the means of communication were responsible for the limitation to the freedom of movement and to the use of money upto the fourteenth century. With the true spirit of the Renaissance there arose a class of merchant adventurers who quickly gained the initiative and began to control the economic resources by venturing into new unexplored routes and lands. As these merchants gradually became masters over markets they could easily control production in different cities and guilds.

It is only natural that these people who had both money and initiative would become enemies of the landed nobility. These profound economic changes brought a corresponding change not only in social status but also in political institutions. The economically strong rising class wanted a powerful government both at home and abroad, which could give protection to their trade. The national monarchs being eager to increase the national wealth as well as their own strength sided with them and gave them protection against the feudal nobles who were not always friendly to the king. The nobles became hostile to the kings for another reason. With the growing sense of nationalism the autonomy and virtual independence which the feudal nobility enjoyed in their respective domains were being lost gradually. But the economically prosperous class favoured the strong position of the king and a powerful army because these prevented the nobility from maintaining disorderly bands of ruffians and

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hangers-on who intimidated them and interfered with trade and commerce. Though sometimes the bourgeoisie found the new powers of the king arbitrary and oppressive, they were much better in effect than the virtual anarchy under the nobility. It is to be noted that this position was thoroughly reversed by the 19th century when the king or the government did not control the capitalists but the capitalists controlled the state.

In the political speculations of Machiavelli all these currents were in evidence. He despised the lawlessness under the nobility and always favoured a venturesome spirit. Like the rising bourgeoisie he wanted a strong national monarchy which would rule despotically no doubt, but which would give security to life and property and promote national unity. The free bands of mercenaries must be got rid of and trade and commerce encouraged. The king should not give recognition to the hereditary nobility who became great automatically by virtue of birth. But recognition was to be given to the worth of the man in any walk of life, who would become great by accumulating power, economic and political, by his ability. It is immaterial whether he began as the son of a rich noble or that of a poor commoner.

It is not unlikely that Machiavelli's political ideas in favour of the strong-man government of a Medici or a Borgia were formulated by seeing the predominant economic and social power of these families in the political life of Italy. His lack of faith in people's capacity to rule themselves properly may also be attributed to the fact that both economically and politically the people at that time could not match the few economically powerful families. The Medicis were so wealthy that during the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, was greatly amazed seeing their prosperity and power. Their economic position was further strengthened in 1471 when Pope Sixtus IV gave them the management of Papal finances. They also got the right, five years earlier, to develop the papal mines near Civitavecchia, which produced the precious alum used in dyeing and finishing cloth.

The Middle Ages were full of barbarism and turbulence; the Renaisance, in comparison was a priod of transition. In spite of barbarism the Middle Ages had a fear of God. This was destroyed by the emancipated rational mind of the Renaissance; but no new faith on which to build up a stable and reliable world of morality and politics had yet been found. Machiavelli was the product of this faithless age. In every country the period of transition is a time of loose morals and deep-rooted cynicism. In ancient Greece the Sceptics and the Epicureans became prominent when the glorious days of Athens and Sparta were lost in the womb of oblivion. In modern India, specially after the second world war, there has been wide-spread corruption, and the cynicism of the people, specially the intelligentsia, is alarming. India too is now passing through a transition. The old values of life and society which could hold us have lost significance. Due to the serious impact of western thought and ways of life and because of the recent political emancipation of the country, we have learnt to think freely and scientifically after many hundreds of years. But no new and sound faith has enthroned itself in our mental outlook so far.

The defect of Machiavelli is that he did not realise that the transition period could not last long and a political moral, however effective in such a condition, would be incapable of guiding a state and the statesman in times of relatively more permanent peace and order. This is due to the fact, as we have already noted, that Machiavelli in every one of his writings, political or literary, repeated the one conviction that human nature was and would always remain unchanged. If this is not accepted as an axiomatic truth, no science of government, he held, could be built up on the experience of the past, nor any guidance secured by any ruling king from the success or failure of a particular policy of a king in the past. "Wise men say, not without reason" argued he, "that whosoever wishes to foresee the future must consult the past, for human events ever resemble those of preceding times. This arises from the fact that they are produced by men who have been, and ever will be animated by the same passion, and thus they must necessarily have the same results."[1]

We think on the other hand, that man's nature changes continually and with him changes laws, governments, institutions, etc., in so far as they are the conscious creation of men. But these are also the result of historical forces and sometimes man has to adjust himself to various new waves which would shape his thought from outside. Nevertheless, it is not difficult for us to owe our allegiance to certain immutable principles of

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morality and adjust our institutions to realise them. This is a process of "constant becoming," as argued by Hegel. The past is not forgotten. Rather it merges with the present and helps the present to move to the future with a stabler foundation. This is the basis of the development of psychology, politics, laws, and social sciences. The Machiavellian faith in mechanical creation by the whims of the prince instead of as an organic growth, is to be found even in the eighteenth century in the writings of the social contract thinkers who also wanted to construct society by human volition alone. The difference is that in the former case it is the will of one man, in the later case the state is formed by the will of all or the many. But there is an important difference between these writers and the authors of the French Revolution on the one hand and Machiavelli on the other. Machiavelli did not dream of founding ideal men in an ideal society.

There is a close similarity between Hobbes and Machiavelli. The actual condition of latter's Italy very much resembled former's description of the state of nature. Finding no way of escape both suggested the alternative of a despotic rule. They prescribed poison to kill the poison in the body politic. But the English philosopher certainly did not ask the lawgiver to practice deceit and treachery in such a shocking manner as the Italian did. The *Leviathan* describes a strong man's government; *The Prince*, a villain's government. The English being under the despotic but ordered regimes of the Tudors and the Stuarts, did not sink so low as the Italians accustomed to lawlessness for long. Hence after the foundation of the state of Leviathan, the king rules despotically but not hypocritically; but the prince continues his unspeakable methods without any change after the foundation of the state : he remains a despot and a hypocrite.

Machiavelli's description of the role of the prince reminds us of king Arthur's advice to his followers. The dying king told his knights "never to do outrage, nor murder, and always to flee treason; also by no means to be cruel, but to give mercy unto him that asked mercy, upon pain of forfeiture of their worship and lordship of king Arthur for reverence." It is true that in a land where chivalry of this type was accepted as an ideal and which became a part of national character, Machiavellian nature of political morals could not be so nakedly professed. The Italians to save the state from total ruin but also of this period lacked totally this attitude of mind and it was possible for a thinker "to teach the prince that success at the expense of honour, loyalty, humanity and truth might be illustrious."[2] Macaulay in his famous essay has pictured Machiavelli as a natural reflex of an Italy, brilliant in the true spirit of the Renaissance, but demoralised and long accustomed by her despots to the principles of *The Prince*. Machiavelli's ideas are essentially narrow, there is absence of broad commonsense and mental soundness. The humane instinct and sympathy with nature, a regard for the dignity of man, which gave wholeness to the philosophy of Burke, Kant or J. S. Mill, are totally absent in Machiavelli.

Machiavelli's whole attention was concentrated on making the science of politics a perfect one and unlike Cicero he was quite indifferent to moral laws. Political action appeared to him as being independent even of the person who performed it: almost as a natural phenomenon of which men might tranquilly investigate the cause, force and effect.[3] The lawgiver is to decide what end he should place before him. If he is good he will try to make his country prosperous and would be famous. If he is bad he would destroy its liberty and would become infamous. In either case the effectiveness of this science would be proved by its capacity to show the sure road to success to the prince.

Machiavelli wanted to use his ideas of politics in the same way as they are used in a technical subject like the Medical Science or Technology. Therefore, formerly he was called immoral because of his indifference to ethical maxims; now the fashion is to call him amoral. But the use of words like non-moral, amoral or unmoral is not illuminating. "To urge the doing of dishonourable things as a patriotic duty is certainly not unmoral, whatever else it may be."[4] There is no indication in Machiavelli's writings that he regarded personal goodness Independent of success as very important. He saw goodness only in action. But if this is the meaning of the word unmoral it is the worst kind of immorality on the part of both the citizens and the lawgiver. Though Machiavelli did not say so directly, he surely implied that the ruthlessness and treachery of Caesar Borgia were not evil but good. His intention is clear also from the fact that he supported murder and deceit not only to

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maintain the normal administration of the state.

Moral action in a civil society meant, for Machiavelli, chiefly conformity to a code. For, he said, that poverty and hunger made men industrious and the laws make them good. The moral sense is the product of law or, in the last analysis, of fear.[5] Like Spinoza and Hobbes he held that the sanction of conduct was derived from positive institutions. Therefore, where no law existed no action could be unjust. By making morality subservient to the positive law, Machiavelli sought to control not only man's sense of political justice but also his sense of moral justice. In other words, the personal caprices of the lawgiver would become the moral doctrines of the people under him.

We do not deny that the moral condition of Italy at that time was very pathetic. This can be found in Machiavelli's own drama *Mandragola* where to induce an honest but feeble-minded wife to adultery, all, including a friar, conspired against the wish of the girl. The character of Fra Timoteo is repulsive to the extreme. It shows to what a despicable condition the churchmen had reduced themselves. In his *Clizia* we find a rather disgusting tug-of-war between the father and the son to marry a girl adopted as a daughter in the family from her childhood. It is no doubt a sad picture of moral degeneration. Nevertheless, the remedy suggested by Machiavelli in *The Prince* and the *Discourses* would hardly be able to cure the disease. By a policy of blood and iron or of the fox and the lion it is impossible to regenerate in the people a feeling for the nation and the state when the nature of a man had become so much preverted as it is described in the plays of Machiavelli.

We think that in a political treatise dealing with human beings, the most important question must be the moral reformation of man by the laws and institutions of the country. This is the reason why Aristotle said that the state represented the highest good. There cannot be a state of tolerable existence if ambition and treachery and naked force become the characteristics of the rule of a prince. It is the ethics of the jungle. Machiavelli's auducity is really startling. Being guided by this he could declare with all seriousness and calm that the legislator ought to lie and deceive. But in his zeal to expound a new science and a new technique he glorified only the negative aspect of statecraft. He did not realise that by all the means he advocated a state could be destroyed but it canot be built up on a permanent, healthy basis. We do not say that by good laws man can be made dutiful or truthful overnight, but what we believe to be true is that the state can create the condition, by laws and by their honest administration, in which man can lead a moral and prosperous life. In this respect the philosophy of T. H. Green is a better guide to the statesman.

In Machiavelli's state progress would be a far cry. If the worth of the state is the worth of the individuals composing the state, as was argued by J. S. Mill,[6] we do not see how Machiavelli's state can achieve greatness and success if it is composed of citizens who are by any standard bad men and who are ruled by a hypocrite. He had no faith in any *a priori* philosophical evaluation. He believed, it seems, more in experiment, observation and conclusion.

Machiavelli is not consistent always. Both in the *Discourses* and in *The Prince* he has said that the conquered people should be treated rudely and should be reduced to impotence. In *The Art of War* he said that those who were defeated in the battle should either be "killed off or left to spend their lives miserably in perpetual slavery."[7] Whereas when he is not moved by animosity and hatred he, strangely enough, recommended an alternative policy of dealing with the conquered people (as in the *Discourses*). This is the same humane conduct which Christianity has aways asked people to follow. Machiavelli sometimes seemed to realise the importance of this policy as it was likely to convert the conquered peoples into loyal subjects: "A humane and kindly act," he said, "sometimes makes much greater impression than an act of ferocity or violence."[8] He himself followed this course when Pisa was subjugated by Florence. Moreover though in the *Discourses* and in *The Prince* he sanctioned any amount of force and oppression, he did not always stick to his point. He was sure in *The Prince* that as Italy was full of corruption, only violent and shrewd means could make her healthy. But in his later life (1519) when Pope Leo X asked him to write his views as to how the government of Florence could be conducted in a better way, he wrote his *Discourses* on the Reform of the Government of Florence. Here the encouragement to the prince to use any means as suggested in *The Prince* is

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lost. Rather more stress is given to the reconstitution of the political structure and violence and fraud in maintaining administration are not prescribed. "If things go on as they are," he sad in this book, "I venture to prophesy that, should some misfortune befall and the city not have been reconstituted in some other way . . . . someone will make himself tumultuously and suddenly head of the state and use arms and violence . . . . your Holiness will realise how many deaths, banishments, and deprivations are likely to ensue."[9]

It is true that there are many statemen who practice Machiavellian methods and derive consolation from his observation in the Florentine History that "no good man will ever reproach another who endeavours to defend his country, whatever be his mode of doing so."[10] Prince Bismarck is the best example of a fox and a lion in the same person and by force and fraud he did whatever he wanted to accomplish for Germany. Count Cavour who was the chief architect of Italian unification gave concrete stape to Machiavelli's dream after 343 years after his death (1527-1870) and himself exclaimed that he would be called a scoundrel if he did those things in private life, which he had done in the name of the state. But these examples cannot prove definitely that in politics double dealing is inescapable. Politicians like Bismarck and Cavour did make national politics, which practice is followed even to day. And this can be said that unless international law is recognised as binding on the states, the law of the jungle and of the craft described in *The Prince* would hold the ground in international politics. Yet we must admit that the theoretician's main purpose should be the rebuilding of society and international life basing his faith in man. This tradition created by the Greek Stoics was followed by the naturalists of Rome and later by the Crotians. Along with this the Platonic idea that the rulers must stay above all selfishness and ambition, must rule the state with justice and honesty, has always been accepted as the best example to be followed by rulers in every country.

It should be pointed out here that Italy of Machiavelli's time had some similarity with Athens during the time of Plato. Italy was divided and its princes conspired with outside powers to serve their own interests. The standard of individual morality was very low. Athens during Plato's time after the shock and jar of the Peloponnesian war lost its moral stability and the "happy versatility" of democracy, so magnificently praised by Pericles in the *Funeral Oration*, was lost. The Athenian nobles, like the Italians of the Renaissance, began to conspire against their city to establish their own rule. One of the worst examples of this is the conspiracy of Alcibiades with Sparta and Persia against Athens to re-estabish his and his party's rule and influence in Athens. Plato found every city divided into two classes, the rich and the poor. The same thing happened in Athens at least from the days of Solen. Like Marx, Plato ascribed this division to economic causes. But unlike Marx who wanted to make the people highly prosperous economically, Plato banished riches and wealth from his ideal state. There is another similarity. Savonarola was killed by the corrupt Italians, Socrates was sentenced to death by the corrupt Athenians. There the Athenian society appeared to Plato thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable.

To rebuild this society Plato thought of an ideal state in his the Republic where the wise, selfless rulers rule for the common interest. Though it is true that the Republic has the model of Sparta with her authoritarianism as the best type of government, yet it will be unjust if we do not note that in his later life he became disillusioned about Sparta and criticised her more in the *Laws*.

Any way, our point is that Plato and Machiavelli found more or less the same situation in Athens and Italy respectively, and both gave the lawgiver undisputed power for goverment in Plato, the lawgivers are many, in Machiavelli, the lawgiver is one). But what a difference between their tactics and ultimate end! Whatever criticism we may advance against Plato we cannot deny that the main point in Plato's philosophy is that wisdom, knowledge and self-control must be the guiding principles and also be the distinguishing features of the lawgiver. Whereas in Machiavelli's lawgiver we find naked selfishness and mean cleverness. This is true both in his internal and in his international policies. But many of our politicians who follow Machiavelli's policy in international affairs are more scrupulous when it is a question of ruling or making laws for their own people. In case of England and France we may say that in colonial

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and international affairs they may act as if they were the direct disciples of Machiavelli, but when the administration of their own poeple is the issue, they do not follow Machiavelli so closely.

In *The Prince*, Machiavelli said, "It is above all things necessary that a prince should retain the affection of his people otherwise, in any crisis he has no remedy."[11] But what are the ways to create this confidence and good-will?—the sword and false hopes? In the state described by Machiavelli the citizens would always remain half developed. For, he argued that a prince should "think out means whereby in all manner of times and occasions his subjects may have need of the state and they will then ever be loyal." In Machiavelli's state only the prince prospers and all men decay. Both intellectually and physically they are made so many automatons who live and die at the behest of the prince. With such grown-up babies accustomed to spoon-feeding by the state and the ruler, Machiavelli was thinking of making Italy strong!

In Machiavelli's state there will be only one patriot, the Prince. Since the government is not separated from the state, the disgust of the citizens against the arbitrariness of the prince will make them hostile to the state itself. When they will find that the state meant the despotism of a questionable character, they will not care for the good or the defence of the state. The prince must realise that though he may have greater intelligence and capacity than the average subject, under him he cannot perpetuate his hold on them. He cannot deceive all men all the time. Machiavelli himself recognised it in his *Discourses*. "A prince cannot ive securely in a principality whilst those are alive who have been despoiled of it."[12]

On grounds of the reason of the state Machiavelli supported the murder of Ramiro d' Orco, Caeser's representative in Romagna, by Caesar. King Frederik, the Great, raised this point in his book Anti-Machiavel. He argued that the arch villain and butcher Caesar could have no moral authority to murder Ramiro who used only those methods which were used by Caesar himself. Meinecke has tried to refute the charge of King Frederik on the ground that even in this ghastly deed the "raison d'etat was at work, and was struggling up out of the darkness into the light."[13] We have serious doubts if this game of perfect ingratitude and selfishness can help maintain a sound administration. If the officers of the state feel that even if they achieve success in their attempt to help the state maintain law and order, the head of the state instead of rewarding them will not think twice before throwing them overboard when his own interest will so dictate, then they will also take every precaution to deceive the ruler. If the ruler cannot trust them they also in their turn will try to combine and throw the ruler himself overboard. In spite of Machiavelli's and Meinecke's pleading that such perfidious acts are permitted for the interest of the state, we submit that instead of doing any good to the state this will put the existence of the state to jeopardy. Besides the example of Caesar Borgia, we may cite the example of Emperor Aurangzeb of India to prove the theory that no state can have a healthy life if there is genuine distrust between the head of the state and his officers. One of the most important reasons for the disintegration of the vast Mughal empire was Aurangzeb's lack of faith in his men. It is hinted in history that just as Ceasar killed Ramiro, Aurangzeb caused the death of his most influential friend, Mir Zumla, of whose exploits and power he had become jealous and suspicious. As the service to the state was equated with the service to the ruler, in Machiavelli's state, such examples as the murder of Ramiro would make all men either hypocrites or rebels, none of which is conducive to the good of the state. The succession to a country's Government would be accomplished through sudden and violent death of the ruler, most probably in the hands of assassins. In his attempt at political resurrection Machiavelli's lawgiver would succeed in causing insurrection on all fronts.

It naturally comes to our mind as to who was the true patriot of Italy, Savonarola or Machiavelli? The former was burnt on the stake. He always insisted that without moral reformation political liberation was impossible and meaningless. Savonarola believed in repentence and denounced sin. Machiavelli ridiculed all these, he wanted to conquer a bad sin by a worse method and considered it a God-ordained task. In order to cure a virulent disease, he asked the lawgiver to apply deadly poison. But we are afraid, this poison if applied by the lawgiver, would kill the body instead of curing it like medicine. In spite of the vigour of his system, there will be an inversion of the ruling laws of health in his

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body politic. He ignored the rich fertility of the Italian cultural life and it is strange that living at a time when Machiavelli saw around him the immortal creations of one of the finest geniuses that the world has ever seen, *viz.* Leonardo da Vinci, he was not at all moved by the magnificence of his times. "He was indeed lost in the idolatry of the state."[14]

The Prince of Machiavelli would never get peace of mind, as we see it so clearly in the life of the Borgia, because the prince is encircled by conspirators, ambitious persons and liars. With his death there was every possibility that the entire state would be subject to lawlessness and exploitation by the strong. It would be impossible for half-developed men to lead civic life demanding sacrifice and devotion to causes other than personal. "With small men" said Mill, "no great thing can really be accomplished."

In Machiavelli's thought there is no beacan star to raise the soul from the dirt and mud. He has shown the way how to sink deeper into the hell of negation of all the values of human life. In his zeal for the unification of Italy he did not fully realise the effect of his prescription. For, the conception of means and ends as two independent elements is not a sound one. "The means," argued Laski, "enter into ends and transform it. The roots of loyalty are ultimately moral in character."[15] By wrong means no right end can be realised.

It has been argued that political parties in modern times follow Machiavellian tactics to gain political power. But our experience is that such governments cannot hope to last long in power if they fail to achieve something socially desirable through moral and honest mans. The constant rise and fall of the weak and strong parties respectively prove that dishonesty does not pay except for a very short period. Even in Machiavelli's days this principle of ends by any means did not pay. He said that the prince is to use hypocrisy whenever expedient. "A wise lord," he said, "cannot, nor ought he, keep faith when such observance can be turned against him, and when the reasons that caused him to pledge it no longer exist."[16] But it takes no idealism to believe that it cannot be effective in the long run since the prince is to deal with other princes. For, if all princes begin to deceive, this method soon fails to get any result. Unfortunately for Machiavelli, this is exactly what happened to his own paper hero, Ceaser Borgia. Borgia got power through cleverness and force in the vicious drama enacted in Sinigaglia where all the leading opponents were murdered by a brilliant Machiavellian method. We should not forget that our deceitful methods can succeed only when people on whom they are applied are honest and believe us to be honest. But if they are also conscious about our evil design then this Machiavellian means instead of doing any positive and tangible good, would be a serious danger and the entire purpose of the prince will be defeated most pathetically. No amount of skill, intelligence and power which, Machiavelli said, Borgia possessed in much greater degree than all others could save him. Therefore, leaving the ethical standard, if we test Machiavelli's method by Machiavelli's own standards of expediency above, his theory proves to be very weak except for a very short while. If expediency is the criterion then it should be considered from all points of view, remote as well as immediate.

Our main point of criticism against the role Machiavelli assigned to the ruler is that the ruler can never be successful for any length of time if he like a cynic makes laws or runs the administration on the assumption that men are by nature bad. Such laws do good neither to the prince nor to the people. We do not deny the fact that men sometimes behave like selfish narrow-minded beings. But we cannot ignore the fact that there is another aspect of their character. Machiavelli saw the negative side only and refused to believe that it was not the whole. His reading of man and politics is as inadequate as that of Rousseau in the opposite direction. Rousseau believed that men were good and simple, the laws and govrnment had made them corrupt. Machiavelli held that men were corrupt and only the iron laws and strong government could make them sociable. Because he saw only one side of man's nature he always underestimated the role of faith, goodwill and sympathy and overestimated the opposite characteristics. His reading of the failure of Savonarola was that the prophet failed as he did not use arms. We may cite the example of Calvin to refute Machiavelli.

John Calvin (1509—1564) by his profound religious spirit and deep political genius established in Geneva what Machiavelli wanted to do. His republic the centre of Euro-

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pean civilisation, strong and prosperous, without having recourse to ugly methods (with the sole exception of the martyrdom of Michael Servetus in 1553 on grounds of heresy). Armed prophets, on the other hand, using all the crafts of Machiavelli had but little success. Apart from Borgia, Napoleon had to end his mission in the barren exile of St. Helena. Hitler had to commit suicide. Mussolini's humiliation did not end even after his ignominious death. Moreover, history has yet to prove conclusively that for the liberation of a country, the way of force and blood bath of Algeria costing thousands of innocent lives, is superior to a civilised and generally peaceful method pursued in India. The verdict of history is, however, too pronounced to be overlooked in favour of a Calvin and against a Borgia. It is not very difficult to understand the nature of thought that Machiavelli would present when in his endeavour to give shape to his ideas he went to ancient Rome instead of Athens in the *Discourses*. And that made a world of difference. Athens stands for liberty in its richest variety, Rome stands mainly for authority.

It is true that Aristotle made a distinction between ethics and politics. But he made the state the embodiment of the highest good and asked all the citizens to serve it properly. As the city life or political life in the ideal state of Aristotle was inextricably mixed up with the personal life of the citizens, it was impossible for one to serve a high ideal without following good means. Some have found similarities between the ideas of Machiavelli and those of Aristotle. But there is a vital difference between the two so far as the role of the state is concerned in the life of the citizens. In the first chapter of *The Prince* Machiavelli tells us how, through force of a prince, the state is established. How different are the opening lines of Aristotle's Politics ! "Every state," said Aristotle, "is a community of some kind and every community is established with a view to some good ; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good. But if all communities aim at some good, the state or political community, which is the highest of all, and which embraces all the best aims, and in a greater degree than any other, at the highest good."[17]

Then the rulers of the state must have, according to Aristotle, the following qualifications : (*i*) loyalty to the polity; (*ii*) capacity for their office, (*iii*) virtue and justice in the sense appropriate to the polity. To preserve the spirit of the constitution Aristotle, like Plato, gave supreme importance to education. "Without this education" he argued, "the wisest laws are futile."[18]

Machiavelli did not bother about the education of the citizens. To him citizens are of secondary importance, to be used as instruments by the ruler. The idea of achieving a good life through the state is not important to him. The state has become to him an amoral entity, a

We cannot subscribe to the opinion that in *The Prince* the true ideas of Machiavelli cannot be found. It is argued that his original republican ideas were modified by the tremendous success of the policy of Caesar Borgia. But if it be that Borgia was the teacher from whose deeds Machiavelli learnt what role the Prince should assume, then how can we explain his condemnation of the fallen Caesar ? In no letter or other writings of Machiavelli is to be found any line lamenting the death of Caesar. Therefore, we think that Machiavelli had thought out his own ideas about what a ruler should do to found and run a state. It happened that a contemporary Prince named Caesar Borgia was following those very principles which Machiavelli had in his mind. Hence, Borgia was idolised. But when the idol fell, Machiavelli found in this failure the discomfiture of a man but not the defeat of an idea. As he did not consider it a defeat of his own idea, Machiavelli felt no need to lament the fall of Caesar. Being always partial to the successful from the days of Romulus he had no difficulty in downgrading Caesar as he failed. So he condemned Caesar as "a man devoid of pity . . . a Hydra.....a basilisk.....one meriting the most miserable death."[19]

In some places Machiavelli has laid emphasis like a true political scientist, on the support of the people as the most solid foundation of the state. The best method to secure this is, he said is "to try to make friends with people." For "I reckon unhappy those princes who to secure their state are obliged to employ extraordinary methods, having the many for their enemies." This is a clear contradiction to his advice to the ruler that it is better to be feared than loved by the people. Apart from this point of contradiction we have genuine doubt as to how the Prince can establish real friendship with the people and

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reduce the number of his enemies to a minimum by caring so little for their psychological reactions to his high handedness. Machiavelli has made his prince so much absorbed in maintaining his power that he can seldom think of his duties to the people.

He asked the prince to establish people's 'welfare'. But welfare did not mean to him what it means to a citizen of Britain to-day where the democratic state has assumed the responsibility of providing wonderful security, from the cradle to the grave, under the various social welfare schemes. To Machiavelli people's welfare meant security of their property and life. It is to be realised that the prince is to grant this security not from a sense of disinterested service or duty but from the point of view of expediency pure and simple. For, in his opinion, if the prince touches upon these objects of the people he would dig his own grave. The performance of these acts is nothing but the enlightened self-interest of the ruler. Machiavelli admired the actions of Caesar Borgia on the ground that he by these acts had put an end to the depredations of other tyrants and thereby established so-called peace and order. In other words he glorified the exploits of a mightier robber.

It is interesting to note that this argument of Machiavelli that the prince has to do what may be termed, "mercy killing" to avoid greater killings was used by the Allied Powers when they dropped atom bombs on Japan during the Second World War. Their point was that if war had been conducted by means of conventional weapons that would have continued the war for long costing many more lives. To bring a quick end to the war and along with the suffering and sacrifice of human lives they had ordered "mercy killing" terrible though it was. This argument is as hollow as Machiavelli's pleading in favour of Borgia's deeds which, he said were needed to expedite what is called slower destruction. Caesar Borgia said to Machiavelli about his horrible act at Sinigaglia, "It is proper to snare those who are proving themselves past masters in the art of snaring others."[20] Perhaps, he was giving this explanation to his own conscience. We do not know what will happen to this world if U.S.A. and Russia decide to act on this principle. Greater and quicker destruction may end war and bring peace no doubt, but that would be the peace of the grave. There will be none left to enjoy the fruits of liberty and victory in view of the terrible power of annihilation possessed by the latest weapons.

In international affairs this theory of "mercy killing" of Machivelli would prove to be a serious menace to the liberty and rights of the citizens. Being guided by this theory every dictator would wipe out all signs of dissent, however, honest and sincere they might be. Under such conditions no progress of civilisation would be possible. Because of overemphasis on the reason of the State in Machiavelli, there is all state and no individual. But the very thing—*i.e.*, unity—for which Machiavelli's lawgiver would stain his hand with so much blood and blacken his name with such deception, would remain as distant as ever. Machiavelli, in spite of being a serious student of history and political science, could not realise that the reign of terror and deception would end as violently and ignominiously as it began whether it is under Caesar Borgia or a Robespiere.

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LIBRARIES IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA

By DIPAK KUMAR BARUA, M.A. Dip. Lib.

The library as a store-house and as an organ for the dissemination of human knowledge and experience had its glorious development even in the remote past in India. The only difference in the organisation of knowledge between the past and the present lies in the technique, arrangement and order, while the same ideal, i.e., proper supply and organisation of books and manuscripts which are the veritable mines of human knowledge prevails throughout the centuries in equal significance. As the library is solely connected with man's learning, so its annals depict the same tendencies and peculiaries as those of learning. In India, too, the same episode repeats with its usual prologue, climax, anti-climax and catastrophe.

The mediaeval period of Indian history is remarkable for more than one reason. The Foreign rulers, mostly muslims, were catholic enough as to the promotion and advancement of learning. It was in the hands of these Muslim authorities that the Indian libraries became more developed and attracted eminent scholars from home and abroad. Though the Sultans themselves were not scholars of very high grade, yet they were great patrons and lovers of learning and forerunners of the modern library movement in India.

During the Sultanate period the Turks did not maintain any separate building for a library. Books were generally stocked in the buildings meant for educational institutions. The library of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya which was located in his Khanduah in Delhi, was the only public library, being heavily subsidised by the public and open to all inquisitive people during the Sultanate administration.[1]

But it was during the Mughal period that libraries obtained the most liberal patronage of the mighty emperors. The libraries of these times may, however, be conveniently classified into: (i) Royal libraries containing selected books which were either located within the precincts of the palaces or in public buildings; (ii) Provincial libraries which were generally situated in provincial kingdoms of independent rulers. All these libraries—whether public or private, open or exclusive—were highly organised and efficiently maintained as would be evident from the elaborate and effective scheme that was adopted for establishing, organising, administering and preserving libraries during the middle ages in India and the treatment they received at the hands of the Muslim sovereigns who finally settled down here and introduced various plans for an all-round prosperity of Indian life and culture.

We have already noted that 'Library' did not attract the same attention under the Sultans as it did under the Mughal Emperors. During the later Mughal sovereignty a special department like modern education and library directorates, was maintained to look after the libraries in the State. The highest official of the library was called the Nazim or Mutamad who was the chief authority in the library.[2] He had full authority as regards the income and expenditure, appointment and dismissal of the personnel of the library etc. He was responsible only to the emperor for his activities relating to the library. He was also regarded as a high dignitory or nobleman at the court. All these responsibilities and privileges prove conclusively that the Nazim or the Chief Librarian or Director of the library enjoyed a very high position in the State. He was a distinguished fellow on the royal list. Thus are found distinctive names like Mulla Pir Muhammad, Shaikh Faizi or Muktub Khan as the distinguished Nazims or Chief Librarians, under the Mughal Emperors. The next official of the library was the Darogha who may be equated with the Deputy Librarian of the

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modern library system. The Darogha-i-Kutubkhana being a highly accomplished man who had intimate knowledge of the arts and sciences had to look after the internal management of the library under the Nazim. He was assisted by quite a number of assistants who used to help him in the matters of purchase, arrangement, classification and cataloguing of books. Each assistant was in charge of his own section and subject.[3]

The Mughal rulers unlike the Turks caused to build numerous spacious and magnificent buildings for the maintenance of their invaluable library collections. The floor of the library building was kept wonderfully clean and bright. Careful attention was given while planning the library building and every effort was adopted to free it from dust, damp, moisture and extreme atmospheric variations. Like modern planners of library buildings the mediaeval architects, too, had to make provision for sufficient light and free circulation of air.

As regards the method of book-classification also the mediaeval librarians were expert enough. Classification was thought to be an inevitable method for the proper and helpful arrangement of books and manuscripts. The smaller libraries used to classify broadly the library holdings into the arts and the sciences. But the bigger libraries classified books more closely into sub-classes, sections, divisions, etc. as per their subjects and arranged them accordingly on the shelves. An interesting account of the book-classification that was adopted in the libraries of Akbar and Shaikh Faizi will reveal a glorious development in library technique. In these libraries books and manuscripts were classified into the following sections[4] viz., Astrology, Astronomy, Commentaries, Geometry, Law, Medicine, Music, Philosophy, Poetry, Sufism, Theology, anl Traditions. Rare and sacred books were kept apart in a separate sequence for convenience and easy reference.

But unlike the modern steel or wooden shelves, books in the middle age were kept in trunks and almirahs according to their serial numbers. Every effort was made to keep the books safe from dirt, worms and atmospheric evils by employing expert assistants who took up periodical inspection of each book individually lest it was damaged in any way.

Besides the Chief Librarian, Deputy Librarian and section-assistants, there were also book binders, guilders, painters, calligraphers, copyists and Muquabila Navis who compared the copied texts with the original ones in the Mughal libraries. During this period libraries reached a very advanced stage of development under direct governmental control and supervision. It is curious that libraries were kept separate from the Public Records Office which may be compared with modern National Archives.

It was under the active support of the emperors that the royal libraries flourished most. Babur, the first Mughal emperor being himself accomplished in literary attainments encouraged the establishment and expansion of a number of libraries. He had a personal library of which good use was made by him. Whenever he became exhausted he took rest in his library. But it was through the patronage of Humayun, the worthy scion of Babur, that the library movement during the Mughal rule received its further impetus. He converted the pleasure-house of Sher Shah in the Purana Quilla into a library. It is sad to note that Humayun fell from the stairs of the library at Sher Mandal getting dangerous injuries which shortened his life.[5] He had also a personal library with the choicest books. It is said that during his Gujarat expedition when Humayun was encamped at Cambay, some forest and hill tribes attacked his camp and in confusion plundered "many rare books which were his real companions and were always kept in His Majesty's personal possession."[6] Akbar, the great apostle of learning, also maintained a magnificent library containing books on various subjects. Although he had not taken the trouble to learn to read, yet 'by a peculiar acquisitiveness and talent for a selection, by no means common, had made his own all the

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can be seen and read in books'.[8] For his studies through the medium of the ear, Akbar collected an enormous library of extraordinary pecuniary value, to which probably no parallel then existed or ever has existed in the world.[9] As Akbar did not care for printed volumes, so the books there collected were in manuscript-forms. When the stock-taking of his treasuries preserved in the Agra Fort was taken after his death in October, 1605, the books, "written by great men, mostly by very ancient and serious authors," adorned with extremely valuable bindings, and in many cases enriched with costly illustrations by the best artists, numbered 24,000 valued at nearly six and a half millions of rupees. This figure of inventory was taken from official registers copied independently by two Euroupean authors, Manrique and De Laet.[10] Akbar also maintained a translation bureau for translating Sanskrit, Turki and Arabic books into Persian. The royal library was located in the big hall on the side of Shah Jahan's octagonal tower in the fort of Agra. The huge mass of collections of this library was helpfully classified under sections and subsections and efficiently organised by expert librarians. Salim Sultana, one of the Queens of the emperor, was also a great lover of books and had a library of her own.[11] Jahangir, another great Moghul ruler, in addition to possessed a personal library of his own the imperial library which was mobile in character being moved wherever the emperor happened to go. The personal library of Nur Jahan, the queen-consort of Jahangir, was no less important. It was enriched by occasional purchases by the queen. Shah Jahan, too, was a great patron of the library and learning. He spent the early hours of the night in his study room and read and listened to his selected works.[12] Aurangazeb, another illustrious Mughal emperor, took active care of the imperial library and enriched it by new and valuable additions. He had also a personal library consisting of books mostly on theology and religion. He transferred the library of Mahmud Gawan from Bidar and amalgamated it with the imperial library. Zebun-Nisa, the worthy daughter of Aurangzeb, collected a big library which offered her companionship and solace during her imprisonment for her complicity in the rebellion of Prince Akbar.[13] Later Mughuls like Bahadur Shah, Muhammed Shah, Shah Alam II and others took active steps for establishing new libraries and preserving and enriching the Imperial Library and other sundry libraries.

From the above observation it is evident that the early Muslim rulers as well as the Mughal emperors were great patrons of learning and consequently during their sovereignty libraries—royal and public—received further impetus. The royal libraries which were established in the mediaeval period could easily compete with any first-grade library of the western countries of that age.

But along with these royal libraries there developed in mediaecal India the reading rooms and libraries of the noblemen and distinguished personalities. Abdur Rahim, son of Akbar's early protector Bairram Khan, maintained a library of a very high standard. In this library were employed highly trained scribes, calligraphers, painters, book-binders, guilders, cutters, translators and moderators who were responsible for the physical get-up and publication of books. Maasir-i-Rahimi speaks highly of Abdur Rahim's librarian, Maulana Ibrahim Naash.[14] The distinguishing feature of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan's library was that most of the books were manuscripts from the hands of the authors themselves. Some of the authors presented their books to him and received rewards in return.[15] The modern libraries of the nawab of Rampur and the Raj Pramukh of Hyderabad and the Khudabux Oriental Libary at Patna possess some of the precious items of Abdur Rahim's collection.

Next to Abdur Rahim's mention may be made of the personal library of Munim Khan, the governor of Jaunpur. In this library many rare and invaluable manuscripts were collected and preserved.

Shaikh Faizi who was the brother of Abul Fazl became noted for his enthusiasm for the library. He collected a large number of costly books in authors' own handwritings. He took personal care of books which

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were neatly and finely bound. The total number of books in his library exceeded 4,300 and after Faizi's death these were added to the Imperial Library. Faizi's collections included numerous subjects like literature, medicine, astronomy, music, philosophy, mathematics, jurisprudence, etc.[16] The library which was maintained by Shaikh Farid Bukhari, a favourite courtier of Jahangir, may also be mentioned here. Later the important and valuable books of Farid's library were distributed into other Indian libraries.

All the above libraries were personal libraries which were rich in contents. Huge quantities of gold in **mohars** were spent for their maintenance and upkeep. But all these were essentially private personal libraries, accessible only to the owners, their nearest relatives and highly qualified persons. These libraries may be compared with the grand private libraries maintined by wealthy and educated persons of the modern society.

But our delineation would be incomplete if we did not mention the libraries of the independent rulers of several states that were in existence during the Mughal supremacy in India. These rulers or chiefs also spent money lavishly for the promotion of learning and better organisation of libraries —private or public.

Gujarat possessed a very good library before the invasion of Akbar under Sultan Ahmad Shah I who established a royal library and aided many madrasas of his kingdom by supplying books and other necessary equipments. It is said that when Gujarat was conquered by Akbar, he gave away some books of the royal library to his courtiers.[17] The reputed College of Mahmud Gawan[18] during the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahamani had a grand library consisting of over 3,000 books on diverse topics.[19] During Aurangzeb's reign this library was transferred to Delhi and amalgamated with the Imperial Library.[20]

The Sharui rulers were themselves scholars and made liberal provisions for scholars at their courts. The library of Maulvi Maashuq Ali was well-known in the Kingdom and contained over 5,000 books. The library of the Mufti was also a big one.

During this period the City of Jaunpur retained its title and its libraries attracted many scholars from far and near.

The Sultans of Khandesh possessed a fine library. Farishta related that he came into contact with this library and from one of the books here he got the history of the Faruki rulers. The library had a precious and rare copy of the "Tughluq Nama."

The rulers of the Vijoyanagar Kingdom were also aware of the libraries as the disseminators of knowledge. A grant of land by king Bukka in Saka 1329, Vyaya, to Pauranika Kavi Krishna Bhatta was made for renovation and proper management of a library belonging to a matha at Sringere. This record from Vantyala, a village of Perduru[21] in South Kanara district, mentions the gift of the hamlet Bramhara in Barakuru nadu and certain incomes from other villages including Kanyaya, Pentanna and Belmaj to Pauranika Kavi Krishna Bhatta of Sringeri for the maintenance and renovation of a 'pustaka-bhandara' belonging to the Sringeri matha.

The Sultans of Bijapur also had a big personal library which passed on from ruler to ruler. There were about sixty employees who were engaged in calligraphy, copying painting, binding and gilding the books prepared in this library.

The Chhatrapatis and the Peshwas in Maharastra maintained their personal libraries and many of them who were interested in learning, endeavoured to procure old manuscripts or their copies for their personal libraries and also for the public ones.

The nawab Murshid Quli Khan of Bengal possessed a very extensive library and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition. He wrote with great elegance and was a remarkably fine penmen.[23]

Besides the above, we have further references to the existence of numerous other libraries. Thus Mohammad of Ghazni is said to have maintained a large library at his capital consisting of more than 30,000 volumes.[24] From another source it is learnt that after the conquest of Kangara, a great library containing Sanskrit works fell into the hands of Firoz—Bin—Rajab.[25] As the

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propagation of learning was attended to by the Schools and seminaries and as the religious organisations also co-operated in the dissemination of knowledge, well-equipped libraries containing manuscripts must have been maintained by these institutions. Hence a close and microscopic study of the history of library development will unveil the fact that during the mediaeval period, the Indian libraries reached a very covetable height of development and ornamentation. Indeed it was during this age of Indian history that libraries in their outer and inner forms developed most and every effort then was made for proper arrangement and maintenance of the books and other valuable materials in the mediaeval libraries with the help of prevailing classification and cataloguing methods.

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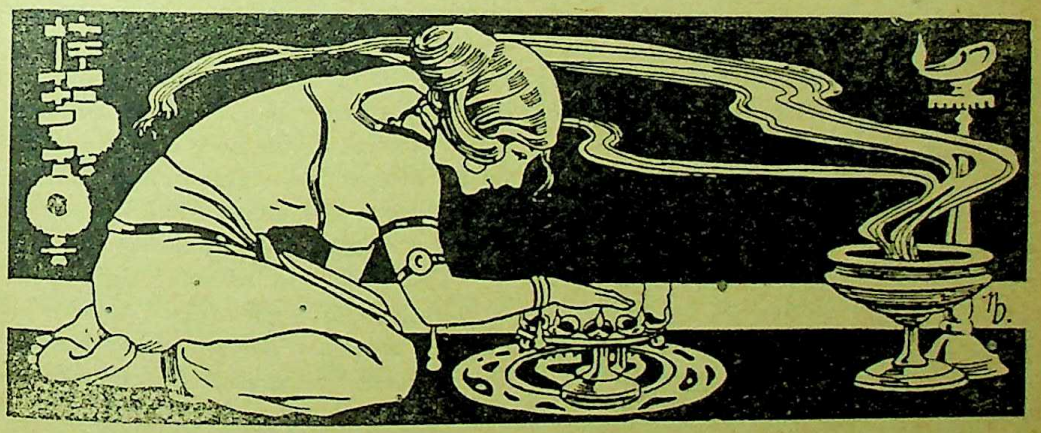

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AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND REFINANCE CORPORATION

By Dr. M. D. SHARMA, M.Com., Ph.D., F.R.Econ.S. (London)

When a country is making its transition from an under-developed to an advanced economy, no factor is so critical as the rate of the growth of agricultural productivity. The reasons for this have been brought out by Professor M. Arthur Lewis in his treatise on 'The Theory of Economic Growth.* The various studies done by the World Bank of the Latin American economies also reveal that the primary factor responsible for arresting the industrialisation of these countries, and for causing chronic dis-equilibrium in the balance of payments is the failure of agricultural production to increase in relation to the demand. A distressing feature of the Indian economic growth in the last 12 years is the failure of agricultural production in gneral and of food supply in particular, to keep pace with increasing demands mounting with the ratio of a growing population, and developing economy. This failure has manifested itself in the shape of rising agricultural prices and increased imports of food-grains. It obviates the urgency of raising India's agricultural productivity,† the first essential requisite for which is the timely and suitable flow of finance to the agricultural sector.

Agricultural credit should be classified according to the purpose for which it is sought, the period for which it is needed, and the security on which it is based. The exploitation of land requires abundant liquid capital. Working capital is required for the purchase of stock, seeds, manure and other raw materials necessary for production. Medium term capital is required for the purchase of live-stock, implements and machinery and for carrying out small scale permanent improvements on land. Long-term capital is required for the purchase of the farm (in the absence of landlord and tenant system) and to make it fit for cultivation by means of drainage, fencing, bunding and other land improvements ; digging and repair of wells, development of other irrigation sources ; laying out of new orchards and plantation ; purchase of implements, machinery and transport equipment; construction of farm buildings, cattle sheds, etc., etc. Recourse to long-term credit on this account is almost inevitable beause very few agriculturists can meet their needs out of their own capital.

The intensification and expansion of cultivation has created needs of increased credit in agriculture, and as a consequence its own problems. The main object of agricultural credit is the supply of such capital as is necessary for establishing the ideal analogy between the factors of production, rendering the factors more productive, which include the available capital it strengthens. In India, the present annual credit requirement of the agricultural sector for short, medium and long term purposes is probably of the order of Rs. 1000—1,100 crores, as estimated broadly in the light of the All-India Rural Credit Survey's estimate for 1951-52 and allowing for the increase in agricultural production since then. If credit needs of large-scale plantations such as tea, coffee and rubber be added, then the aggregate credit rquirements may go upto Rs. 1,300—1,400 crores in 1965-66.‡ There is, therefore, an imperative need for such an organisation and mechanism which can make the credit to be properly canalised and agricultural industry to be linked to the money market. It is this particular aspect of agricultural finance which emphasises the need and urgency of setting-up an independent statutory corporation in India to work as a Dvlopment Bank for agriculture and act as a catalyst for investment in agriculture.

The formation of an independent statutory corporation for agricultural finance has also become necessary because other institutions, like the National Cooperative Development Board and the Central Warehousing Corporation could not cater to all the needs of agriculturists. The Reserve Bank of India played a commendable part in

* Prof. W. Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth*, pp. 279-334.

† For index numbers of agricultural production and productivity in India, see, *Tata Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 1, p. 2.

‡ *Commerce*, 15th December, 1962.

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strengthening the position of credit agencies, but no bank could function as an agricultural development bank, at the cost of its other functions. The inability of the established agencies, such as the apex Cooperative and Land Mortgage banks to finance development projects in the agricultural sector, either because the amounts involved in each individual scheme or project are very large or because the period for which credit is necessary is relatively long, has further intensified the need for an independent statutory corporation in India. It is in response to this need that on 14th March, 1963, the Rajya Sabha has passed the Agricultural Re-ginance Corporation Bill, providing for the establishment of a corporation for granting medium and long-term credit for the development of agriculture, as passed by the Lok Sabha.

A Retrospect

Our planners, while recognizing the importance of raising agricultural production as well as productivity, realised the importance of long-term credit for agriculture. A modest target of Rs. 150 crores (loans outstanding) has been laid down for long-term cooperative credit, towards the end of the Third Five-Year Plan. But it was felt that even for the attainment of this modest target, certain conditions shall have to be fulfilled. These conditions precisely are that institutional investors would support the debentures of central land mortgage banks and, an agricultural development finance corporation would be set up. The Third Five-Year Plan elaborates the functions of the corporation as follows :

> "The Corporation will purchase debentures floated by central land mortgage banks in the normal course and will also provide funds for schemes for increasing agricultural production which are remunerative in character, but involve onsiderable investment or long periods of waiting, such as rubber, coffee, cashewnut and arecanut plantations, irrigation, contour bunding and soil conservation, and development of orchards and fruit gardens."

Naturally, therefore, the Central Government, in consultation with the Reserve Bank of India, has had under consideration for some time the question of setting up an Agricultural Refinance Corporation. Details of the proposal were worked out by the Reserve Bank and forwarded to the Central Government for due and detailed consideration. The Bill to set up this Corporation was introduced in the Lok Sabha on December 5, 1962. The Bill, having been debated in both the houses has been passed on March 14, 1963.

Objects and Authorised Business

The main object of the establishment of this Corporation is to augment the available supply of Medium and Long-term funds for agriculture. It is intended to strengther the resources available to co-operative and other financing agencies to make long-term advances for special schemes of agricultural development. It would assist such agricutural projects of individuals, co-operatives and joint stock companies which could not ordinarily be financed by established financial agencies. The scope of its operation would also include the deveopment of animal husbandary, dairy-farming, pisciculture, poultry-farming and stock breeding.

The main functions of the Corporation would be two. Firstly, as indicated by its very name, the Corporation would be a re-financing body, providing necessary resources by way of re-finance to the primary lenders for facilitating the provision of long-term credit for agricultural deveopment. Secondly, the Corporation would grant credit otherwise than by refinance for a maximum period of upto 25 years to eligible institutions—namely, Central Land Mortgage Banks, State Co-operative Banks, such scheduled banks as are share-holders of the Corporation, and Co-operative Societies approved by the Reserve Bank.

The Corporation would be authorised to subscribe to long-term debentures for a maximum period of 25 years issued by a Central Land Mortgage Bank or a State Co-operative Bank or a scheduled bank, in case they are share-holders of the Corporation. Necessarily these debentures need to be guaranteed by the Government.

With the prior permission of the Central Government, the Corporation would be permitted to guarantee deferred payments due from eligible co-operative societies or any other person and guaranteed to the Corporation by one of the eligible institutions, in connection with the purchase of capital from foreign countries.

A ceiling of Rs. 50 Lakhs is fixed in respect of assistance granted by the Corporation in

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connection with any individual transaction. The amounts of the Corporation due to the institutions which are assisted by it, will be guaranteed by the State Governments.

Structure of the Corporation

The Corporation would be an autonomous body with its head-quarters in Bombay. It may also, according to the Bill, establish offices or agencies in other places in India with the consent of the Reserve Bank.

The management of the Corporation would vest in a Board of nine directors with a Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India as the Chairman. Three nominees of the Central Government, one nomines of the Reserve Bank of India, three elected directors each representing respectively the State Co-operative Banks, the Central Land Mortgage Banks, and all the other financial institutions such as Life Insurance Corporation of India, commercial banks and the other Institutions which are share-holders shall constitute its Board of Directors. The latter three would be ordinary directors. A Managing Director will be appointed with the approval of the Reserve Bank. The Central Government may give directions to the Corporation regarding matters of policy involving public interest.

Sources of Funds

(a) *Share Capital* : To attain the objects of its establishment, the Corporation would start with an authorised capital of Rs. 25 Crores divided into 25 thousand fully paid-up shares, each of Rs. 10,000.

To start with, it shall have an initial paid-up capital of Rs. 5 crorer (5,000 shares) or 20 per cent of its authorised capital. Of the 5,000 shares to be initially issued, the Reserve Bank of India shall be allotted 2,500 shares, the Central Land Mortgage Banks and State Co-operative Banks shall get upto a maximum of 1,500 shares, and the Life Insurance Corporation, scheduled banks, insurance and investment companies and such other financial institutions as may be notified by the Government, shall get upto a maximum of 1,000 shares.

Shares which are not taken up within the respective categories, by the institutions for which they are intended will be subscribed by Central and the State Governments, local authe

the Reserve Bank of India in addition to its normal 50 per cent shares; such shares may be transfered by the Reserve Bank at a later stage to the institutions which are eligible to become share-holders of the Corporation.

The Bill provides that no individual institution should hold more than 10 per cent of the shares reserved for the class of institution to which it belongs.

The shares of the Corporation shall be guaranteed by the Central Government as to the repayment of the principal and payment of a minimum annual dividend at such rates as may be determined by that Government. The shares of the Corporation shall be deemed to be trustee securities or approved securities.

(B) Loan from the Central Government

Besides the share capital, the Corporation would be able to get working funds from the Central Government. The Central Government shall lend to the Corporation an *interest free* loan of Rs. 5 crores, re-payable in 15 annual equal instalments commencing on the expiry of a period period of 15 years from the date of the receipt of the loan. This period can be extended at the option of the Government. It is intended that the investment income on this amount should be available to the Corporation for enabling it to meet its expenses during this period.

(C) Bonds and Debentures

The Corporation has been empowered under the Bill to borrow money by means of issuing bonds and debentures carrying government guarantee.

(D) Loans from Reserve Bank, Central Government and other Institutions

To further augment its financial resources, the Corporation has been empowered to borrow money from the Reserve Bank against trustee securities for a period not exceeding 18 months. It would also be able to borrow money from the Central Government or other institutions approved by the Government, or from both.

(E) Deposits

The Corporation, under the provisions of the Bill, is also empowered to accept deposits for fixed periods of 12 months or more, from the

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rities, co-operative institutions, scheduled banks, etc.

(F) Borrowing in Foreign Currency

The Corporation may, with the previous consent of the Central Government, borrow foreign currency against the guarantee of the Central Government, for purposes of granting loans and advances to eligible institutions.

(G) Dividend Deposits

A further provision in the Bill is to the effect that the Reserve Bank shall place on deposit with the Corporation itself the dividends on its shareholding in the Corporation, without interest, for a period of 15 years.

The aggregate amount borrowed by the Corporation in the form of loans and deposits is not to exceed 20 times of the paid-up capital and reserves. Thus, the maximum lending capacity of the Corporation, in the initial year, can be of the order of Rs. 100 crores.

To Conclude

It can be said that the establishment of the Agricultural Refinance Corporation would give a new shape to the agricultural credit structure in our country. It is indeed a timely step taken by the Government of India to reconstruct the rural credit system. The Corporation would be a useful instrument for linking the organised money market with agricultural credit.

A salient feature of the proposed Corporation is that it it will associate with itself commercial banks, the Life Insurance Corporation and other financial institutions including the general insurance companies and investment companies. It would be a matter of great advantage if the Life Insurance Corporation also takes its full share in the capital of the Corporation to contribute its share in the development of the agricultural sector of Indian economy, wherefrom the Corporation draws an important part of its total insurance business. Under the prsent provisions of the Bill, the Life Insurance Corporation can subscribe a maximum of 100 shares amounting to only Rs. 10 lakhs, which represents simply a neglible percentage to the Life Funds of the Corporation.

The association of commercial banks with the proposed Corporation would be to a great extent helpful in encouraging the commercial banks to take a little more interest in the problems of agricultural credit. The share of banks in the share capital of the Corporation would mean an indirect participation of commercial banks in long-term agricultural credit. In India, the commercial banks play a very insignificant part in the financing of agriculture. The commercial banks do not provide any medium and long-term finance to agriculture. With the establishment of this Corporation the commercial banks can also attempt to play their part in the provision of medium term finance. In Australia[4] long and medium term accommodation is provided by the banks for agriculture. In Latin American countries also, the commercial banks are an important source of providing agricultural credit. In India also, commercial banks can now start their endeavour in this direction, specially with the help of this Corporation.

The association of commercial banks with the Corporation has yet another important aspect to be considered. In India, there are two important categories of commercial banks—the scheduled banks and the non-scheduled banks. Though the State Bank of India is included in the category of scheduled banks, yet because of its unique role in agricultural finance, it can be put into an independent category. The point to consider is that only scheduled banks have been associated with the Corporation. The non-scheduled banks have not been taken into association, although they are also doing, at least something, towards financing agriculture.

A numerical study shows that the advances of the Scheduled banks made to the agricultural sector accounted for 2.3 per cent of their total advances in 1950, 2.2 per cent in 1951 and only 0.6 per cent in 1960. Thus, they show a declining tendency. The proportion of advances in case of non-scheduled banks, on the other hand, has gone up from 5.3 per cent in 1950 to 7.0 per cent in 1960. Thus, in relative terms, non-scheduled banks are taking greater interest in agricultural finance. Further, these banks are more local than scheduled banks and can easily switch over to the business of providing finance, even term finance, to agriculture, because of their better situation for such a switchover. All this, makes a case for inclusion of non-scheduled banks also, in the list of the constituents of the proposed Corporation.

4. Banking System in Australian Economy, M. D. Sharma, *The Banker*, May, 1960.

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Further, the State Bank of India has been playing an important role in agricultural credit. But, this bank has also not been specifically associated with the proposed Corporation, though it can subscribe to the share capital of the Corporation as any other scheduled bank can do. It is suggested, therefore, that the State Bank of India should be specifically associated with the Corporation and one nominee of this bank be placed on the Board of Directors of the proposed Corporation. It would be desirable on the part of the State Bank also to re-orientate its policy of agricultural credit in view of the establishment of this Corporation.

The Corporation would provide finance for the scheme of increasing agricultural production which are remunerative in character, but involve considerable investment for long periods of waiting, such as development of plantations and of orchards and fruit gardens. Since agriculture is a State subject, the State Governments should draw up such schemes in anticipation, so that the Corporation's activities might not be hampered due to the non-availability of suitable schemes for financing agricultural development. Similarly, the eligible institutions should also find it profitable to themselves to play their part in the successful operation of the proposed Corporation.

The Corporation should also chalk out a Five-Year Plan of its operation. The Corporation should also care for the regional development and if it is possible to formulate regional plans of financing agricultural commodities in warious groups, such as plantations, industrial purposes and food, etc., and an advisory committee for each group be set-up to guide and assist the Corporation in respect of their financing. It is presumed that the activities of the Corporation would not be over-lapping with those of other financial institutions incuding the Reserve Bank of India.

The Corporation, under the present provisions of the Bill, as passed by Parliament, it supposed to provide credit for agricultural development only. But, occasionally, credit is required for purposes of relief and rehabilitation also. Not infrequently, crops are destroyed due to natura calamities. To meet this situation 'Distress Credi is required which may fall under the category o both short-term as well as long-term credt, as i has to cover relief as well as rehabilitation. Even if short-term distress credit for relief be kep away from the scope of the operations of thi Corporation, the provision of medium-term an long-term distress credit should be included i the functions of the Corporation. The nature o the scope of operations of the bank elaborate above, also demands a befitting nomenclature. for one, would suggest that this may be named a 'Agricultural Development Bank'.

In the end, it can be said that the step take by the Central Government in this direction o promoting agricultural development and agricul tural productivity, through the proposed Corpora tion, is certainly laudable. The Corporation, i is expected, would be able to enable the co-opera tive and land mortgage banks to secure the tar gets of agricultural credit, set by the Third Five Year Plan. The private investment in agriculture and irrigation will have to be at a higher leve than it is estimated to be at present. The Third Plan's high level of public investment in agricul ture and irrigation at an annual average of about Rs. 350 crores will involve a corres pondingly high level of investment by the agriculturists themselves on agricultural develop ment projects. Unless private investment is st stepped-up, the facilities created by public invest ment will not be fully utilised. It is in this as pect that the Corporation would put in its effort to increase the quantum of long-term credit fo private investment in agriculture.

The Corporation's activities should be able t attain both the short-term as well as long-term objectives of agriculture. It should on th one hand be able to increase quantitative results (increased total agricultural production), whil on the other it should also ensure qualitative results in the form of increased agricultura productivity. The Corporation would, therefore certainly prove a boon to the agricultural secto of the fast developing Indian Economy.

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A DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY OF RAJASTHAN

By Prof. D. C. SANCHETI

Growth of Population

The population of Rajasthan in 1951, adjusted as a consequence of territorial changes in the inter-censal period stood at 15.97 million (8.31 million males and 7.66 million females). In 1961, it rose to 20.15 million (10.56 million males and 9.59 million females).[1] There was thus, an absolute increase of 4.18 million (2.25 million in males and 1.93 million in females) and a percentage increase of 26.20 (27.18 per cent in males and 25.27 per cent in females), the annual rate of increase being 2.62 per cent. The comparative rates of change in the population of Rajasthan and India from 1901 to 1961 are given below :[2]

Year of Census	Population of Rajasthan (in millions)	Decennial % rate of change	
		In Rajasthan	In India
1901	10.29		
1911	10.98	+06.70	+05.73
1921	10.29	—06.29	—00.31
1931	11.75	+14.14	+11.01
1941	13.86	+18.01	+14.22
1951	15.97	+15.20	+13.31
1961	20.15	+26.20	+21.50

The above table of comparative rates of growth of population in Rajasthan and in India has shown that the former has always led the latter. That is why, the population of Rajasthan has doubled in the last 60 years in spite of the widespread influenza epidemic of 1918-19. During the period 1911-21 when the population of India fell by 0.31 per cent the population of Rajasthan for the corresponding period came down by 6.29 per cent. Obviously, Rajasthan being a backward State had to pay a higher toll of life than the whole of India. This shows the susceptibility of the population of Rajasthan to natural calamities. But in spite of that abrupt fall the population of Rajasthan has increased by 83.5 per cent from 1911-61, the corresponding increase in India being 74.2 per cent only. Thus population in Rajasthan has maintained a consistently high rate of growth, but the difference of 4.70 per cent in the rates of 1961 and 1951 has been more than ever. The population in Rajasthan is not only expanding in absolute terms but the rate of growth is also increasing in successive Censuses.

Rajasthan's decennial rate of growth (26.20 per cent) in 1961 Census is 72.4 per cent higher than the corresponding rate (15.20 per cent) in 1951 Census. The following other inferences emerge from the demographic study of Rajasthan in the context of India :—

1. There is a positive relationship between the growth of population and socio-economic backwardness. Rajasthan which stands 4th in the rate of growth amongst the States of the Union ranks 12th in per capita income, with a low per capita income of Rs. 271.59.[3]

2. Similarly, there is a negative relationship between the growth of population and literacy. Rajasthan which ranks 4th in growth of population in all the States, ranks last in literacy. In the State district Barmer with the lowest literacy of 73 per thousand persons has a high decennial rate of growth of 32.50 per cent.

3. Generally speaking, areas with a low density of population have a high rate of growth. This might be due to the common cause of economic backwardness, district Jaisalmer in the State with the lowest density of 9 per sq. mile has a high rate of growth (30.4 per cent), another district Barmer with next lowest density in the State has a high rate of growth (35.2 per cent).

4. The preponderance of the rural sector in the State also plays its role in inflating the growth of population, 83.85 per cent of the total population of Rajasthan lives in villages. Rural prosperity has a reverse effect

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to urban prosperity. Whereas urban prosperity contains the growth the rural prosperity increases growth. The high birth-rate in rural Rajasthan is due to high sex ratio and absence of alternative means of enjoyment which could not be counter-balanced even by high birth-rate, due to lack of medical facilities.

5. The preponderance of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes population with its backward economy has its impact on the overall rate of growth of the State. Rajasthan with 4.60 per cent of India's total population (excluding Goa, Daman, and Diu) has 5.21 per cent of the Scheduled Castes and 7.73 per cent of the Scheduled Tribes population of India. The districts Banswara and Dungarpur inhabiting Scheduled Tribes, with a high rate of growth of 32.9 per cent and 32.1 per cent respectively, have contributed to the high rate of growth of the population in Rajasthan as a whole.

The growth of population in Rajasthan is not uniform throughout the State, but varies from one area to another according to natural conditions, as has been shown in the following table :[4]

Name of Physical Division.	Decennial % rate of growth as per 1961 Census.
Western Dry Area	23.0
Plain Area	32.5
Plateau Area	23.0
Hill Area	25.5
State	26.20

The high rate of growth in plains is due mainly to the tendency of people from the adjoining areas to migrate to plains for cultivation and commerce. Next highest density of Hills is due to backwardness of the people inhabiting hill areas. The highest rate of growth in the State is of Ganganagar District (64.6 per cent) due mainly to immigration of the people from the neighbouring district to take advantage of irrigation facilities made available by Bhakra and Ganga canals. The lowest rate of growth in the State is in Bhilwars District (18.5 per cent) obviously due to preponderance of non-agricultural populati (58.1 per cent), in comparison to the State average of 21.36 per cent.

Density of Population

In density of population the State just the reverse of the growth of populatio The State has an area of 1,32,147 sq. mil (3,42,261 sq. metres)* occupying 11. per cent of the total area of India (excludi Jammu & Kashmir, Goa, Daman and Diu The State is the second biggest in India ne only to Madhya Pradesh. The two bigge States of M.P.; and Rajasthan, howeve occupy one-fourth of the total area of Ind with one-tenth of the total populatio Naturally, they possess lesser density population not only in comparison wi India as a whole but in comparison with th States of India. Rajasthan alone with suc a vast land area has only 4.62 per cent the total population of India (excludi Goa, Daman and Diu). Consequently th density of population of the State is onl 153 persons per sq. mile or 59 per sq. metre which is the lowest amongst the States the Indian Union. It is just two-thirds of th density of India's average density of 3 persons per sq. mile. It is even less tha one-seventh of Kerala and nearly same a West Bengal. The reason for such a lo density of population is the vast expanse barren and desolate desert in more tha half of Rajasthan with a rainfall of 5 inche to 10 inches which is said to be an are where 'there are more spears than spea grass heads and blades of steel grow bett than blades of corn'[5] Migration had been common feature of years of famine an drought in which many were to perish an many others were not to return at all. Give below is the percentage of area under ea natural division and the percentage of co centration of the total population.[6]

Name of the Physical Division	% of the total area of Rajasthan	% of the to population Rajasthan
Western Dry Area	56.6	30.5
Plain Area	24.5	49.5
Plateau Area	10.0	8.5
Hill Area	9.0	11.5
Total	100.0	100.0

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The above table reveals that more than half of the area is dry and barren with less than one-third of the total population. The plain area is only one-fourth of the total area having about one-half of the population. Another table appended below gives the comparative concentration of population in Rajasthan and India in low density ranges.[7]

Density Ranges	Proportion of Population in Rajasthan	Proportion of Population in India
0 to 200	43.91	8.63
200 to 350	40.95	22.92
350 to 500	15.55	12.85

As has been shown in the above table 84.86 per cent of the total population of Rajasthan is concentrated in density ranges below 350 whereas, only 31.55 per cent of India's population is concentrated in the same density ranges. Even the villages of Rajasthan are very thinly populated. About one-third of the villages have population of less than 250 each, and about two-thirds of the villages have a population of 500 each, and only one-eighth of the villages have populations exceeding 1,000.

Density of population in Rajasthan is chiefly guided by the availability of water. Because of its agricultural economy with relatively dry land and lack of other avenues of employment, water determines the settlement of the people. Density is low, partly because people migrate to other States in search for better prospects of making money.

Sex Ratio

As per 1961 Census, Rajasthan has 908 females per 1000 males. Compared with the sex ratio of 921 in 1951 Census there is a fall of 13. There is a similar fall in the sex ratio of India from 947 in 1951 Census to 941 in 1961 Census. But the fall in Rajasthan is much more than the fall of India. This fall, however, resembles the fall from 908 to 896 in the period 1911 to 1921. That was an abnormal year of influenza epidemic which stripped off the female population more than male population. Where as, the total population of Rajasthan fell by 6.39%, the fall in females was 7.5%. The abrupt fall in 1961 may be due to the migration of the male population to other areas of India and due to the fact that maternity facilities could not keep pace with the other medical facilities resulting in the collapse of females in the maternity period. In the State, the Dungarpur District has the highest sex ratio of 991 and the Jaisalmer District has the lowest sex ratio of 802. The study of sex ratio has revealed the following further results :—

1. There is negative relationship between sex ratio and the growth of population. Rajasthan and Assam have sex ratio of 908 and 877 respectively with the respective growth of 26.20% and 34.30%. In Rajasthan, the sex ratio has fallen from 921 to 908 from 1951 to 1961 but the corresponding rate of growth has increased from 15.20% to 26.20%.

2. The sex ratio is generally high in rural areas than in urban areas because of the preservation of family life in rural areas, as is shown in the following table[8] :—

Rural/urban	Sex Ratio in 1961.	
	Rajasthan	India
Rural	913	963
Urban	882	845
Total	908	941

Rajasthan's rural sex ratio is not much below India's rural sex ratio because of the tendency of rural people in Rajasthan to migrate to cities for general and other financing business. But urban sex ratio of Rajasthan is more than that of India because it lacks the city characteristics and migration of males from towns leaving females behind, that is why Mandawa (Thunghunu) has sex ratio of 1,129, Ratangarh (Churu) has 1092. Deshnoke (Bikaner) has 1057 and so on.

3. In urban areas the sex ratio varies inversely with the size of the population as has been shown in the following table[9] :—

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Urban Sex Ratio in Rajasthan and India in 1961.

TOWNS

Class	I	II	III	IV to VI
Rajasthan	859	859	898	906
India	800	858	880	897

4. Sex ratio is low in relatively dry areas and more in humid areas. Given below is the sex ratio of 1961 in States lying in different natural regions :[10]

Sex Ratio in 1961.

Humid Region		Dry Region	
Kerala	1022	Rajasthan	908
Orissa	1002	U.P.	908
Bihar	991	Punjab	868

Literacy

As per 1961 Census, literacy in Rajasthan is 152 (237 in males and 58 in females) per thousand persons. In comparison with 1951 literacy of 89 (144 in males and 30 in females) per thousand persons, it is 67% or 6.7% annually higher. Yet, it is the lowest amongst all the States of the Union. In comparison with India's average growth of 0.8% (1% in males and .5% females) Rajasthan's 6.7% growth of literacy is quite encouraging. But it has to improve a lot to come into line with the literacy of Delhi (527) and Kerala (468). In the State the highest literacy is in Ajmer District (243) and the lowest in Barmer (73). Rajasthan's male literacy (237) is even less than the female literacy of Kerala (389), which clearly shows the backwardness of the State in literacy.

1. Paper 1 of 1962, *Census of India, 1961*, p. 45.
2. *Ibid*, p. 8-9.
3. From 'Regional Studies in Population and Income Growth in India', by Narain Reddy, *Economic Review*, Jan., 4th 1962, p. 197.
4. Based on 'Population Statistics (*Provisional*) 1961, Rajasthan. As per the Surveyor General of India.
5. *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV, page 179.
6. Based on 'Population Statistics (*Provisional*), 1961, Rajasthan.
7. From Statement 5, p. XII, paper 1 of 1962, *Census of India.*
8. From Statement 40 page, 1 vii. Paper 1, 1962, *Census of India, 1961.*
9. From Statement 44 page 1 vii, Paper 1, 1962, *Ibid.*
10. Based on Paper 1, 1962, *Ibid.*

FIJI INDIANS

(A True Story)

By P. RAIHMAN

After pre-cession cannibalistic days were over, Fiji's resources had to be developed as trades and Industries, among other things, were asked for by the signatories of the Deed of Cession.

Labour under blackbirding methods was a failure. Other countries were sought for the supply of labour such as China, Japan and India. A batch of Japanese labourers was introduced but were not satisfactory so had to be returned.

An agreement between the Governments of Britain, Fiji and India, guaranteeing a free passage back to India after a further stay of five years at the end of indenture, and free rsidentship to those who remain, was arrived at under a document known as "Lord Salisbury's Despatches".

In 1879, a sailng ship "LEONIDAS" arrived with nearly 500 immigrants. Thus the coming of Indians began. The Immigrants were allotted to various employers and the Sugar Industry was placed on a proper footing. Time expired Immigrants took to other employments, some as farmers on their own.

The System continued uninterruptedly for some 37 years. But it began to show its abuses

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after a few years of its commencement. People became demoralised and tended to behave criminally. Evils were first brought to light in a pamphlet by the Reverend (now Doctor) J. W. Burton, a Methodist Minister of Davuilevu (Dilkhusha) in early 1900, who later pubished a book known as "Fiji of Today".

The free Indians began to study the system and commenced to inform the leaders in India such as G. K. Gokhale and others by means of newspaper cutting or any other means possible. A Pundit Totaram too, published a book "My 21 years in Fiji" (in Hindi). Mr. M. K. Gandhi, then of South Africa, was also contacted and asked if he would induce an Indian lawyer to come to Fiji. Thus arrived Mr. M. Manilal, M.A., from Mauritius in 1912 and commenced practising law and resided in Nausori until he was deported after the labour strike of 1920.

Nothing whatsoever, was done towards education of Indian children till 1917, by the Government which basically accounts for the illiteracy among the adults of today. The Mission Schools then began to be subsidised. Indians however, those who could afford sent their children abroad for higher education and most of them returned as doctors, lawyers, teachers, accountants and nurses.

Resulting from Fiji Indians' representations, a Commission of Enquiry consisting of Messrs. McNiel and Chimmanlal came to Fiji in 1913, to enquire into the conditions of the Indenture System. They mostly stayed at the Government House and reported the continuation of the System stating that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages.

The Leaders in India were not satisfied with this report, so they asked Rev., C. F. Andrews, who was accompanied by Mr. W. Pearson to come and make independent inquiry on behalf of the people. They arrived in 1916 and met Indians and visited their homes and settlements and made minute investigations and reported "That if the Indians were to uphold their honour and self-respect the System must go at an as early date as possible".

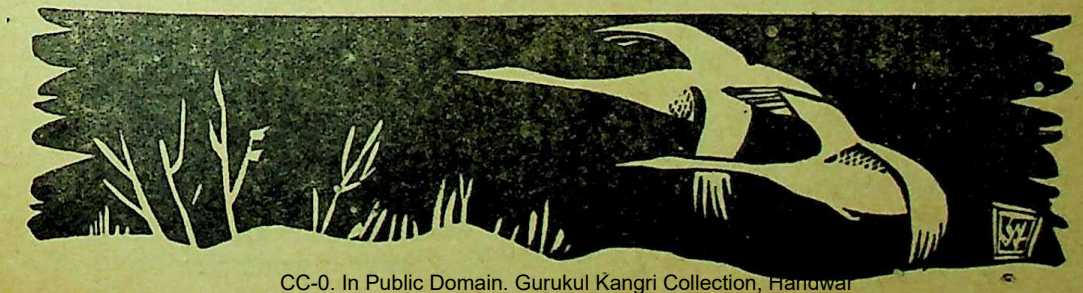
A deputation of Indian women headed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (as women were the greatest sufferers) waited upon the Viceroy of India and obtained his sanction in 1917 to discontinue the Indenture System but those serving under the system to complete their term of agreement. The System was finally brought to an end at the end of 1920. Employers were paid monetary compensation for unexpired terms of labourers.

In the meantime employers became alarmed and restless and caused the Government to make further representation for continuation of the Indian Immigration even on a modified form. So a deputation consisting of Mr. R. Rankin, Colonial Secretary and Bishop Twitchell visited India and invited a deputation or commission to come to Fiji and see things for themselves. Thus arrived the Commission known as the Raju Commission in 1922. Their report did not come to light but it is believed they reported adversly.

A further representation was made by Mr. James Judd, a District Commissioner in late 1927, to introduce re-immigration of those Indians who would come with assisted passage and choose their own employers. Some did return and settled down.

Atmosphere of contentment began to prevail, people began to invest their moneys in building better houses and in developing commence and so on. Population too steadily began to rise, the Indian Section became the largest in the Colony. Two important means have been adopted, *i.e.* The family planning clinique and the raising of minimum marriageable age to 16 which should be 18 or 20 years thus to check population growth.

The redeeming feature was the appointment of Burns Commission. The implmentation of its recommendations will further bring about contentment and prosperity for the people in Fiji.



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MODERN REVIEW FIFTY-ONE YEARS AGO

Sir George Chesney On The Employment Of Indians In The Public Service Of Their Country

One of the most famous Anglo-Indian bureaucrats was Sir George Chesney. His work on "Indian Polity" is well-known. As usual with people of his class, he had no sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians....Chesney favoured the total exclusion of Indians from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service, for he wrote :—

"The competitive examination held in London should now be limited to British-born candidates." His reasons were very curious as will be gathered from the following extract :—

"All that can be said is that a Government by foreigners is more costly than would be an equally good government by the people of the country. So it would be cheaper for a man to cure himself when sick, if he knew how to do so, than to call in a physician. And the fact needs to be plainly stated that the the capacity of Indians to govern themselves has yet to be established. We must not mistake what may be merely a facility for adaptation and imitation and proficiency as agents working under supervision, for original capacity. The assumption that all races of the earth possess the same natural power and that the backward ones by training and propinquity be readily brought up to the level of higher civilization, has yet to be established."

That medical man is either dishonest or inefficient who would always keep his patient ailing by not giving proper medicines to cure him. If a population of three hundred millions of human souls have been all on the sick-list for the last 150 years, it would not speak well for the professional competency of those in whose medical charge they have been placed, if they have not yet been cured, at least to a great extent, nor been able as yet to diagnose their ailments and apply a proper remedy to cure them.

In these days no sane man should talk of race-superiority. Sir George says that it has not yet been established "that all races of the earth possess the same natural power, and that the backward ones may by training and propinquity be brought up to the level of higher civilization." But may we enquire what backward race has been given this sort of training ? Hitherto all "forward" races have exploited the backward ones. If the latter have received any training and made headway, it is because the former, for their own purposes, could not help giving them some training in order to make them fit instruments in their hands for the realisation of their own selfish objects. And are all Indians uncivilized and backward ? But taking Sir George's view to be correct, may we ask has it been proved that backward races **cannot** by training be made equal to "civilized" ones ? The author says that the capacity of Indians to govern themselves has yet to be established. It is the old absurd trick of saying that you must first prove that you can swim before you will be allowed to swim, whereas the fact is that swimming is learned only by swimming. Self-governing capacity too is both acquired and proved only by being allowed the opportunity of self-government. This can be asserted in favour of Indians without fear of contradiction that they have proved their fitness for every kind of work with which they have got opportunities of doing.

But men of Sir George's way of thinking may lay down the general proposition that all subject peoples are **prima facie** unfit to govern themselves; for if they were fit why have they lost their independence ? There is certainly much truth in this contention. But the Anglo-Saxons were once a subject people. The Bulgarians were once a subject people, and now they are self-governing and at least a match for their former conquerors, the Turks. The Servians were ruled by the Turks till 1830; but now they have turned the table upon their

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former masters. "Once a slave, always a slave" has not been true in the world's history and the date of publication of Sir George Chesney's book is not the date on which the world's history came to an end. India will certainly become self-governing in the distant future, but whether as a part of the British Empire or not, none can foretell. It will, no doubt, depend greatly on the quality and character of British statesmenship.

Birth And Employment In The Public Services

One of the reasons urged for the exclusion of educated Indians from the public services is that they, as a rule, do not belong to the aristocracy of the country and are hence not fit to be appointed to posts of trust and honour. Sir Aucklamd Colvin with the mask of Raja of Bhinga penned the notorious pamphlet "Democracy not suited to India." The late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was reported by one of his English admirers to have said that while Europeans of no birth could be safely appointed to all posts in India, the same could not be done in the case of Indians—for an Indian of no birth in a high office would not carry any influence with his countrymen.

English people are, no doubt, proud of what they call "blue blood." In Western countries poverty is not merely a crime, but almost a sin. Here the ideal is that of asceticism, which of course is at a great discount in the West.

To say that Indians do not like to be ruled by their countrymen who have no "blue blood" according to the Western standard, is not true. It is an invention of those Anglo-Indians who do not like to see high posts filled by the ablest children of the soil. And it is true in all countries that ability and "high" birth do not frequently go together. The spirit of the following verse is appreciated in this land of ours too, where plain living and high thinking has been the highest ideal in all ages.

I ask not for your lineage,
If manliness be in your heart,
A noble birth you may claim.
I ask not for your name,

It is a fiction of caste that Brahmans **by birth** have always held the first place in India and that only Kshatriyas **by birth** have sat on a throne. Men of all castes and no caste have held spiritual and temporal sway in India by virtue of their ability. The idea that human nature and the laws of social and political change are in India different from those obtaining elsewhere, is a figment of the consciously or unconsciously selfish imagination of men with a vested interest.

The Disintegration Of Turkey

The Independent of New York has shown in a table how Turkey has been losing her territories since the year 1830.

Greece : Independent kingdom, 1890.

Algeria : French occupation, 1830 and now a province of the French Republic.

Servia : Autonomous principality, 1830, independent principality, 1878, kingdom 1881.

Montenegro : Independent principality 1878, kingdom, 1910.

Roumania : Autonomous principality 1862 ; independent principality, 1878, kingdom 1881.

Bosnia and Herzegovia : Occupied by Austria-Hungary, 1878 ; annexed to Ausaria-Hungary, 1908.

Bulgaria : Autonomous principality 1878; independent kingdom, 1908.

. . . Tripoli : Occupied by Italy, 1911.

Albania : Now in rebellion.

Tripoli has now been definitely annexed by Italy. The Albanian rebellion did not last long. But the Balkan war threatens to deprive Turkey of the major portion of what still remains of her empire in Europe. Peace negotiations are proceeding between the parties as we write. The stubborn and successful resistance of the Turks at the Chatalja lines has greatly improved their morale and bettered Turkey's prospects of getting fairer terms from the Balkan allies than seemed possible a few days ago. There is no knowing how the peace negotiations will end or how, if they break off, the war will end.

The Allies are in this case the aggressors ; fair minded men cannot, therefore, approve of their action, and of any annexa-

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tion of territory by them, except where owing to linguistic or racial identity such annexation may be desired by the inhabitants of the territories annexed. The Great Powers of Europe may be agreed, as Mr. Asquith has said, that the victors must be allowed to enjoy the fruits of victory, but that is because the victorians are both European and Christian. If Turkey had been the victorious aggressor, the dictum would not have been the same. If, as a result of the war, any region becomes independent, that will be welcome news to all lovers of human freedom and progress. But if the people of the regions where the war has raged be not able either to obtain independence or reunion with their brethren by race and language, but have simply to change masters, there would not be much to rejoice at: for though the rule of any one of the Allies be better than Turkish rule, subjection is subjection, it can never equal freedom.

We have said above that the action of aggressors cannot be supported. But it may be pointed out by way of a reply that Turkey herself is in Europe as the result of aggression on her part centuries ago. That is undoubtedly true. But the history of the world is full of acts of aggression and there are only a very few independent nations which will not lose territory if any sufficiently powerful world-tribunal were to deprive all nations of territories which have been acquired by them by conquest or fraud. The story of **Alexander and The Robber** to be found in many a school reader, has lessons for all. But as a redistribution of territories on the principle of justice and independen for each national unit is sure to lead to w all over the world, all that can be insiste upon is that subject nations should be give the rights of citizenship. For the rest, tim will work out a cure, as it has been doing

The gradual disintegration of Turke shows that alien rule cannot last unless th subject people obtain rights of citizenshi The Norman rulers of England would hav been driven from the land if they had n become one people with the Anglo-Saxon Great Britain lost her colonies because sh wanted to treat the colonies like a subje people. The Manchus have been deprive of supreme power in China because they ha become a ruling caste and would not adm the Chinese to a position of perfect equalit Turkey would not have lost her province at least not so soon or in the way she ha done, if her rule had been enlightened, an if civic rights had existed and been enjoye by all races alike in the Ottoman empire.

There is also another lesson that we ca learn from the present war. It is, that n nation, however oppressed, can be absolutel deprived of the spirit of independence an of martial qualities. To crush the huma mind thoroughly is an impossible feat. Bu garia, which only a few decades ago, wa the scene of Turkish atrocities, against whic she helplessly appealed to the conscience c civilized humanity, has now astonishe Europe by the triumphant valour and das of her soldiers.

—**The Modern Review**, Dec., 1912.

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JOHN STEINBECK

By DAVID STRIDE

[John Steinbeck, winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature for 1962 was recently in London on his way back from Stockholm. While in London, he gave one of his rare press conferences. Mr. David Stride, Indian Programme Organiser, BBC who was present at the Conference givs in this article his impressions of this "evasive persanality" who, starting life as a ranch-hand, ended up by becoming a world literary figure.]

When I was 12 years old I accompanied my elder brother to our local lending library, which he had just joined. While waiting for him I glanced along the shelves to see if there was anything that might interest me. Up to that time my reading had consisted of the sort of adventure stories that boys of my age were expected to read —"The Scarlet Pimpernel," "The Prisoner of Zenda," "Bulldog Drummond" and the like. I found reading rather tedious and most books far too long. (Much of my subsequent reading has tended to confirm me in this view.) And it may have been this which prompted me to select from the libary shelf the shortest book I could find. It was by an author whose name was unknown to me, John Steinbeck, and it was entitled "Of Mice and Men." I persuaded my brother to borrow it for me. Reading it was a new and striking experience. "Of Mice and Men" moved me more than any other book had ever moved me and I at once became a dedicated admirer of the work of John Steinbeck.

A few weeks later I saw the name of another of his novels advertised in a catalogue of secondhand books. I sent my five shillings and duly received "The Grapes of Wrath." In the years since—thirty or so —in which I have read just about everything Steinbeck has ever published, my admiration has never waned.

So when I heard that Steinbeck was to be in London and had agreed to meet the press one evening in his publishers' offices, I determined to grasp an opportunity which might never present itself again.

There was only a handful of us there and the meeting turned into a quiet chat between friends over a drink rather than the bleak and formidable interrogation which most press conferences are.

My first impression of Steinbeck was of a man of great physical strength. He is tall, tough-looking, craggy. He has the squarest shoulders I have ever seen and a man's hand-shake. His face is slightly pock-marked and sunburnt. He has thinning fair hair and a small fair beard. When he speaks to you his eyes seem to look right through you to your soul. He was dressed very properly in a plain black suit. He chain-smoked whiffs.

Sherwood Anderson

We talked to him about the Nobel Prize which had brought him to this side of the Atlantic. He could not understand why the winning of such a prize should make him a celebrity. The fear of becoming a celebrity in spite of himself had nearly prompted him to refuse the prize, or at least to refuse to accept it in person. It was only after much soul-searching that he had satisfied himself that he could "lick it" —lick the temptation to be spoilt by the publicity it would entail—and had agreed to visit Stockholm. Nor could he understand why he had been chosen for the honour. We asked him who in the world of letters he would have picked if the choice had been his. "Carl Sandburg" he replied, adding that not only was Sandburg "a pretty good poet," but his biography of Lincoln was really great. Which writer of the twentieth century had exercised the most influence on those who came after? Steinbeck replied without any hesitation— "Sherwood Anderson." All young writers today owed a debt to Sherwood Anderson, who was the master, he said. Anderson had written about things which people had previously not even allowed themselves to think about. By doing so he had opened a whole new world to the writers who followed him. Then Steinbeck treated us to a profound statement: he pointed out that after any great master there is always

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a falling off. "A master" he said "founds a school ; but the work of the school is always inferior to the work of the master. It is never a case of the school building up to the master, but always of the school falling away from the standard set by the master." In his own case Steinbeck acknowledged Sherwood Anderson as the master and saw those, like himself, who followed, as of and altogether less signifficafnce.

No Pose

Steinbeck's reticence and modesty is no pose. He is one of those rare birds among the famous,—one who is genuinely shy and hates publicity. What was a celebrity ? "A dog with two heads is a celebrity," he said. And then he recounted how, on leaving a very expensive New York restaurant one day, he had seen a bunch of "street kids" waiting outside to collect autographs from the many celebrities who were lunching inside. As Steinbeck himself had stepped ont on to the pavement one of the boys had asked "Who's he ?", to which his friend had replied "Him ?—he ain't nobody." This had pleased Steibeck enormously ; had made him, as he put it, "feel good."

John Steinbeck was born in Salinas, California, on February 27th 1902. Of German descent on his father's side and Northern Irish on his mother's. He was educated in California and is still largely associated with that State because many of his stories are set there. By adoption, however, Steinbeck is a New Yorker. He is a stranger to England. For the man who wrote "Tortilla Flat," "Of Mice and Men," "The Grapes of Wrath," "The Moon is Down," "Cannery Row," "East of Eden' and the film "Viva Zapata" is now engaged on a large scale work on King Arthur and his Knights. To absorb colour and feeling for this work he and his wife spent the best part of 1959 in Somerset. In Somerset he felt perfectly at home. It was not his job to strive for acceptance by the people of the neighbourhood. He lived there and that was that. In fact he got on very well with them, indeed, and while there, had felt like a native of Somerset. I asked him the writing of the Arthur work would e tail any modification of his usual style writing. The style of "The Grapes Wrath," I felt, might not sit well at th Round Table. The reply was an emphati "no." He never strove consciously for style. He just wrote what he had to wri in the only way he knew and he certainl was not now, at 60, going to try and ado a new style. I asked him if he had eve had trouble from politicians and he confes ed that he had. Although the politics the characters in his books were not nece sarily his own he had been held responsibl for them. He had been under attack fro both sides—the communists had called hi a reactionary and the conservatives ha called him a communist. Politics was n his job, however, and he was interested politics only for what they could give to h books.

Dislike For Publicity

It was clear that Steinbeck was hatin every moment of his press confefrence. H never gave press conferences as a rule, h said, and this one was a mistake. He didn know quite how he had been dragged in it. The thing he objected to most wa being forced to commit himself. A chan word, particularly when captured on tap might commit him, in the eyes of the worl for the rest of his life. This he did n want and would not have. He acknowled ed no obligation to speak ; on the contra he claimed a right to his freedom. But h reticence is not due to churlishness or pe versity, of this I am convinced ; it is due a genuine desire to avoid the publici which he so dislikes, a natural humility.

From one of our hosts, the one who w looking after the Steinbecks in London, heard that before the conference Steinbe had asked what he should do if he wa asked a question he could not, or wou not, answer. "Oh" said my informa "just give them an evasive answer." "Y mean like tell them to go chase the selves ?" asked Steinbeck. (Only the wo he used was not "chase.")

—By Courtesy : 'Bichitra', BBC., Lond

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CHRISTIAN CONCERN FOR PEACE

A Conference on the Christain Concern for World Peace was held recently in Bangalore (April 17th to 21st, 1963). This was the first Conference of Indian Christians on the subject of World Peace. It was held under the auspices of the National Christian Council of India and the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Bangalore, and under the Chairmanship of Principal Chandran Devanesan of Madras Christian College. The participants at the Conference were mainly leaders of the Indian Church including Bishops from many churches and those competent in politics and international affairs. There were also a few guests from overseas, namely Dr. Richard M. Fagley, representing the Churches' Commission on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches, Dr. H. Kloppenberg of the Christian Peace Conference (Prague), His Eminence Archbishop Cyprian Zernov of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Churches in Moscow and Dr. Paul Anderson of the National Council of Churches in U.S.A.

Dr. J. R. Chandran of the United Theological College, Bangalore, welcomed the participants and explained the purpose of the Conference, namely the promotion of Christian thinking and action on issues which affect international relations and World Peace.

The inaugural address was delivered by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the former Health Minister of the Union Cabinet. Several papers were read by the leaders of the Conference and among them especial mention might be made of a paper by the Vice Chancellor of Kerala University, Dr. Samuel Mathai on Christian Approach to International Conflicts, a paper by Prof. Ruthnaswamy, M.P. on National Sovereignty in Nuclear Age and another by Mr. M. H. Samuel, M.P., on Inter-Asian Relations with special reference to Sino-Indian Conflict.

The main work of the Conference was done by three Commissions, one on The National State and International Relations in the Nuclear age, another on The Growth of International institutions and Instruments of Peace and the third on India and her neighbours.

The Conference affirmed that our country continues to have a responsibility to work for peace and harmony among the nations. This requires the outlawry of war and the achievement of disarmament and the development of effective international institutions and instruments of peace. The Conference said :

> "Recognising the fact that such a comprehensive disarmament is a long and complex process, we nevertheless urge that the challenge of disarmament be met at all levels; and that the resources of governments, of technical agencies, and above all of responsible political leadership should be fully deployed towards the working out of feasible plans and procedures for the progressive realisation of this ultimate goal. We think a careful study of the disarmament proposals suggested by the big powers and the narrowing down of the differences in their schemes will be a fruitful and helpful step in this direction. We also regard as equally urgent the effort to breakdown the barriers of distrust and fear, and the encouragement of mutual trust and confidence among nations, as we think it important to encourage in some nations the spirit and willingness to take risks for Peace."

The Conference called for more support from all peoples to the United Nations. In this connection the Conference stressed the importance of the U.N.'s responsibility for the socio-economic developmnt of the new nations.

The Conference noted that the nuclear developments in war as well as in industry has produced a certain flexibility in all the political and economic ideologies of the modern world and asked for a more pragmatic approach as well as the evolving of new moral and spiritual criteria for the evaluation of the present and emerging ideologies. In this connection the Conference stressed the importance of the principle of co-existence without denying the necessity for moral choice.

The Conference affirmed its faith in the adequacy of Indian Democracy to meet the challenge of Chinese aggression and supported the Government in its determination to promote Defence and Development efforts simultaneously. The Conference said "We are glad to observe that in spite of the emergency there has been no more curtailment of individual freedom than what is absolutely necessary. However, the citizens

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should be on the alert to see that the Government does not utilise the emergency to make the state all powerful by curtailing individual liberties and freedom indiscriminately and indefinitely."

On the question of holding our heritages of nonviolence even while militarily strengthening our defences the Conference said :

"Any situation of international conflict presents a tragic dilemma. The relation between power, justice and love in concrete situations is too complex for simple solutions. We cannot easily integrate them, nor should we dissociate them from one another. Coming to the situation India faces today *vis-a-vis* China, even the All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan of Vedchi seemed to have recognised that India has not yet developed the strength of non-violent means of self-defence. Though some of us consider it unrealistic to think that we can develop such a means in a world of sovereign nations, as a substitute for armed defence we would certainly support experiments in that direction as they would be in keeping with our past history and traditions of non-violence and our Christian concern to outlaw war. But we cannot at present see any way other than that of strengthening our army to defend the nation against a possible threat of a further Chinese invasion. We hope that world public opinion and the mediation of the Colombo Powers will thwart this danger and achieve a peaceful settlement of the border problem between India and China. But, if for any reason, they fail, India will have to defend itself by arms. We are deeply conscious of the danger of any local limited war esculating itself into a nuclear war which cannot limit either its means or ends. We have elsewhere in this report spoken of the impossibility of such a war being used as a weapon for limited political ends. Therefore, when we say that a war of self-defence is justifiable we are clearly saying that we must look for safeguards against tendencies of such a war becoming unlimited in scope, and that the nation must be prepared to say 'No' to war preparations at the point at which it ceases to be a means for self-defence. We cannot say beforehand when this point will be reached. But, we must be ever watchful to discern it. This is possible only when even during tensions and acute conflicts we avoid under all circumstances 'brutalisation' of the people and the creation of war psychosis.

To mitigate the brutalizing effects of war two practical suggestions may be made. One is that commensurate with the traditions and culture of our country, women should not be urged to take up the rifle. The other is that even if compulsory military training is found necessary, there should be provision to safeguard the rights of those who have conscientious objections to war. Such conscientious objectors may be offered alternate form of national service."

The Conference also considered that India's policy of non-alignment had proved to be sound though needing reinterpretation in the light of the present situation. It said :

"The aid given to India by the United States, the United Kingdom and other friendly countries in meeting the Chinese aggression, has been very valuable. India's efforts to retain Russian friendship has helped and will help in easing tensions and restraining further conflicts."

In considering India's relations with the other neighbouring countries, special attention was given to Indo-Pakistan problems, particularly the Kashmir issue. The Conference said :

"At this moment Kashmir is the most crucial problem between India and Pakistan. It is a complex problem, not amenable to an easy solution. However, this is the time when every effort should be made to bring about a just and honourable solution of this problem. This is also important for the security of the subcontinent. This is further necessary in order to demonstrate to the world India's faith in and adherence to the peaceful methods of resolving international conflicts. Therefore, the talks that are currently taking place between India and Pakistan should not be allowed to breakdown. It might be even suggested that if India and Pakistan could not come to an agreement by themselves, the Governments of the two countries must be persuaded to invite mutually acceptable statesmen to mediate or the United Nations to arbitrate on this issue. Along with the Kashmir problem, other problems that bedevil Indo-Pakistani relations must also be solved. Further, in order to facilitate the success of bilateral or multi-lateral negotiations, every effort should be made to create a congenial atmosphere in both the countries by fostering mutual trust, goodwill and friendship between the people of the two countries. In this regard the Churches and the N.C.C's in the two countries can play an important part.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

***Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati* :**

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

THE STAGES OF ECONOMIC GROWTH : *By W. W. Rostow, Professor of Economic History, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge University Press, 1961, D/Demy 8vo. Pp. 178 inclusive of Appendices and Indices.*

Of the many pseudo-sciences that have been receiving especial boost during the post Second World War period, the most widely boosted, perhaps, has been the so-called science of economic growth and W. W. Rostow, Professor of Economic History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has been the most publicised messiah of this new *Faith*. I call Rostow's so-called science of economic growth a pseudo-science for, nowhere in the whole gamut of reasoning upon which this new faith has been sought to be founded, could any of the laws propounded be reduced to terms of mathematical formulaea which, in my view, is perhaps, the only reliable index of the validity of scientific reasoning. From this pseudo-science has been sought to be derived a technique of economic growth and many under-developed countries have been seeking to apply these techniques in their developmental programme. India, notably, has been one of the most ardent admirers of Rostow and the Planning Commission, even recently, invited him to New Delhi to advise them on the growth rate envisaged in the Fourth Plan. One understands that it was primarily on the strength of Rostow's advice that the Planning Commission have been seeking to project an especially accelerated growth rate in the Fourth Plan, of which the outer contours seem to have been only just drawn, so that by 1970 the economy may reach double dimension compared to its initial start off towards growth under planned economic effort.

Prof. Colin Clarke warned against the Rostownian theories and techniques of growth which, according to him, were basically founded upon a partial view of economic history and on a monetary evaluation of economic growth along inflationary curves. Prof. Clarke does not really repudiate the basic postulate that accelerated economic growth is possible, but he warns against forcing its pace to the extent that Rostow and his school would like us to do, because its inevitable consequences were bound to be inflationary pressures on the price structure, increasing levels of taxation, etc. which, in the ultimate analysis, are found to act as deterrants, rather than stimulants to incentive and consequently hold up economic growth beyond a certain level. In fact, some of the highly developed countries which were facing the rather discouraging possibility of having reached a saturation point in economic growth and prosperity and of a consequential onset of recession for lack of incentive to further growth, appear to have averted the crisis by the simple expedient of reducing taxes with its inevitably sobering effect on the price level. But these are lessons which, apparently the august members of the Indian Planning Commission and their high-level expertise consider far too unimportant for their attention or consideration.

The book under review is claimed to be a "generalisation from the whole span of history" and seeks to give an account of economic growth "based on a dynamic theory of production and interpreted in terms of actual societies." In the process the author distinguishes five distinct stages of growth which, he avers, every nation experiences "in one form or another" in its change from the traditional pre-Newtonian society to "full economic maturity." These stages he describes as the "pre-conditions for take off," "take off," "drive to maturity," "high mass-consumption" and "beyond consumption, a dynamic theory of production."

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The book is, indeed, interesting in that it presents a picture of growth which seems to visualise a continuous and continuing facade through changing circumstances of social evolution, although in actual effect there would, of necessity, have been break-downs and hold-ups and the apparent continuity of growth would have been largely a matter of short or long spurts of growth with intervening obstacles and standstills which, in the perspective of history would seem to have been blurred out of view. Its especial interest to us in this country would seem to lie in the application of the theories and techniques of growth discussed in its pages to the process of development planning in the country.

Of the pre-conditions of growth, however, Prof. Rostow does not seem to lay that amount of emphasis on agricultural surpluses which would be generally regarded as one of the essential bases on which the dynamics of industrialization would be required to be founded. All that he would seem to concede is the need to effect diversion of agricultural surpluses to the modern sector as an essential stimulant towards the growth of the necessary quntum of social overhead capital for take-off. This, of course, is an essential pre-condition universally acknowledged. But what would seem to be equally essential is the need for the growth of the necessary quntii of agricultural surpluses for providing the basic capital requirements of growth, and his analysis of the connexion between agricultural and industrial growth or their mutual interdependence does not seem to be very clear.

One of the significant postulates upon which Prof. Rostow would seem to base his theories of growth is the need for accelerating the process of growth, as represented by increasing national product, significantly beyond the growth rate of the population. Thus, according to him, if the growth rate of the population in a certain economy is, say, 2 per cent per annum, the need for growth of the national product to sustain such a rate of population growth and yet provide for a net growth of the economy, should, leastwise be in the region of 7½ per cent or even higher. It is, perhaps, this aspect of Prof. Rostow's postulates of growth that would seem to have impressed our Planning Commission and their high level expertise in formulating their Fourth Plan targets. That in the process inflationary pressures would be increasingly heavy, and that price rise, especially affecting primary consumption commodities through increasing taxes, would not merely nullify Plan achievements to a considerable extent but may even produce conditions of disincentive under which the very basic process of growth may be altogether halted, is apparently of no significance to these august personalities. Theories are pleasing enough so long as they are not sought to be applied without adequate understanding of the possible side-results that may eventuate to upset their validity. And this is what, it seems, is being largely sought to be done by our present masters.

Karuna K. Nandi

DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND THE PRACTICE OF CITIZENSHIP: *By Vinoba Bhave. Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Kashi. Pages xiv plus 237. Price not mentioned.*

This is a translation of the Hindi edition of *Lok-Niti* publshed in 1961 but it has been entirely re-arranged. Selections from the addresses of Vinobaji cover the years 1951 to 1960.

The book is divided into seven sections beside the prologue and two appendices (Resolution, Election and a Political code of conduct of Sarva Seva Sangh).

The first section, *Government and People*, is devoted to the general political principles involved, the second section illustrates Vinoba's thought on the conditions and opportunities for democracy after Independence. The third section discusses some of the undesirable features of our present democratic practices. The fourth section, *Sarvodaya and Panchayati Raj*, gives a positive programme of democratic organisation on *Sarvodaya principles* as contemplated by Vinoba. The fifth section deals with the relationship of this *lok-niti* to the achievement of non-violence and world peace. The last two sections deal with the ethical foundations of such a democracy and the part to be played in its creation by what Vinobaji calls his "third force."

The theme of the book, in one word, is Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya does not mean good government or majority rule, *it means freedom from government, it means decentralisation of power.* It wants to do away with government by politicians and replace it by a government of the people. Decisions are to be taken, not by a majority, but by unanimous consent, and they are to be carried out by the united strength of the ordinary people of the village.

For the realization of this ideal a group of men is required to comprise a Sarvodaya Samaj. "But Sarvodaya is not a sect; it has no compulsory practice, no rigid discipline. Sarvodaya depends upon service through understanding in a spirit of love," says Vinobaji.

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In spite of *padajatra* of Vinobaji throughout the length and breadth of the country preaching Bhu-dan, Gram-dan, Sarbashya-dan and Sarvodaya ideals he is not properly understood by many. This book will go a long way to clear some of the misunderstandings.

A. B. Dutta

A HANDBOOK OF CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE : *By U. Venkatakrishna Rao, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit. The Madras Christian College, Tambaram. Published by Orient Longmans Limited. Price Rs. 3.50.*

This book has been primarily written for students who take up Sanskrit in their B.A. courses. As such, it is short and precise and gives the outline only to serve the purpose of the students in a lucid language. But still it is likely to be very delightful reading to all those who want to have some introductory knowledge of classical Sanskrit literature.

The scope of the author is limited, because the book is made up of notes given to the students who took up Sanskrit for the B.A. Degree course of the Madras University. These notes had been revised year by year during the last thirty-five years that he has been a teacher. The small book, therefore, is thoroughly dependable for its factual details and will equally serve the needs of students of other universities which also prescribe the classical period in Sanskrit literature for their Degree courses.

In his treatment, while accepting the researches of the Western scholars, the author has tried to be true and faithful to the Indian tradition and one must agree with Sree V. N. Karambelkar, the writer of the foreword, that the learned works of the foreign scholars do not appeal to the Indian mind, who cannot enter into the spirit which permeates Sanskrit literature, because of their alien environments. The learned author has succeeded in providing the right perspective following the footsteps of the Indian scholars.

The author has not been able to show his great scholarship and originality because his attention has always been confined to the university syllabus. We would request the learned scholar to write a full-fledged history of classical Sanskrit literature and do ample justice to the vast subject, which is the topic of his book. Even in the short compass of the book under review, he has dealt with the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and *Kalidasa* in the superb manner.

The author has always written 'Samskrit' in place of the usual Sanskrit and he is justified for this innovation. One who wishes to appreciate the beauties of classical Sanskrit literature and understand their values, will find this handbook an illuminating one.

Matilal Das

SELECTED SPEECHES OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (With a biographical introduction) : *By S. A. Ayer. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Price Rs. 5.50.*

It is a timely production but given a step-brotherly accommodation. Netajee Subhas can be summed up in conclusion by only two sentences One is that to the I.N.A. Gandhijee said, "You have failed in your direct objective to defeat the British, but you have the satisfaction that the whole country has been roused and even the regular forces have begun to think in terms of Independence." The other one is that during the debate on Indian Independence Bill, Sir Stafford Cripps, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, confessed without any mental reservation to the 'absurdity of considerable reinforcement of British troops to enforce administrative responsibility.' Can there be any room for speculation after this that it is only when India refused to yield her shoulders for British guns that Britain abdicated ? I do not feel happy that the inspired author of *Unto Him A Witness* should have re-refrained from touching these two vital, conclusive admissions. No less a regrettable omission is what Paul Leuer Kuehn has made public in his remorselessly revealing *German Military Intelligence* (translated into English by R. H. Stevens and Constantine Fitzgibbon) that 'Bose was in no way a collaborator in the evil sense, the word has acquired in recent years ; rather was he a true Indian patriot who was prepared to do nothing for Germany's sake, but anything and everything, including the harnessing of Germany's interest, for India.' Hugh Toye, by the way, has emphasized this crucial point in his *The Springing Tiger* by citing the authority of many leading German papers. The point should not have been left untouched.

THE END OF EMPIRE : *By John Strachey, published by The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Price Rs. 5/-.*

The publishers have done well to bring out this Indian reprint at a rather popular price. In the first part of the book, he gives us the story of 'the British Conquest of India.' But in view of what he has stated with the utmost frankness, it is for him and those of his historical balance to consider if the word 'conquest' has not lost its

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natural connotation. The word 'usurpation' carries with it a sting; why not 'infiltration'?

Anyway, the authors' summing-up of British rule is interesting. It was, he says, 'both iniquitious and beneficent: it was founded by violence, treachery and insatiable avarice, a bit also by incomparable daring and sustained resolution; it united India : it partitioned India: it industrialised India : it stunted India : it degraded India: it served India: it ravaged India: it created modern India: it was selfish and selfless ruinous and constructive, glorious and monstrous'. He speaks of the Black Hole of Calcutta as a propaganda set-piece without, which it was impossible to obtain the sanction and support of the Company for the wars of aggression that continued uninterruptedly for the next seven to eight decades. With regard to the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the author is as forthright :

'So Burke's outpourings, Sheridan's vapourings, Fox's posturing, Grey's and Wilberforce's sanctimoniousness, even Francis' Venom and all the rest of the apparently preposterous Whig proceedings in the Westminister Hall at the trial of Warren Hastings, and elsewhere served a vital purpose. They did not get the Whigs into office (which, no doubt, was the direct object of the exercise) but they did keep alive in Britain the view that Indians were not *simply* (italics mine) our cattle.' The picture would have been complete were the author to refer to William Pitt, the Prime Minister, saying in the House of Commons, that this is how they would 'enlarge and confirm the benefits' derived by England from its connection with India and India would accept British rule as 'a blessing to her'. This impeachment of Warren Hastings, however, passed muster as the traditional nobility of England, and a criterion of her deal to India which, in fact, for years and years to come mounted and galloped over the scent.

The author's ancestor Sir John Strachey was Clive's Secretary, and his great uncles Sir John and Sir Richard Strachey were members of the Governor General's Council. Collateral ancestor married a Bengali lady, and the author says with a sense of patronage that she was received well in the family. It is something that he refers to all these. But it is no sentiment born of this slim connection, but a sheer intellectual affinity that makes him so intense towards India, which, he hopes, will prove the balancing factor in an uneasily poised world.

The author's manner of presentation, free from any bias whatsoever, is pleasant all through. He is eminently happy in portraying the interlocking strands of corruption of either side, the British and Indian—the perjury, forgery and chicanery of one and the folly, cowardice and incompetence of the other, leading to their treachery to motherland.

JOGES C. BOSE

A GUIDE TO SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES : *By P. M. Bhandari. Ramesh Industrial Agencies, Nayapura, Kota. Pp. 10+359. Price Rs. 6/-*

Along with the development of large-scale industries, the Government of India, as well as the State Governments have been laying especial emphasis on the development of small-scale industries. For, these provide not only employment but assure a broad and decentralised base to the national economy.

In support of the small-scale industries, the State Government of Rajasthan, in co-operation with the Central Government, has offered facilities and concessions. As an experienced officer of the State, Shri Bhandari has given in the book a very full and up-to-date picture of Rajasthan's local industries. This, however, gives us an idea of the Central Government's policy also.

Shri Bhandari has divided this guide book into 24 chapters : (1) Industrial Policy of the Government, (2) Industrial Development in the Three Five-Year Plans, (3) Organisations to Help Small-scale Industries, (4) Licenses to Start Industries, (5) Small Industries as Ancilliary and Subsidiary Industries, (6) Selection of an Industry, (7) Loans to Small-scale Industries, (8) Institutional Finance for Small-scale Industries, (9) Machinery on Hire-purchase, (10) Land for Industries, (11) Industrial Estates, (12) Power and Water Supply of Industries, (13) Tax Exemptions to Small-scale Industries, (14) Grant of Import Licences to Small-scale Industries, (15) Export Promotion, (16) Sales Promotion and Marketing, (17) Procurement of Controlled Commodities, (18) Industrial Co-operatives, (19) Handloom Industry, (20) Handicraft, Silk and Coir-industries, (21) Khadi and Village Industries, (22) Industrial Research and Training, (23) Industrial Labour and (24) Housing.

These chapters enriched by the appendices and annexures have made this guide book very valuable for the practical industrialist. We congratulate Shri Bhandari for his timely contribution to India's economic development.

MONORANJAN GUPTA

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Indian Periodicals

Basis of Our Foreign Policy

Writing under the above title in the **Indian Libertarian** of June 15, 1963, Shri M. N. Tholal analyses the basic concept of Nehru's foreign policy **vis-a-vis** China as a "fort of flattery" thus :—

The fort of flattery that Nehru built around China has fallen. He has not learnt the elementary lesson of politics that there is no generosity in politics. When India's security itself demanded action against China's rape of Tibet Mr. Nehru almost approved of It. But flattery has not worked on Chinese leaders. They have never forgotten Lenin's words : The road to London lies through Peking and Calcutta.

On March 19, 1963, winding up the debate on the Budget demands for grants of the Ministry of External Affairs, Prime Minister Nehru said in the Lok Sabha that the foreign policy pursued by India was the right policy and the attitude that India should side with this or that group "is not one which a mature and self-respecting nation should adopt." Some members had criticised the Government's Tibet policy. Mr. Nehru, according to PTI, said he would like to know what any member thought India could do.

Mr. N. G. Ranga intervening said, "We could have raised our voice in the United Nations and elsewhere against what the Chinese did."

The Prime Minister : "The member might have raised his voice, but there is no doubt that after raising his voice he would have got into deep waters and not been able to keep his head above."

Mr. Ranga's intervening remarks and the Prime Minister's retort have been lying before me since March 20 and I have had a look at them quite a number of times. It is a pity no one asked the Prime Minister "How ?" and left the Prime Minister's retort to loom large in all its horribly depressing vagueness. The Prime Minister made a plausible retort—almost a silencing one—and second thoughts on it have therefore been late in coming. Even on the first perusal his report left a bad taste in the mouth as it smacked of cowardice, of which surely no country and no Government, including the Congress Government, can possibly be proud. The Prime Minister drew a blurred picture of our utter helplessness, which he had seldom drawn before. And yet the course pursued, at first sight at any rate, seemed the right course to pursue in the national interest.

But can a cowardly course ever be the right course ? Events have proved that it was not and it can be said that it is easy to be wise after the event. One thing, however, was absolutely clear : Our Tibet policy was the negation of all that we stood for and therefore nothing to be proud of. Just look at the implications of the Prime Minister's report. We are anti-colonial. We have raised the flag of anti-colonialism. But so far as our neighbour China is concerned —and also so far as Soviet Russia is concerned, we just forgot our anti-colonialism, because, to put it in a few words, discretion is the better part of valour.

Vis-a-vis Mr. Nehru's condemnation of western nations' colonialism, his observations on Chinese and Rusian colonialism obviously constitute siding with one group. So what becomes of his observation that the attitude that India should side wih this or that group "is not one which a mature and self-respecting nation should adopt"? Have we not been siding with one group in the garb of neutrality? And siding, as events have shown, with the wrong group?

I have read the Prime Minister's retort to Mr. Ranga again and again—and I would request the reader to do the same—and every succeeding time I have read it with a greater sense of humiliation and almost a sinking of heart. Surely this was not a state of affairs with which a self-respecting nation or a self-respecting Prime Minister could have been content for such a long time. It was obviously such a humiliating state of affairs for an independent government that all its energies should have been directed towards getting rid of it. What the Prime Minister said in effect was that he was afraid of raising his voice against the subjugation of Tibet. He was afraid of the consequences : "he would have got into deep waters and not been able to keep his head above." And yet he has been calling India a great country, a self-respecting country, a mature country and an independent country. And he has also been saying there is no

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Fort of Flattery

Mr. Nehru's India reminds me of a highly self-respecting individual who had the misfortune to have a hefty bully for his neighbour. His very self-respect demanded that he remain on good terms with the bully, and annoying him was out of the question. The bully knows whom he can bully and, the more the gentleman tried to keep him pleased, the greater and more offensive became the bullying, until covetous eyes on his daughters were accompanied by indecent remarks. The gentleman left the place. But, fortunately or unfortunately, we cannot leave India. Mr. Nehru can certainly leave his place but nobody leaves a place of unquestioned authority unless he is driven out. There is no parallel to the withdrawal of the British from India.

It did not strike Mr. Nehru throughout all those long years—was he a victim of his own make-believe diplomacy of flattery ?—that he would be in much deep waters with Tibet in Chinese control, and not only the time to protest but also the time for action was when China was trying to occupy Tibet —not in the interest of Dalai Lama but in the interests of India. It did not strike him because Mr. Nehru has not learnt the elementary lesson of politics—that there is no generosity in politics. He was hoping for the best, of course, but hoping against hope. For, did he not know what had happened to the neighbours of Soviet Russia, after the war ? A Government which bases its policy on wishful thinking builds a fortress on sand. The fort of flattery he built has fallen but he refuses to acknowledge that he is aware of it.

I have had bullies for my neighbours like the gentleman referred to above but always found an easy solution of the problem in extremely contemptuous references to them in casual conversation with their sons. They were no doubt conveyed to the father and always gave him the quietus, for a bully is always a coward. Has not China warned the U.S. hundreds of times over Quemoy and Matsu, which are still not Chinese despite Mr. Nehru's vehement and dutiful support of the Communist Chinese Government's stand ?

Mr. Nehru said there was some point in raising one's voice when it was meant to be followed up by action, and added, "We could not take any action in Tibet at that time later." Not singly. Granted. But did try to stop China's march towards India alliance with the Western Powers ? Repor in the news papers at the time were th President Truman had offered Mr. Nehr armed support to Prevent China from occ pying Tibet. Even assuming that the r ports were incorrect, it was Mr. Nehru business to seek American and British su port to that end. Did he do it ? Obvious not. If he had done so and got a refus from them, he would have been in a positi to say that "after raising his voice, he wou have got into waters and not been ab to keep his head above."

Indeed, the occasion was not for raisi his voice and protesting, as Mr. Ranga su gested, but for seeking military assistan and even a military alliance to preve Chinese occupation of Tibet, not only b cause it would have been in consonan with our anti-colonial policies but also b cause it would have prevented India fro becoming vulnerable to Chinese aggressio A stitch in time saves nine and only th brave deserve the fair. When the nation security demanded action against China, h resorted to flattery of China and of Russi Mr. Nehru's part in the Bandung Conferen was summed up by journalists there flattery of China and of Chou En-lai. Hi self susceptible to flattery, he thought would work against the Communists a make them forget their **kalma** of world co quest—yes—make them forget the words their Master, Lenin : "The road to Lond lies through Peking and Calcutta." He sa in so many words that he believed in a peasement. And now he says, "India, as has often said in the House (Lok Sabh has to consider the fact of a great a powerful country, aggressive and expansiv coming near our borders." India will ha long to consider it. How can she forget th great fact—Mr. Nehru's greatest achiev ment ?

Mr. Nehru's objection to alignment h been that under it we shall lose our freed of independent action and judgment. (Pa stan seems to have retained both.) We ha seen how we retained our freedom of in pendent action and judgment under pseudo-non-alignment, only to find o selves going abegging for alignment at willing doors !

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Foreign Periodicals

Morocco's Little Inquisition

Writing in the **New Leader** of April, 29, F. Karenzadeh analyses the situation in Morocco in the following trends :

When on January 5 of this year it was announced in Rabat that three ministers, all members of the powerful Istiqlal (Independence) party, had resigned from the Moroccon Cabinet, Government spokesmen explained that the resignations had been caused by disagreements over economic and financial policy. As is often the case, the official explanation was utterly inadequate. The Cabinet, composed of disparate elements, had in fact been rent by dissension. But it was neither economics nor finance that forced Allal El Fassi, Istiqlal's leader, and his friends out of the Government.

The immediate cause of their withdrawal was a trial that had taken place in the small Riff town of Nador in which three men had been sentenced to death, five to life imprisonment and one to 10 years. And what turned the Nador trial into a **cause celebre,** precipitating a bitter controversy in the Moroccan press, evoking unfavourable comment in France, Britain and elsewhere and ultimately leading to the Cabinet reshuffle, was the nature of the case itself.

Exactly a year ago this month, on April 10, 1962, five adherents of the Bahai faith were arrested and jailed in Nador. Over the next three months four others were apprehended, as were five Moslems who had discussed the Bahai religion with their friends, read or owned Bahai literature or associated with Bahais. The men arrested included several school teachers, a police inspector and several provincial Government officials. All are relatively young and, as one newspaper pointed out, they constituted the intellectual elite of Nador.

Bahai, the faith that had attracted their interest, originated in Iran in the middle of the 19th century. It is dedicated to the principle of the unity of mankind, and teaches that the great religions of the world are essentially one, being multiple expressions of one reality. Bahai advocates among other things, the elimination of religious, racial and national prejudice, universal education, equality of sexes, adoption of an international auxiliary language and the abolition of war.

The instigators of the campaign against the Bahais claimed that their only purpose was to defend Islam against a dangerous heresy. It has been suggested with far greater plausibility, however, that El Fassi was using a religious issue for political purposes. His position in the Cabinet was uncertain. His party would have found it difficult to gain mass support with such issues as the development of the Sahara or the rate of economic growth. To have discovered and eliminated a plot against the official religion and the State would have given the Istiqlal a tremendous advantage on the eve of the first election under the new Constitution. In short, according to this view, El Fassi needed a dramatic issue, and he found it in the form of a small, politically powerless minority. And the facts appear to support the thesis.

The arrests in Nador had been preceded by a press campaign waged mainly in the pages of the Casablanca newspaper, **Al Alam,** an Istiqlal organ. On December 7, 1961, **Al Alam** claimed that Islam was in decline because of the activities of Christian and Jewish missionaries, adding to these "another community which was driven out of the Islamic East and came to Morocco with its destructive ideas. These are the Bahais." The attacks in the press were followed by the dismissal of several Bahai adherents from their jobs—one of them a professor of fine arts at the University of Tetouan. In each instance, the dismissed man was told that his religion made his further employment impossible.

The arrested men were all held without formal charges until the end of October. That their case was finally brought into court may have been the result of intervention by the International League for the Rights of Man, whose chairman, Roger Baldwin, had expressed his concern to the Moroccan Government over the detention

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and the treatment of 14 men who had not even been accused of any crime.

The trial opened December 10, and from the very first it became clear that justice would not be done. The bill of indictment contained five charges: rebellion, formation of an association of criminals, illegal formation of an association, conspiring against public order, and offenses against Islam. But the record of pre-trial interrogation and of the trial itself shows that the police and the court were conducting a religious inquisition. It was specifically stated that the accused "have studied books treating of the Bahai faith and its philosophy and that they believed in it"; that they "believed that God can be imagined in the state of a person and can be situated in time..." (a belief held by Christians but not by Bahais); and that they did not conform to the Moslem practices of prayer and fasting.

Since the indictment declared that prosecution had been initiated on the urging of El Fassi, the Minister of Islamic Affairs, the defense lawyers asked that he appear in court. The judges, however, refused to call him. Their every move having been frustrated, the lawyers advised their clients to answer no further questions and themselves withdrew from the case. In a letter of protest they denounced the trial as a violation of legal procedure, the Constitution and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Undeterred, the court continued the trial without the defense. If nothing else, the courage and dignity of the accused won them the admiration of the vast throng that gathered in the courtroom and loudly expressed its disapproval of the proceedings.

The court's verdict shocked the liberal and democratic elements of the Kingdom. The new Moroccan Constitution, guaranteeing religious freedom and other liberties, had been adopted less than two weeks before the end of the Nador trial and now appeared to be dying in its infancy. In a two-part article entitled "The Witches of Nador," the Rabat daily **Maroc-Information** on December 16-17 deplored "this embryonic inquisition which knocks on the doors of the Kingdom..... Tolerance can be limited only by a real attack on public order....We cannot help but write that if God is indivisible, so is tolerance" **Les Phares** a Moroccan weekly founded and directed by Ahmed Reda Guedira, Minister of the Interior and of Agriculture, wrote on December 22 that Morocco, "which, on the initiative of a young and dynamic Sovereign, open to modern ideas, had given itself a Constitution acknowledged as liberal by the entire world," was not the country where such events should occur.

The reaction of the French and British press added fuel to the controversy raging between El Fassi and his liberal opponents. **Le Figaro, France-Soir** and, especially, **Le Monde** denounced the Nador verdict as a barbarity which besmirched the good name of a friendly nation. And the **Manchester Guardian,** on December 21, wrote:

"It is astonishing enough that courts should still be condemning men to death for their religion anywhere in the world; that this happens in Morocco is, as **Le Monde** put it, a matter for stupefaction.....One might, indeed, write of the judgment as an example of the small-town obscurantism with which every country is plagued, were it not for an article by an official in the Ministry of Islam Affairs, who said that the court had only applied the national law in a way that did not contradict the Declaration of Human Rights. The Government surely does not share the view of its servant."

Protests and appeals for justice initiated by Bahai communities in Europe and America further alarmed those Moroccans, including Cabinet Ministers, who were concerned about their country's good name. The Bahai International Community, an organization representing the faith's National Assemblies in 57 countries, cabled U Thant; American Bahais appealed to President Kennedy; British adherents wrote to the Queen.

From the pages of Moroccan newspapers the controversy over the Nador verdict moved into the secret recesses of the Government. When Louis Gravier reported in **Le Monde** on January 1, 1963, that El Fassi, Mohammed Boucetta, and Mohammed Douiri had resigned from the Cabinet, the story was denied. On January 2 Gravier repeated his report, pointing out that the struggle between El Fassi, Boucetta, Douiri and the non-Istiqlal members of the Cabinet was waged over the issue of Nador as well as the older issues of economy and finance. Finally, on January 5 it was officially announced in Morocco that El Fassi and his friends had left the Government.

The Nador case is not over. Morocco

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Supreme Court of Appeals will review it sometime in the near future. The setback suffered by El Fassi may be only temporary, but it is evident that a grave decision is at hand, a decision which will in the end rest with young King Hassan II: Will Morocco continue along the path of constitutionalism, tolerance and freedom, or will it turn away from the progress achieved since its independence and turn toward fanaticism and oppression?

If one is to judge by what King Hassan said during his visit to New York early this month, prospects for religious tolerance in Morocco are not very good. Asked about the Bahai case, the King stated that he thought the conviction had been a just one. He did not "agree with the death sentence", however, and declared that if all other appeals were exhausted, he would pardon the condemned men. He went on to say, though, that while there was freedom for all religions in Morocco, "Bahai is not a religion, [it is] rather something that attacks public order."

Sweet, Spontaneous Humanity

Writing editorially in the *Saturday Review* of April 27, Hallowell Bowser has to something which would be of especial interest to Indian readers today.

America has always been a great country for bizarre social theories. Take, for instance the doctrine called Social Darwinism. Supposedly based on Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, Social Darwinism holds that human life is one great tooth-and-claw struggle in which only the fittest survive. Ever since this doctrine spread across America in the late nineteenth century, a large percentage of our adult population has gone about muttering with a certain grim satisfaction: "Every man for himself. It's a law of nature. Good guys finish last."

Fortunately, not all Americans are Social Drawinists, as witness the case of Burt Steingruby. Until early last year, Mr. Steingruby was manager of a 700-family housing project in St. Louis. Then the local housing authority made a shocking discovery. Mr. Steingruby, it seems, had been digging into his own pocket to help out families who could pay only part of their rent. Though no money was missing, and it was shown that Mr. Steingruby had not charged the tenants interest, he found himself in very hot water. Under questioning, the forty-three-year-old father of five acknowledged that he had aided about 1,000 project families,

"Nobody else would help these people," he said. "It wasn't a case of trying to be a hero. These people needed temporary help. . . . Had they been forced to move out, new slums would have been created."

Some of the tenants had not repaid him. But, Mr. Steingruby said, "I don't consider it as money lost. It's charity, helping these people. Over the long period, I don't consider I'm out." His wife, he added, agreed with him: "She's a charitable person."

The housnig authority forthwith made Mr. Steingruby resign his $600-a-month job, though the agency's director conceded that Steingruby is a good man: "He got into this difficulty simply out of the bigness of his heart." Mr. Steingruby eventually found a factory job paying half his former salary. "I have no regrets," he told a reporter. "I would do the same thing over again."

Another staunch anti-Social Darwinist is Douglas Johnson of Los Angeles, California. In the summer of 1961, Mr. Johnson, in the middle of a Los Angeles street, found a canvas sack containing $240,000 small bills. He promptly called the FBI, which returned the money to the company from whose armored truck it had fallen to the street. After some hesitation, the company gave Mr. Johnson a $10,000 reward.

But the publicity brought unexpected results. Mr. Johnson, a Negro who made a marginal living as a hauler of refuse, received letters and phone calls from all over the country denouncing him for returning the money: "You dummy! Get a rope and hang yourself" . . . "You aren't fit to live" . . . "You made it and chickened out" . . . "You're a disgrace to the colored people, an Uncle Tom, a white folk's migger" . . . "You should be horsewhipped and run out of town." His sons were taunted and beaten at school, and one of them was stopped in the street by a man who handed him a knife and said: "Here, use it on your dumb dad."

Eventually, news of the Johnsons' plight got out, and suddenly public sentiment changed. Now encouraging letters poured in, some of them addressed simply to "Honest Man, Los Angeles, California." Both neighbors and strangers began dropping in to say sheepishly that they had at first thought Johnson a fool, but that the force of his example had made them change their minds.

When President Kennedy heard of the family's ordeal, he worte to Johnson: "I want to

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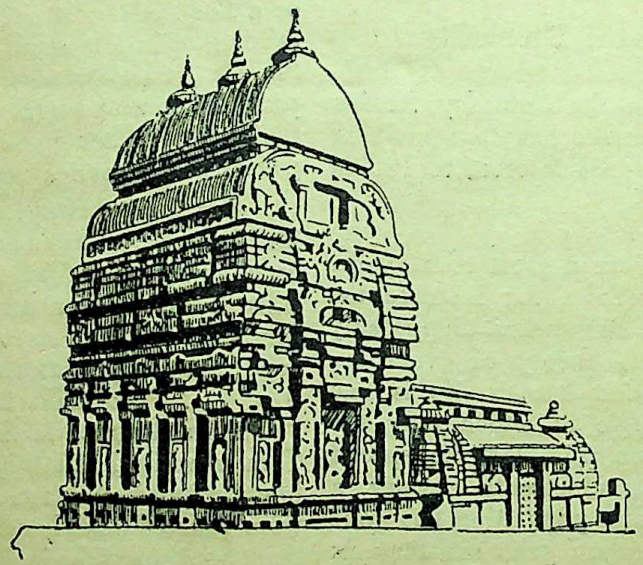
extent my personal commendation for your unflinching honesty. . . . I have read news reports of the incident, and regret the unfortunate few who have since harassed you and your family."

But what if lightning should strike twice? After his ordeal, would Mr. Johnson taken a more "realistic" view of things? The question was answered recently when a firm sent Mr. Johnson a money order for $90,036, instead of the $36 he had arranged for. He promptly returned the order, saying, "I could sure use that money, but not enough to get it the wrong way."

Meanwhile, another outbreak of altruism was reported from nearby San Diego. About a year ago, a private plane from San Diego was forced down near El Rosario, a fishing village in Mexico. While the villagers were extending them what hospitality they could, the passengers, among them Dr. Dale Hoyt, took note of the town's desperate need for medical facilities. Ever since, a group of forty-five San Diego doctors, nurses, and volunteers—nicknamed the Flying Samaritans—has been flying down to El Rosario very other week to give the villagers medical aid.

The situation recalls E. E. Cummings's lines about our "sweet spontaneous earth" being forever pinched, poked, and buffeted by scientists and philosophers: But, says Cummings, " . . . Thou answerest/them only with/spring . . . ." Similarly, humanity, forever measured, manipulated, and despaired of by its critics, answers them only with the Burt Steingrubys, the Douglas Johnsons, and the Flying Samaritans.



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AUGUST 1963

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NOTES

The World

The attention of the political World was centred on Moscow in the month of July. It started with the World Congress for Women, which was held in Moscow during the last week in June. The Chinese delegates to the Congress were openly spoiling for a fight, which was clearly evident during the rowdy scenes they enacted by precipitating a clash with the Indian delegates, over the Sino-Indian border conflict. On June 26, they started a row on the floor of the Congress by demanding that they should be accorded the right to reply at-once to the Indian delegate's remarks—which were extremely mild—on the dispute. The Chinese created a scene and almost a disturbance by their unruly and obstreperous behaviour. Later on, despite the endeavours of the British women delegates, who sat up with the Chinese delegates till the early hours of the morning of June 28, the Chinese refused to abandon their open and vociferous opposition to the Moscow line of peaceful-co-existence. The Chinese delegation kept to their line of open aggression. They were finally shouted down and ruled out of order when the leader of the Chinese delegation mounted the podium to explain their stand in voting against the appeal for peace and a halt on the arms race. The only support the Chinese could gather from the European Communists was from Albania.

But these were mere minor incidents that foreshadowed an event of far greater import to the world—that is the world at large, and not merely that portion of it that is Communist dominated. That event was the series of crucial ideological talks between the Soviet Union and Red China that began under a thick-veil of secrecy—which remained impenetrable to the outer World to the end—on July 5, at Moscow, in a secluded villa which was sealed off from outer contacts by the Russian security forces. This villa was an official guest house which had not been ever used for high level talks prior to this occasion.

The Soviet Government had expelled three Chinese Embassy Officials posted at Moscow and two Chinese students, from the U.S.S.R., as undesirable persons, almost immediately before these talks began. The Soviet Foreign Ministry explained in a Note, published in the Izvestia, the reasons for such drastic action. It complained that the Embassy officials in Moscow and the other Chinese had used several cars—presumably Embassy cars—for distributing thousands of copies of the Chinese Communist Party letter (of June 14) criticizing the Soviet stand on the ideological issues in Moscow, and had also sent many copies to Leninrgad, Kiev, Odessa and Zven Dubna, the Soviet atomic research centre. These activities, the Note said, "not only astonished the Soviet people, but aroused a feeling of rightful protest."

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The Soviet Government had begun to receive many complaints from Russians, asking why the Chinese representatives "behaved in the Soviet Union as though they were in one of the provinces of China. The Soviet people demanded the adoption of necessary measures to cut this action short." The Note also issued a denial saying that the Soviet Embassy Staff in Peking were not doing exactly the same thing.

The talks went on intermittently, on alternate days mostly, for about a fortnight, and then they abruptly came to a close on the 19th July. Mr. Khrushchev, who had pointedly kept away from them, gave a "farewell dinner" to the Chinese delegation. But previous to that he had spoken at a massive rally of senior party men and some officials, held in Kremlin's Palace of the Congresses, with great vehemence against the attacks made by Peking on destalinization and on the peaceful co-existence plan. It was there that he made the remarks that will probably remain long in public memory as the pointed assult on Peking's ideology. "They say one should start a revolution, a war, "he said" and on the corpses and the ruins, a more prosperous society will be created. And who would remain in this prosperous society" he asked, **"wouldn't the living envy the dead"?** He was extremely contemptuous about the attempt by the Chinese to unseat him, having directly accused them of this plot.

A 19000-word long "open letter," published in the Pravda, was equally vehement in its denunciation of the Chinese, who were called liars, hypocrites and cowards. Peking's claims to proletarian purity was dismissed in short order and it was accused of trying to goad Russia into a war with the U.S. This letter was addressed to Communist parties of the World, and it was made plain therein that the Soviets were determined to push forward its own postulates before all the 81 fraternal parties, throughout the world, in reply to Peking's attempt at actively organizing and supporting "renegade" Communists amongst seven nations.

The Pravda also published certain details about the trade decline for which the Soviets blamed China. China had been striving to belittle the hand that fed it. The hand that had built no less than 1[illegible] industrial projects and supplied 21000 se[illegible] of Scientific-technical documentation fo[illegible] China. Pravda stated that trade betwee[illegible] Russia and China had declined by 67% dur[illegible] ing the last three years, that is to say it i[illegible] less than a third of what it was upto 19[illegible] when it was of the order of about 11[illegible] crores of rupees worth. The shipment o[illegible] industrial plants to Peking had "droppe[illegible] 40 times," and China's trade with the re[illegible] of the Soviet bloc had gone down by 50% was also stated by Moscow.

Peking's version of this trade declin[illegible] was different. According to that, "O[illegible] July 16, 1960, the Soviet Union sudden[illegible] notified China of its decision to withdra[illegible] all the 1300 and more Soviet experts i[illegible] China within a month, to scrap hundre[illegible] of agreements.....and to discontinue th[illegible] supply of many important items."

This ideological split—which is almos[illegible] an open breach—seems to have affecte[illegible] World Communism in different ways i[illegible] different countries. In Europe the Sovie[illegible] bloc seems to be moving closer together, onl[illegible] Albania has moved further away and i[illegible] striving in its own way to influence Com[illegible] munist cadres inside countries and natio[illegible] that are not dominated by Communism an[illegible] that are in the neighbouring areas. Th[illegible] Communist Party in Italy for example ha[illegible] started quarreling inside its own rank[illegible] Red Chinese specialists in propagand[illegible] stationed in Switzerland and the Albania[illegible] legation in Rome, actively aiding the pr[illegible] Chinese sections. In Africa the Chine[illegible] have very active agents who are trying t[illegible] work the racial bias against the Europea[illegible] into a favourable attitude of discriminati[illegible] between the Soviets and the Chinese. I[illegible] India the pro-Chinese sections of the C.P.[illegible] are actively trying to carry on their wo[illegible] of subversion and disruption, although th[illegible] leaders are either in jail or gone under[illegible] ground. In some of the States they ar[illegible] getting bolder and are trying to form a[illegible] fifth columns—thanks to the muddled at[illegible] tude of our higher administration, parti[illegible] larly at the top.

According to some Western politic[illegible] observers, the bellicose attitude of Chi[illegible]

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together with the pressing need to divert financial and production resources to more useful work for the economic betterment of the Soviet peoples, has made Mr. Khrushchev inclined towards an understanding with the West. These observers think, that with some luck, some significant changes in the East-West relations might be in the offing. In the meanwhile the Chinese would have the "Outside World" believe that the ideological talks have been "put on ice" for resumption at some mutually agreed upon date later.

The third event at Moscow was the Conference between the Soviets, the United States and Britain, represented by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, U.S. Under-Secretary of State W. Averell Harriman and Britain's Lord Hailsham respectively, on the question of Atomic Test-Ban.

The Test-Ban talks opened in the Kremlin on July 15, in an atmosphere of hope and almost demonstrative bonhomie, while China fulminating with rage declared that the U.S. calls for a test ban treaty were "utter hypocricy" in a broadcast monitered in Tokyo.

Mr. Khrushchev did not even meet uptil a much later date the Chinese emissaries who were in Moscow for the ideological debate with Russian "theoreticians" since July 5. But he exchanged jokes and smilingly posed for photographs with his Western guests on that day. He opened the talks on the afternoon of July 15, by smilingly asking the Western negotiators "shall we start off by signing the agreement right away"? The Western negotiators were in an optimistic mood when they left Mr. Khrushchev's office after three hours of conference.

This optimism proved to be based on reality, for within 11 days a historic East-West break through was achieved in the tangled maze of mutual distrust and enmity that had repeatedly stalled the proposals for an agreement on the banning of nuclear weapons tests for a number of years. A hopeful and expectant World heard on July 26 that the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and Britain had initialled a treaty on that day banning nuclear weapons tests in air, outer space and under-water. Mr. Harriman, the U.S. Under-Secretary of State announced after he and Mr. Gromyko and Lord Hailsman had initialled the treaty, that the regular treaty signatures would take place next week in Moscow, when Mr. Gromyko the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Dean Rusk the U.S. Secretary of State and Lord Home the British Foreign Secretary would sign.

Mr. Gromyko said: "Let us consider this as a basis for further step." Lord Hailsham's remark was: "It is the beginning of many good things." The Communique issued by the parties in connection of the treaty is as follows, together with the text of the treaty itself:—

"The special representatives of the President of the USA and of the Prime Minister of the U.K. visited Moscow together with their advisers on July 14. Mr. Harriman and Lord Hailsham were received by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, who presided on July 15 at the first of a series of meetings to discuss questions relating to the discontinuance of nuclear tests and other questions of mutual interest. The discussions were continued from July 16 to July 25 with Mr. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. During these discussions each principal was assisted by his advisers.

"The discussions took place in a businesslike, cordial atmosphere. Agreement was reached on the text of a treaty banning nuclear weapons test in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. This text is being published separately and simultaneously with this communique. It was initialled on July 25 by Mr. Gromyko, Mr. Harriman and Lord Hailsham. Mr. Harriman and Lord Hailsham, together with their advisers, will leave Moscow shortly to report and bring back the initialled texts to their respective Governments. Signature of the treaty is expected to take place in the near future in Moscow.

"The heads of the three delegations agreed that the test ban treaty constituted an important first step toward the reduction of international tension and the stren-

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gthening of peace. And they look forward to further progress in this direction.

"The heads of the three delegations discussed the Soviet proposal relating to a pact of non-aggression between the participants in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the participants in the Warsaw Treaty. The three Governments have agreed fully to inform their respective allies in the two organizations concerning these talks and to consult with them about continuing discussions on this question with the purpose of achieving agreement satisfactory to all participants. Brief exchange of views also took place with regard to other measures, relating to a relaxation of tension."

Following is the text of the draft treaty :

"The Governments of the USA, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the 'original parties.'

"Proclaiming as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the U.N. which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons, seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time, determined to continue negotiations, and desiring to put an end to the contamination of man's environment by radioactive substances, have agreed as follows :

ARTICLE I

1. Each of the parties to this treaty undertakes to prohibit to prevent, and not to carry out any nuclear weapons test explosion, or any other nuclear explosion at any place under its jurisdiction or control :

A. In the atmosphere, beyond its limits, including outer space, or under water, including territorial waters of high seas, or

B. In any other environment if such explosion causes radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial limits of the State under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted. It is understood in this connexion that the provisions of this sub-paragraph are without prejudice to the conclusion of a treaty resulting in the permanent banning of all nuclear test explosions, including all such explosions underground, the conclusions of which, as the parties have stated in the preamble to this treaty, they seek to achieve.

2. Each of the parties to this treaty undertakes furthermore to refrain from causing, encouraging or in any way participating in, the carrying out of any nuclear weapons test explosion or any other nuclear explosion, anywhere which would take place in any of the enviornments described, or have the effect referred to in Paragraph 9 of this Article.

ARTICLE II

1. Any party may propose amendments to this treaty. The text of any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the depositary Government which shall circulate it to all parties to the treaty. Thereafter, if requested to do so by one third or more of the parties the depositary Governments shall convene a conference, to which they shall invite all the parties, to consider such amendment.

2. Any amendment to this treaty must be approved by a majority of the votes of all the parties to this treaty, including the votes of all the original parties. The amendment shall enter into force for all parties upon the deposit of instruments of ratification by a majority of all the parties, including the instruments of ratification of all of the original parties.

ARTICLE III

1. This treaty shall be open to all States for signature. Any State which does not sign this treaty before its entry into force in accordance with Paragraph 3 of this Article may accede to it at any time.

2. This treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of the original parties—the USA, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the USSR —which are hereby designated the depositary Governments.

3. This treaty shall enter into force after its ratification by all the original parties and the deposit of their instruments of ratification.

4. For States whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this treaty, it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.

5. The depositary Governments shall pro-

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ptly inform all signatory and acceding States of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification of and accession to this treaty, the date of its entry into force, and the date of receipt of any requests for conferences or other notices.

6. This treaty shall be registered by the depositary Governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

ARTICLE IV

This treaty shall be of unlimited duration.

Each party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other parties to the treaty three months in advance.

ARTICLE V

This treaty, of which the English and Russian texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this treaty shall be transmitted by the depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and according States.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this treaty.

President Kennedy and Mr. Macmillan have sent messages to President de Gaulle informing him of the substance of the Moscow talks, in which France has had no part.

M. Couve de Murville, French Foreign Minister, was quoted as telling the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee today: "In the absence of an agreement on effective and controlled disarmament, the French Government's position is not to sacrifice France's atomic armament."

So for the present only two major powers have refused to agree to the treaty, France out of pride and intransigence and China out of megalomania. Let us hope they would not be able to sow discord in the path of further agreements for the establishment of peace and accord on earth.

In Syria on July 18, a **coup d'etat**, said to be pro-Nasser in character, was suppressed with severe bloodshed in Damascus. Since then changes have taken place in the Syrian Government and two minor disturbances have taken place. The formation of the Federated States of the U.A.R. seem to have more hurdles to cross before solidarity is achieved

In South-East Asia the new Federation of Malayasia, composed of the independent State of Malaya, the self-governing island city State of Singapore and the British colonies of North Borneo and Sarawak is now definitely agreed upon. On July 8, an agreement to the effect that a Federation of the above states will come into being on August 31, was signed by the representatives of those States and of Britain, in London. The small but oil-rich Sultanate of Brunei, which was to have also joined, remained out, because of the Sultan's peculiar attitude.

In Zanzibar, the island Sultanate off the East-coast of Africa, has had elections. The Arab Nationalist Party, which is pro-Sultan, has combined with the People's Party and has kept its control in the legislautre. In East Africa too a federation of states is likely in the not-so-distant future, with Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda as certainties and parts of the Rhodesian Federation, Nyasaland and Zanzibar as possibilities.

The independent states of Africa have come to a positive decision for combating racial issues in Africa. They are concentrating against Portugal and South Africa for the present and both these states are being arraigned before the U.N. Security Council. The outcome of the issue before the Security Council is doubtful, however, thanks to NATO and other alignments.

In South Viet Nam, President Ngo Dinh Diem is carrying on with his dictatorial regime under which the Buddhist majority are now resentful and, led by their monks are now actively protesting against the dictates of Diem's ruling Catholic family. Arrests have been made on a large scale and peaceful demonstrations have been put down with brutal ruthlessness, not even women and children being spared by the police who used rifle butts and clubs savagely. Even the U.S. embassy people, who usually close their eyes to the brutalities of their own pets, were "shocked and disgusted".

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The situation in Laos is still as precarious as before. No settlement is in sight, neither is there any signs of a determined offensive on the part of the Communist dominated Pathet Lao forces.

The racial question has affected the small British colony of British Guiana on the north-east coast of South America. In this small Crown colony—area 83,000 sq. miles and population about 575,000—the issue is between dominant groups composed mainly of Indian settlers and the section of the people that is of Negro origin. The Indian group is led by Prime Minister, Cheddi Jagan, who is inclined towards the extreme leftist views of Dr. Fiedel Castro of Cuba, with whom he has been keeping a close touch.

Racial discrimination has become a major issue in the United States of America as well as the Negro, who forms a substantial section of the population of USA being 19 millions in number, has become intensely conscious about the denial of his rights. But the position in the USA is distinctly different from that obtaining in other countries where the Negro is being discriminated against. In the USA the majority of the white populaion is conscience-stricken and well aware of the injustice that is being meted out to the Negro, but somehow they do not seem willing to take sides with the unfortunate minority in an active fashion. The Administration, backed by Supreme Court judgements, is trying to eradicate the evil gradually. It is only a minority of the white population that is fanatically bent on the continuance of unjust and inhuman denial of the birth-rights of the American Negro.

The tension caused by mass demonstration on the part of Negro, seems to have lessened somewhat during July.

Another Chinese Offensive Impending ?

Reports have been coming from our Northern and Eastern frontiers about massive concentrations of forces by China and by Pakistan. The Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan stated at Bangalore that the situation was "somewhat grim." The enemy had poised his "massive army" on our borders, he said. Together with that there was an unpredictable factor, in "the attitude another of our neighbours, namely Pak tan, and the implications thereof in t Pakistani frontier as well.

"Nevertheless" he declared "we do n want to base our policy on mistrust a distrust."

Speaking at Ajmer on July 28, Mr. L Bahadur Shastri said that the country cou not afford to become complacent. He refer to the concentration of Chinese forces a India's border and urged the people to b prepared to make great sacrifices.

Mr. B. P. Chaliha the Chief Minis of Assam had also expressed "great co cern" over the latest reports of "concentr tion and movement of Chinese troops alo our border, coupled with the reported col boration between China and Pakistan.

Speaking at Hyderabad on July Pandit Nehru had referred to the reports Chinese concentrations on India's northe borders during the past two or three da and declare that the developments we very menacing and "we have to be pr pared". He referred to the border situati in his address to the legislatures and lik wise at a mammoth public meeting. In th public meeting he said "I do not say th there will be an outbreak of war but I ca not say there will not be."

It has been officially stated that b sides the Colombo Conference countries th three friendly great Powers—the USA, th Soviet Union and Britain—had also be informed of the Chinese concentration an its grave implications. General Chaudhu has been recalled and has returned to Ind three days ahead of schedule becau of the developments along the border whi had become even more ominous because the close collaboration between China an Pakistan.

From all accounts the reports emana ing from various sources have been close examined and they form a definitely linke chain of evidence to the effect that Chin is concentrating very large forces on o borders. China has officially denied th three days ahead of schedule becau movement along the Indian frontier h New Delhi thinks that it is a routine def of facts on her part and that the cur

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lative evidence in support of our conclusions is too great to allow of any credence to the Chinese denial.

It is impossible to forecast Chinese intentions in respect of a new offensive. As things stand, the initiative is in their hands. We are told that the passes leading in NEFA from Tibet are now free from snow and that Tibetan labour has been pressed into service on a large scale to move supplies and to repair and construct supply routes in outlying areas along the frontiers. In short, the Chinese army and air-force is getting into readiness for large-scale action, but to what purpose is anybody's guess.

The trench-digging, construction of bunkers and movement of armed forces on the borders of Cachar and Karimganj by Pakistan is another matter altogether, particularly when considered in conjunction with the Chinese preparations. If a treacherous attack is being planned then further evidence should be forthcoming in the near future. A newspaper offensive and large-scale movements of auxuliary forces on the frontiers are nothing extraordinary where Pakistan is concerned. But the consideration of her new alliance with another and a greater adept in mendacity and arrant treachery lends a new meaning and an ominous colour to all such proceedings.

On our side the element of surprise does not aggravate the position. How far our preparations for meeting and countering a large-scale offensive launched by the enemy have progressed, is a question which only the Supreme Command can answer. We hope the progress has been adequate.

The call on the people to prepare for sacrifices, etc., has become almost a routine procedure with our leaders. The people have responded, in unmistakable terms, when the call was first sounded. Many months have passed and the demands on the people have gone on increasing, as yet without any protest from them. But the attitude of the leaders has not been such as to inspire the people, to forge their enthusiasm into staunchness and determination.

Do our leaders realize that the people feel that they are being let down, because of unlimited looting being allowed on all quarters by unscrupulous profiteers and blackmarketeers. How can people keep up their staunchness when they are not given adequate protection against internal enemies? The sugar control order is the first—and by no means fully adequate—move in the right direction. We only wish it would be followed by more adequate moves to protect the common citizen.

Food Debate in West Bengal Assembly

A three-day debate on the food situation in West Bengal was started in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on Wednesday the 17th July. Originally the debate was fixed for Friday the 19th July but the Opposition vehemently stressed the urgency of the debate, through uprorious demands for the axing of an earlier date and by making determined efforts to stall the business fixed for the day which was Tuesday the 16th. The Communists walked out on the Speaker's refusal to fix an earlier day, while the rest of the Opposition created a pandemonium, until the Speaker quietened them, by soft words which were further strengthened by a promise to meet the Opposition in his Chamber to discuss the matter and by assuring them that he would ask the Leader of the House to be present at the meeting.

Twenty members of the Opposition went on hunger-strike on Tuesday afternoon. Later the number increased until fortynine of them fasted for fifty hours, spending the entire period of the fast in the Assembly premises after obtaining permission from the Speaker.

The Opposition won their point in the meeting held in the Speaker's Chamber on Tuesday. The debate was fixed for Wednesday, two days ahead of the original date.

The debate started with an introductory speech by he Chief Minister, in which he stated that the actual deficit for the State, if correctly assessed, would be 22 lakh tons and not 1.7 million tons as stated earlier. This deficit could not be bridged even if all rice-producing countries were approached to sell to India all their surplus and wheat be excluded as being unsuitable for human

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consumption then there is a genuine food crisis. But there are ample supplies of wheat and other cereals in stock and if the people only agreed to supplement their cereal intake with those then there would not be any shortage. He firmly repudiated the Opposition allegation of famine conditions prevailing in some parts of the State and rounded up his refutal with the statement "We shall not let anyone die of starvation."

The Opposition's presentation of their charges against the Government was more remarkable for noise and disturbance than for facts, figures and reliable data. Nevertheless they scored a point on the question of rise in prices and unchecked profiteering. by two prominent members of the Oposition as to why the price of rice in the open market should be as high as Rs. 36 a maund when the farmers could not even secure a renumerative prices for their paddy. The Opposition's demand that the Defence of India Rules be applied against hoarders and profiteers was also bye-passed—posibly be cause the Centre had to be consulted. The Opposition challenged the food statistics as being faulty and a P.S.P. member demanded an inquiry in the method of collection of Statistics on food. He further tried to prove that the stocks of rice within the State were likely to prove ample for the people if properly made available for equitable distribution at 15 ounces per adult. The figures etc., put forward by him were, however, not very definite or convincing.

The Chief Minister made it clear in his reply that no basic change in Food Policy could be made but minor adjustments might be possible. The State being basically deficit in food grains procurement of stocks was neither advisable nor would it fit in with Government's policy which was based on long experience.

The Chief Minister's statement on the rise in prices was, however, vague and evasive. The Government did not challenge the statement that the rise in prices was unnatural. Indeed it would have been impossible in the face of statements made at the Centre by Cabinet Ministers that the rise in the prices of Food and Essential Commodities was not justifiable by a l margin. The rise in the prices of rice the open market in West Bengal has be of the order of 35% for coarse, 55% f medium—which is the quality used by t vast majority of city and industrial a householders—and 40% for fine varie as compared with the mid July figures 1962. This in the opinion of all reasona men stinks of rank and rapacious profite ing and calls for drastic remedies at early date. The mere fact of scarcity d not justify ruthless extortion as is be practised by the unscrupulous traders foodgrains who are allowed to suck very life-blood of the people in this w without any interference from the Gove ment.

It is curious that the Opposition did drive this point in and thus score at le on one salient point. It shows the cali of the Opposition to be unequal to the oc sion. Subsequent to the debate the Cen has directed that the States may use t Defence of India Rules against profite and black-marketeers. Let us see wh steps the authorities take. Nothing sh of imprisonment of the heads of firms wo be effective in any way.

The "No Confidence" motions wh were brought in as a corrollary to the Fo Debate by the Opposition, fizzled out Monday July 22, affter some puerile alle tions by the Opoosition.

Profiteers and the Defence of India Rule

The Centre issued a directive on J 20, asking all State Governments to inv the D. I. Rules "to prevent bla marketeering and profiteering in foodgr and sugar." The States were also asked tighten their control over fair price sh through more rigid inspection. This di tive had become imperative, according the authourities at the Centre, because the "totally unjustified" increases in f grain prices and the "diversion of s from regular shops to dubious channe distribution in some places."

A "Sugar Control Order" was also iss by the Central Government, which pr

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bited licensed wholesale dealers from selling sugar to other wholesale dealers—an well-known trick by which prices are juggled upwards through dummy sales to linked concerns. By this order licensed wholesalers would be able to sell sugar only to retailers who are either registered with them or are nominated by the State Governments or District authorities, in future. The sale will have to be "at prices not exceeding the wholesale price fixed" and the wholesaler will have to keep a proper record of each transaction.

The State Governments have been requested in the directive by the Centre, to fix fair margins for wholesalers and retailers and **to punish ruthlessly** those who exceed the margins. The margins suggested in the directive are 1½% on cash sales and 2% for credit sales. Further, it has been suggested that the authority to punish blackmarketeers should be delegated to District Magistrates so that prompt action might be taken. Contravention of the Sugar Control Order has been made punishable, likewise, under the Defence of India Rules.

The Sugar Control Order further stipulates that every licensed wholesaler shall keep a register of retailers registered with him with such particulars as may be required and maintain a proper record of supplies made to them, prices charged and dates on which the supplies were made and display prominently the sale price of sugar.

Orders under the DIR could also be issued to prevent the whole range of other transactions considered objectionable and prejudicial to public interest. These include charging of marginal profits above the limits prescribed for the wholesalers and retailers, submission of false returns, maintenance of incorrect accounts and charging by the fair price shopkeepers of a price above that prescribed by the Government of India.

The 1000 K.W. Transmitter and V.O.A.

A minor controversy has been started by a group of politicians over the agreement, concluded on March 12 last between the All India Radio and the Voice of America. It seems that the ultra sensitive conscience of some protagonists of non-alignment has been inflamed by the hidden implications of the deal, though plain and unbiassed persons like ourselves have been unable to discover what those implications are. At least the published details of the agreement did not yield to us any indication of any violation of the non-alignment creed, even on a close scrutiny. Still certain sections of the Press have played up the "grave situation caused by this pact. All that we could discover about it was that the U.S. Press gave undue publicity to this pact because, according to some "pundits" of the U.S. Press, this agreement coupled with India's acceptance of a joint Western air exercises plan showed some major shift in the non-alignment policy. The sole reason of this outburst on the part of a section of our press and politicians seems to be based on the tacit—though admitted by indirect—abetment of cold war propaganda from the U.S., directed towards South East Asia.

The statement made by Mr. Sham Nath, Union Deputy Minister for Information and Broadcasting on the 19th July at Nagpur, while talking to Pressmen at the Nagpur Press Club seemed conclusive at that time. He said "all sides to the question have been considered before" the agreement was concluded. He said :—

that the Rs. 3-crore transmitter was a great need to counteract Chinese propaganda and added that the three-hour daily time given to the Voice of America would only be used for relaying their programmes. Though there was no control on what was broadcast by America, it would not be broadcast from the Indian soil and would not affect our neutrality in any way. he added.

"America has gone out of her way to provide us with the much needed transmitter, which they could have easily installed elsewhere. The only opposition to the deal is from the Communists and they cannot be expected to react any differently. It is improper to give it an ideological colour", he said.

Mr. Sham Nath left out our super-Brahmins as also those of our politicians whose

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sole stock-in-trade consists of out-Nehruing Nehru himself in matters like non-alignment. They would give "an ideological colour to anything that holds out a chance of free publicity. And our press is as sensation-hungry as any in the world.

To the plain common-citizen it would be difficult to find that the transaction was in anyway unfair to India or that it gave objectionable privileges to the U.S. Under the arrangement, the V.O.A. will have three hours and the A.I.R. the other three hours of the six peak hours of the day, each side having one hour at a time. The remaining hours of the day will be entirely at the disposal of the All India Radio. **No Voice of America programme will originate in India**, the new transmitter being just a relaying station for programmes emanating from Washington.

One clause of the agreement says that India will not broadcast in Urdu or Bengali from this transmitter. Presumably the idea is that India should not use this transmitter for propaganda against Pakistan. The V.O.A. is likewise not to broadcast through this transmitter in any Indian language, nor would it mention that the broadcast was emanating from India. The V.O.A. would brodcast principally in the languages of South East Asia.

An outstanding consideration for the decision in favour of the agreement was the complaint from the army authorities that that in the NEFA and in the forward areas along the Himalayas the only broadcast that the troops could hear—and they were made to hear, during the days of Chinese assault, through loudspeakers directed towards them by the enemy—was that from Peking. There was an urgent and immediate need to remedy this state of affairs, that were affecting the morale of our troops and those of our friends. The question of securing a really powerful transmitter at an early date was a decisive factor which had to be taken into account as it was a stategic essential.

It seems that the powers-that-be are being pressed hard to alter their decision and to re-open the negotiations. We would like to know exactly what is the real source of these pressures as apart from the fan[atics] and cranks, there are those who cons[titute] the Hidden Hand.

Professor O. C. Gangoly Felicitated

The Lalit Kala Akademi and the Ac[ademy] of Fine Arts of Calcutta organized [a] ceremony on July 26 at the auditorium [of] the Academy, at which Prof. O. C. Ga[n]goly was presented with an inscribe[d] *tamrapatram* and a silken *angavastram*. T[he] citation detailed the endeavours of th[e] learned art critic and art historian over [a] period of almost sixty years in his chose[n] field of work. Mr. Humayun Kabir, th[e] Union Minister, Scientific Research an[d] Cultural Affairs and Lady Ranu Mookerje[a] the President of the AFA, paid glowin[g] tributes to Prof. Gangoly for his contribu[-] tions for the growth of Indian Art.

Prof. Gangoly in his reply appealed t[o] the Union Minister to introduce a serio[us] study of Indian Art in our universities. H[e] held up the work of European scholar[s] whose contributions were in sharp contra[st] to the lack of interest shown in the hom[e] land of our art and its traditions. It was a great pity, according to Prof. Gangoly, th[at] so very few Indian scholars have taken up the study of India's art heritage.

It is a pleasure for us to record that th[e] Lalit Kala Akademy has thus lauded th[e] achievements of a scholar and critic wh[o] has rendered sterling service, through [a] life-long dedication and highly erudite re[-] search work, devoted to the cause of Indi[an] Art. The Academy of Fine Arts had appre[-] ciated Prof. Gangoly's work long before this occasion and it must have been a pleasure to the president and the council of the AFA that one held in such regard by them should be accorded recognition in th[is] fashion by the Lalit Kala Akademy.

Prof. O. C. Gangoly is an old and valued contributor to this Review, and needs no introduction to our readers. We would only add our felicitations to wh[ich] was given on that occasion and wish Pro[f.] Gangoly long years of fruitful work.

THE EDITOR

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

The Compulsory Savings Deposit Scheme

Karuna K. Nandi

The Compulsory Savings Deposit Scheme Act when it was presented before Parliament in the shape of a Bill during the last Budget session, produced a measure of opposition and criticism from all sections of the House, including certain eminent members of the ruling party itself, which has characterised it as one of the most controversial among a large area of varied controversial measures undertaken by the Govrenment of India. The opposition to the Bill was based upon two different points of view. The first and the foremost, and which almost precipitated a crisis within the ruling party itself, of these objections was based upon the quetion as to whether or not the Bill was **ultra vires** the Constituion seeking to dictate, as it purported to do, the measure and manner in which the citizens of the country would be required to save a portion of their earnings, as well as the manner in which they would be required to deploy such savings. It was contended, and certain prominent Congress members of Parliament were among the most prominent in pressing forth such a contention, that this violated the Fundamental Righs guaranteed to every citizen of the country by the Constiution and, therefore, it was beyond the competence of Government and Parliament to legislate the measure in the form in which it was presented. The Finance Miniter, who piloted the measure, refuted this criticism on the ground, first, that as it was essential to promote savings for purposes of restricting consumption on the one hand and promoting defence and development planning on the other, it was perfectly within the competence of Goverment and Parliament to legislate the measure, development planning being one of the 'directive principles' of the Constitution ; and, secondly, that, in any case, the Fundamental Rights remained suspended for the duration of the emergency under the Defence of India Act and the Rules thereunder. All these are well known facts and would hardly need recapitulation here but for the confusion and the 'harrassment' that this highly controversial measure of doubtful legal validity and certainly questionable moral propriety would now seem to have been occasioning to the vast multitude of our peoples who would be affected by its operation.

It would, nevertheless, we feel, be pertinent in this connection to observe that the Finance Minister's justifications in support of the meaure would seem to be wholly specious and without any logic. This would seem to be so especially on the background of the Tax Budget presented immediately before this measure came up before Parliament and which had, as the Union Finance Minister himself confessed, envisaged an order of additional taxation never before essayed by the Government. When regard is had to the fact that well over sixty per cent of the additional taxation revenue envisaged in the Budget was estimated to be derived through indirect taxation like excise imposts, enhanced import duties etc., the impact of the additional taxation measures proposed (and since promulgated) on the individual resources of the people and on the price structure simultaneously, can well be imagined.

This was, in a sense, an inescapable consequence of the peculiar taxation trends in the country since after Independence, and especially since development planning has been undertaken under Government aegis. When India first started on the way towards development planning with the First Five-Year Plan launched in 1950-51, the gross per capita taxation was very low indeed. It was inevitable that the incidence of taxation should progressively mount to higher levels as the needs of development planning gradually began to comprehend wider areas. It was equally inevitable that the originally very low proportion of indirect taxation would have to cover progressively wider areas to not merely enable increasing revenue requirements to be covered, but also to maintain a balanced proportion with direct taxation in the overall taxation structure of the country. It

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was recognized that a certain measure of mild inflationary incidence might, within reasonable limits, prove to be a promotional factor in a growing economy. But it was also recognized that every care must be taken that such pressures may not overstep the limits of reasonable growth and assume a run-away character. Unfortunately, however, the needs of revenue were progressively allowed to cloud judgment and a sense of proportion, and indirect levies on essential consumer commodities began to feature more increasingly every year, both in Central and State budgets, in the taxation budgeting processes of the Government. With the result price-pressure has continued to mount higher and higher until now the price levels, especially in the essential consumer sector, have assumed an altitude which, but for the notorious 1943 food famine in Bengal, can be claimed to have never before been touched. With heavier taxation demands and unprecedentedly high prices of essential commodities required for maintaining bare existence, the plight of the people can well be imagined.

It has, of course, been contended by the Union Finance Minister that the vast majority of income earners in the country never come within the purview of the income tax. and it was only proper that they should participate in the process of the country's progress towards a more wholesome national econonomy more directly than they have hitherto been enabled to do. The burden of indirect taxation on these sectors of the population, as evidenced by the high price levels, is heavy enough. And even if not all of the sacrifices that these sectors of the population are compelled to make may benefit the Government—inevitably a large slice is intercepted by black-marketeers, profiteers and those hosts of anti-social racketeers whom the Government do not seem able, under any circumstances, and even with the wide and far-flung powers assumed by them under the Defence of India Act and the Rules thereunder,—they are mostly still on the breadlines as the Union Minister of Labour and Planning has so frankly confessed recently and who, according to him, would be condemned to remain indefinitely on those lines for as long in the future as one might be able to visualize. And, yet, it is with a view to compelling these people to fork out yet another form of tax—the shape of the Compulsory Savings Deposit Scheme, has been conceived by the Union Finance Minister.

For, although all sectors of income-earners are comprehended within the Scheme, both income-tax paying and those who do not pay income tax, the principle objective and impact of operation of the Scheme shall inevitably fall upon the vast multitude of our white collar workers whose income is well below the income-tax paying limits, but aggregate Rs. 1,500 or more a year. We have already demonstrated earlier in these columns that so far as the middle income groups in the country are concerned, the proportional impact of the income tax by way of the additional surcharge levied through the current year's Budget in the income slabs between Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 40,000 per annum has been far heavier than on the higher income groups although, perhaps, the additional tax burden on the below 15,000 level has been comparatively more legitimate. So far as the income tax payers are concerned, contributions to the Compulsory Deposit Scheme is practically an optional one; they may either pay a deposit of 3 per cent of their residual income of upto Rs. 6,000 and 2 per cent on the balance above the first Rs. 6,000 of the residual income or, in the alternative, they may avoid making such a deposit by paying the additional surcharge according to the scale levied on the residual income slabs in the current year's Budget.

This is a benefit which income-earners in the higher slabs would be likely to especially welcome because this would enable them to save a portion of their direct tax obligations to the Government. But since in these higher slabs of income a certain measure of saving is spontaneously always generated, and the incidence of which rises higher with the higher slabs of income, such an inducement for additional savings cannot be visualized as benefiting the public exchequer or the Government revenues in any way at all. Such a concession to such slabs of residual income as say, the first Rs. 6000 per annum would

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the other hand, be likely to prove a valuable incentive for, in these slabs, with the inflated importance of certain ranges of conventional expenditure which have assumed almost the nature of essentials, the incidence of spontaneous savings generation have always been known to be almost negligible. Here the economy as a whole might stand to benefit from such a measure, and the scope of the limit of compulsory savings might have been even substantially higher than at the rate assumed in the statute, provided of course, the process of refund on maturity would, it could be assured, be both without red tape and needless complications and delays.

But to come to the main objective of the measure, the vast multitude of the fixed wage earning sectors of our people, whose incomes are below the usual income tax paying limits and are yet above Rs. 1,500 per annum, the case is yet very weak, indeed, that there is real scope, without harrassment and gross deprivation, for inducing the compulsory savings at the rates envisaged in the Scheme. This must, naturally, have reference to the background of the very high, and as we write still rising, prices of essentials which enter vitally in their cost of living for a bare existence. The argument of the Union Finance Minister that there are millions in this country who seem to manage to exist even with a lower income than Rs. 125 per mensem does not in any way offer a measure of the ability or otherwise of this sector of our income-earners to make any saving at all out of their incomes. By the same token, Shri Morarji Desai himself should be able to save all of his income as a Minister of Government but Rs. 125 per mensem which, we are as equally certain that he does not or even cannot. But that is not the point of our argument. What is important to recognise in this connection is that those who are compelled to subsist, together with their families, on incomes of Rs. 125 per mensem, cannot hope to do so with a full stomach or with their sense of self-respect uninvaded by frustration or despondency. They are inevitably unable to give their children the minimum upbringing to which every child is entitled, they are unable to give them the nutrition, the medical aid and the health care which should be theirs by right in every civilized modern community. And it is only when these essential requisites of living a wholesome life have been fully covered, that a margin might be expected to emerge for saving, whether voluntarily or under compulsion.

All this, however, does not mean to repudiate the undeniable fact, which also seems to be the Government's principal plank of justification, that wider areas and more accelerted savings habits comprehending the entire national population has become inevitable to enable the tempo of development progress to be maintained and sustained. In the words of modern apostles of economic growth, India is yet, after three quinquennia of development planning, at the stage of 'pre-conditions.' A more vigorous and spontaneous process of capital formation must be induced before we can hope to reach the stage of take-off. Savings, far greater than have so far eventuated, are essential for the purpose and if the proress of development planning has to be sustained and upheld, necessary measures must be evolved for forcing the pace and volume of savings. The Compulsory Deposit Scheme may be one of the means of achieving such a purpose. The scope for savings may not be very great, but what there is must be explored and exploited to the uttermost. All this is conceded. But while conceding this, we cannot at the same time condone the inevitable harassment that the present Scheme would be likely to occasion. And in the apprehended harrassment, we must point out, are embedded the seeds of its possible failure. For the very success of the scheme, so far as its potentials for generating a brisker rate and volume of capital formation in the country is concerned, would be bound to depend upon the ready acceptance of its requirements by the people. Unfortunately, a widespread resistance appears to have been generated against the measure throughout the country.

Some of this resistance is undoubtedly derived from economic reasons. But so far as the generality of our people are concerned, their innate habits of obedience to authority would, perhaps, nevertheless gradually induce them to accept its legitimacy in spite of the undoubtedly heavy additional burden posed by it, if the Treasury were able to devise necessary means for easy and uncomplicated collection of

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these deposits. It must be realised that the Scheme is generally being looked upon by the masses of those who would be affected by its implementation, as an additional measure of taxation rather than as a saving, both voluntary and involuntary, and if the compulsive nature of the present Scheme were to be softened by appropriate administrative measures for inducing the realisation that this was in the nature of a personal saving in addition to what already is being laid by, it might pave the way for continuous and cumulative capital formation. The whole thing would be bound to hinge on a well oriented procedure for its implementation and which might, in the long run, compensate for any unfavourable impact that the scheme may have on total Bank deposits. Unfortunately it is such a well oriented procedure for implementing the Scheme which appears to be totally absent from the thoughts of our Finance Ministry even upto date, although its operation can be said to have already commenced, at least technically, from the first day of the last month. We realise the colossal numbers of potential depositors that the Scheme will have to cover and the patent difficulty of devising rules of procedure with the present administrative resources of Government that would enable smooth transactions with such vast numbers to be undertaken, under which they would not be likely to feel harassed. But what is deplorable is that the Government obviously did not wait to devise appropriate rules of procedure for collection of the deposits under the Scheme—and it is roughly estimated that several millions of potential depositors would be involved—which, while ensuring the widest possible coverage of collection, would, at the same time, enable the depositors to avoid unnecessary trouble, harrassment or delays. The masses of statements, press notes and other information published on the subject would appear to have been extremely confusing, and what appears to emerge from a careful sifting of all these materials does not seem to dispel the uncertainties clouding them.

To analyse, first, who would be affected by the operation of the Scheme, those primarily affected would, of course, be those who do not pay income tax, but whose wages would aggregate Rs. 1,500 a year or more. They would be required to have completed continuous service of 240 days or more on 1st July last, and for those who have not been in service on that date, they would be assessed to the deposit on the day they complete this period of service. Continuous service would mean "uninterrupted service but includes service interrupted by sickness, accident, authorised leave, strike which is not illegal or involuntary unemployment." Salary would include "basic pay or wages, cash value of food concession and retaining allowance, but excludes house rent allowance and variable allowances like overtime allowance, bonuses, commissions, presents etc. "The deposit is to be recovered by the employer whenever the salary or wages paid to an employee amounts to Rs. 125 or more in a month, but in cases where the total salary or wages received within the year is less than Rs. 1,500, the deposits recovered would be refunded with interest at the end of the year. Income earners in this category will, however, be entitled to exemption from the deposit who normally save at least 11 per cent of their salary by way of provident fund contributions, life insurance premia and 10 and 15 year time deposits. In any case where such normal savings do not aggregate the full 11 per cent of the income, full recovery of the compulsory deposit will have to be made. For applying the exemption limit of 11 per cent, however, salary variable items like cash value of food concessions or dearness allowance when fixed with reference to the cost of living indices would be reckoned provisionally, and in the event of an incorrect assessment of the exemption, the full amount of the deposit would be recoverable in the closing month of the year : Here is an unnecessary complication that would be likely to cause a deal of confusion and which might well have been avoided.

So far as the income tax paying assessees this compulsory deposit are concerned, the complication and confusion is much less and what still more convenient, is that their number likely to be comparatively small. In their case the deposit is in essence a voluntary saving. categories of income tax payers are entitled make this deposit, which would be at the rate 3 per cent of the residual income—that is income after tax and surcharge—of upto Rs. 6,000 annum and at 2 per cent thereafter. In the event of their choosing to make this deposit, an amount equal to the deposit so made would be deducted from the additional surcharge payable under current Income Tax Rules ; those not making deposit being liable to the full additional charge payable on the gross residual income. Here also, there appears to be a measure popular misapprehension ; there is an appre

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sion in certain quarters that those among the income tax assesses who choose to make this deposit, the additional surcharge would be chargeable at the prescribed rate on the residual income after tax, surcharge and the amount of the deposit ; but this apprehension is groundless for the Deposit Scheme Act definitely lays down that the deposit plus the residual additional surcharge shall be equal to the full additional surcharge if the deposit were not made.

What, however, would appear to have been causing the utmost confusion is the periodic changes that are being made by the Finance Ministry in respect of the procedure of making these deposits. So far as the income tax paying category of such depositors are concerned, the difficulties would not be insuperable. In the first instance their number would be comparatively small; secondly, although the responsibility for making deposit shall technically devolve on their own shoulders individually,—for it is essentially in the nature of a voluntary deposit on the making of which the availability of corresponding exemption from the additional surcharge will depend,—it has been at last conceded that their employers may also in their case, make appropriate recoveries in this behalf from their salaries etc, just as they usually do with income tax demands. But in the case of those falling below the income tax limit the confusion would appear to be extreme. Initialiy it was directed that all employers would be required to make deposits of recoveries made from their employees with either post offices or certain specified branches of the State Bank of India under individual pass books containing the account of each separate employee. The inanity of the decision would be obvious to all but those politicians and senior officials who seem to have launched the Scheme with so inadequate advance preparation to meet its requirements, and it is doubtful if they have ever been acquainted with a post office queue, especially in the Calcutta metropolitan area. It was, of course, averred that authority would provide additional staff and and counters to deal with these deposits, but in the Calcutta and generally in the West Bengal area at least there would be very few post offices with room for additional staff and counters, let alone enough room to put the queue in. So far as the State Bank of India is concerned, the Bank officials have frankly declared their inability to cope with the additional work involved even at this stage. It is estimated that the Bank through 11 of its Branches in the Calcutta and Howrah areas would be required to cope with 5 lakh accounts and the estimated pressure of the work involved at its Netaji Subhas Road Branch alone will have to cope with 2 lakhs such accounts every month. Other branches of the State Bank would be required to handle 500 such accounts on an average. The Bank simply has not got the resources at its disposal to cope with this sudden inflation in the volume of its obligations. Additional staff will not much help for it takes time to train and, in the meanwhile chaos would be the only possible eventuality.

Certain modifications in the original decisions appear to have been devised in the meanwhile. For instance, employers will not now be required to maintain separate pass books for each individual account, nor the post offices or the Bank concerned would be required to handle correspondingly separate pass books. We doubt if there would be enough pass books and forms ready at the disposal of Government to cover the entire requirement of the case if such a decision were to be adhered to. Employers may now pass all entries through a single pass book or only so many as would be required to cover all their employees of this category, but they would be required to maintain separate ledger accounts in behalf of every individual employee, perhaps similar to those they are required to maintain in respect of provident fund deductions. The amount of work involved would be still extremely heavy and it is possible that with most large employers additional staff would be required to cope with the work involved. But what is still more confusing is that there does not yet seem to be any firm estimate of the number of depositors that would be involved. Originally it was roughly estimated at some nine or ten millions, which was later attenuated to just five. Whether the latter figure was arrived at on the basis of really reliable estimates or simply because the former estimate was too fearsome to contemplate, is not exactly known. But in any case the Postal Department clearly are not able to cater even to this smaller figure although a small minority would choose to deal with the State or Reserve Banks.

So many hints and inuendoes indicating possible changes in procedure in respect of this deposit have been flying around that it becomes impossible to arrive at any firm assessment or eventual clearing of the atmosphere. It is hinted, for instance, that the postal department may send their own staff to certain large employing organizations to spare their agents from standing in a general queue; but it is at the same time doubtful if there is enough staff ready at the disposal of the postal department for the purpose. The Postal Chief estimates that fresh recruitment of staff for

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covering the requirements of the Compulsory Deposit Scheme would not exceed 3,000 which, however, seems to us to be a little too optimistic. During the several statements made and press conferences held both by the Union Finance Minister and Mr. S. C. Jain of the Posts and Telegraphs Board, no clearer picture appears to have emerged. The Finance Minister appears to have merely stressed the merits he has been claiming on economic and political grounds of this fantastic Scheme of his fevered imaginaton as an alternative to too much dependence upon foreign assistance and seemed to be quite indifferent to the immediate issues that have been worrying the public and especially the employers at the present moment, which is not whether the scheme is sound or otherwise, but whether and how it will work. Mr. Jain was not, naturally, concerned with political and economic evaluations but he also seems to have been attenuating the problems of collection that will have to be tackled by his Department faced with this sudden heavy burden on its resources (and we reiterate that there is yet no precise estimate available of its measure), probably with a view to putting the best face that he can on an obviously dubious situation.

What can be done at this stage to remedy a situation fraught with a deal of confusions and complications is a question which is now itself a matter of considerable complication. Certain steps, presumably, could be even now devised to obviate a situation which would seem to be almost hopeless on the face of it. The Postal Department has been helpful in a measure to the extent of accepting the public suggestion that so far as income tax paying depositors are concerned, employers may, by consent, deduct at source. The employers have also been requested to stagger their deposits, but how, it has not been made clear. An obvious remedy might have been for the main burden of collection to have been shifted from the post offices to Banks, not merely the branches of the State and the Reserve Banks, but all scheduled and co-operative banks, at least those that are covered under the Deposit Insurance Scheme, so far at least as the individual depositors, were concerned. But the best of all, perhaps, would yet be to defer the whole Scheme for a period sufficient to cover the necessary advance preparations to meet the burden sequarely and with adequacy. If considered absolutely essential to avoid loss of revenue, the date at which the Scheme is promulgated after such adequate advance preparations, it might even be made retrospective provided, of course, that the depositors, in such an event, are allowed to make good the retospective amounts to be deposited in suitably reasonable instalments together with current dues. A panel of sens people, not merely politicians and senior offic of the Finance Ministry alone should, in meanwhile, devote their minds urgently to deficiencies of the currently devised procedure evolve something more wholesome and would be calculated to enable the Scheme to worked without confusion and disorder. It be abhorred by the Ministry of Finance as pu loss of face and, therefore, repugnant to th tastes, but it is far wiser to loose some face ini ly, than to lose the whole Scheme in the ine able breakdown which would seem to be alm inescapable if it were to be carried out in the sent haphazard and unprepared state in which is being launched.

There is yet another very important aspect this matter which does not appear to have eng ed public attention in any quarter so far. refer especially to the possible cost of collect of these dposits in the present unorganised p cedural stage. Our Finance Ministry appears have a habit of precipitating itself into schem without necessary advance preparation or arran ments. The launching of the decimal coina system, for instance, although several years a appears to have become a burden on the minis administration of the country. From occasio press reports that we have come across during last several years, it appears that the change o to the decimal coinage system has resulted in continuing incidence of losses in the minting the new coins which has not yet been overcom If occasional and necessarily rather vague pr reports in this behalf were at all reliable, the p cess of minting the new coins have been prov colossally expensive far beyond the value of coins themselves. It is equally probable t launching the Compulsory Deposit Scheme in present obviously unprepared state, might pr so colossally expensive—the apprehension wo not, who are familiar with current Governm timorousness would at all appear to unrealistic—that a very substantial part of savings that might emerge at the cost of so m heartbreaking distress and deprivation, might eaten up in the expenses of making these co tions. That would, indeed, be a tragedy! unconvinced as the country is yet of the valid of the economic evaluation of the importance feasibility of the Scheme in the present circ stances, the people might yet be inclined to it a fair trial in the interest of development defence, but to have most of it frittered away expenses of collection, the apprehension of w is not just a bogey, would indeed be the last s on the peoples patience and forbearance.

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TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIVE PATTERN FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A Study of the Bihar Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Act, 1961

By Prof. SANT LAL SINGH,
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With the assent given by the State Governor on the 17th February, 1962, the Bihar Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Act has become law. The Act creates, as its title indicates, two institutions in the field of rural self-Government and development, on the lines of the recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta study team for Community Projects and the national Extension Service. The main principle underlying the Team's recommendation is that of Democratic Decentralisation. The Study Team was, of course, mainly concerned with the problems of rural development and was not exactly making a full-fledged report on rural local self-governing institutions. Its recommendations for setting up Panchayat Samities and Panchayat Parishads were only incidental to its approach to the solution of the administrative problems involved in rural development. Acceptance by the Government of its recommendations in this regard led, however, naturally to a re-examination of the entire position regarding the then existing rural local self-governing institutions, primarily the District Board and the Local Board. The pattern of these institutions in Eastern India, particularly Bihar, followed that laid down by the local Self-government Act of 1885 of the then individed Bengal, adopted for Bihar and Orissa after its creation as a separate province. For many years there was a widespread feeling of public dissatisfaction with the working of these bodies. With inadequate resources, part-time and honorary publicmen working with ill paid and quite often corrupt staff, had earned more of bad name than a reputation in these bodies. In 1959, the State Government by an ordinance, corroborated by a Legislative measure subsequently, took over the administration of all the District and Local Bodies in the State, elections to which had not taken place due to one reason or another for many years. It was then generally supposed, however, that this supersession was not the temporary supersession of individual Boards as in the past but a prelude to the reorganisation of the entire structure of these institutions. It was also given out that the prospective reorganisation was going to be somewhat on the lines traced by the Balwant Rai Mehta Study Team. It took the State Government, however, more than two years to draft a Bill on these lines and about three years to have the Bill passed by the legislature and assented to by the Governor. While the measure is now on the Statute Book, it has yet to be implemented. Meanwhile the period of supersession of District Boards and the tenure of the Special Officers appointed to run them is drawing to a close and Government will either have to extend the **status quo** through a local ordinance in case they do not decide to set up the new agencies of rural self-Government immediately, or to implement the Act.[1]

The present Act, as indicated, deals with the two[2] new agencies recommended by the Balwant Rai Study Team, viz., the Panchayat Samiti and the Zila Panchayat Parishad, and hence is not a comprehensive manual of rural local self-Government.[3] The primary units of the structure envisaged by the Study Team viz., the Gram Panchayats, have in fact, been functioning since much earlier and the present legislation does not deal with them. It is not even clear from the text of the present legislation if the Government propose to transfer to the Zila Panchayat Parishad all of the functions of the old District Boards.

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Section 65 of the present Act merely states that the State Government may, by notification in the official gazette, transfer to the Panchayat Samiti or the Panchayat Parishad, subject to such modification and control as may be laid down, any or all of the functions of the old District Boards, after which notification, the District Boards will cease to exercise those powers and functions. Thus, the final termination of the District Boards has not been equivocally contemplated. A comparison of the powers and functions of the Panchayat Samiti and the Panchayat Parishad on the one hand and those of the District Boards on the other also confirms this impression. The powers and functions assigned specifically to these newly proposed bodies are mainly of a development nature and not so much to the selection of municipal or routine administration and maintenance. The present study, therefore, will largely be confined to an examination of the role of these proposed bodies and of the administrative structure laid down for them in the context of the task of rural development as a part of the Five Year Plans.

The Task of Rural Development

The main task of rural development under the Five Year Plans, since October, 1952, is expected to be performed by the Community Projects and the National Extension Service. National Extension stands for extending to the former the advances in science and technology in the various fields of agriculture and animal husbandry. "Community Development" stands for comprehensive development of the Community as a whole in all the aspects of social life. While 'extension' is purely a matter for the Governmental departments, development of the Community as a whole is a matter for the people themselves. Hence from the beginning emphasis has been laid on popular initiative, co-operation and participation in the programme. It is designed to promote better living for the whole Community with the active participation and, if possible, on the initiative of the community; but if this initiative is not forthcoming, "by the same use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to serve its active and enthusiastic response" (Community Development Programmes in India, Pakistan and Philippines, p. 8). In the words of the Prime Minister, Community Projects are of vital importance "not so much for the national achievement that they would bring about but much more so, because they seem to build up the Community and the individual and to make the latter the builder of his own village centres and of India in the larger sense" (Inaugural speech at the Development Comfissioners' Conference, 1952, May).

Community Projects, in other words, are aimed not only at economic targets of raising production and improving standards of living but of improving and changing the people themselves. Of course, in so far as the character and attitudes of people and their approach to life change, economic development in particular and social development in general become correspondingly easier; but basically the entire programme is conceived in a broader sociological setting. The 1st Plan emphasised the need for public participation on both these grounds. It stated ". . . . programmes which have been built on the co-operation of the people have more chances of abiding success than those which are forced on them . . . . While the official machinery has to guide and assist, the principal responsibility for improving their own condition must rest with the people themselves . . . it is necessary to stress the importance of assuring right from the start the **peoples' participation**, not merely in the execution of the Community development projects, but also in its planning."

Organising Peoples' Participation

Before the process of reorganisation, recommended by the Balwant Rai Mehta Study Team started, various organisational devices were tried to give shape and reality to the above concept of the role of the people themselves in their own development. The principal among them were the Block Advisory Committee, The Bikas Mandal,

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the Block planning and Development Committees and the District Development Committee. While the latter body is supposed to look after the interests of the District as a whole, from the standpoint of development within the villages and the association of the people with it, it was the Project or the Block Advisory Committee that was expected to play the crucial role. These bodies were, however, purely advisory and their personnel almost wholly nominated. The degree of initiative that they displayed was, therefore, largely limited. The Panchayats, of course, were consulted, and the Block Advisory Committees mostly consisted of the Mukhias of the various Panchayats, but the machinery could hardly be expected to play a really important and vital role either in the formulation or in the execution of the development programmes.

The successive reports of the Programme Evaluation Organisation began to make it clear that the machinery for associating the people with the programme was hardly satisfactory. In those areas where the Gram Panchayats were strong and active enough to manage to have their voice felt, the development programmes, catering better to the needs of the people, were more successful even in achiving targets; similarly in areas where the local administrators were sufficiently democratic to take special steps for ascertaining the views of the local bodies or the Gram Panchayat, there was a large degree of public participation in and enthusiasm for the development programmes. The P.E.D. thus emphasised the need for greater accociation of the Panchayats with Community development.

It was, however, left to the Study Team under the Chairmanship of Balwant Rai Mehta, appointed by the Committee on Plan Projects, to recommend a specific structure, based on Panchayats, to which the work of drawing up and implementing community programmes was to devolve.

Democratic Decentralisation

Democratic decentralisation may be regarded as possessing two virtues—viz., first, as being consistent with the popular democratic trends and secondly as being technically the best and most efficient method of both formulation and execution of the local plan. The hierarchy of the Panchayats is to be the agency for development, rather than the salaried Government servant.

If the alleged significance of Indian planning lies in its being an experiment in large-scale and comprehensive controls with democratic institutions, the maintenance of its democratic character becomes one of the essential elements of its processes. Popular acceptance of and participation by the people in the various stages of plan making and plan execution become essential. Hence the slogan of 'Planning from Below', based on the needs of the local populations and calling forth their spontaneous enthusiasm. In an under-administered community with limited extension and administrative services, the efficacy and intensity of development programmes depend on the availability of voluntary and honorary workers. Plainly, suitable machinery has to be set up for the purpose. It was natural that any observer and student of the problems of plan organisation and administration would, in this connection, think of bringing into service and developing the institutions of primary democracy—democracy at the grassroots—viz., the village Panchayats. The Study Team, therefore, observes that "So long as we do not discover or create a representative and democratic institution which will supply the 'local interest, supervision and care necessary to ensure that expenditure of money upon local projects, conforms with the needs and wishes of the locality', invest it with adequate power and assign to it appropriate finances, we will never be able to evoke local interest and excite local initiative in the field of development. Criticising the attempt at evoking and harnessing popular enthusiasm through ad hoc bodies, the Study Team observes "Often we have been told that the village Panchayat is, for various reasons, not suitable for such work. This is a confession not merely of our lack of

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faith in democracy but of our failure to make the programme a genuine Community development programme. It can become genuine only by operating through the co-operatives on the one hand and the statutory elective representative bodies on the other." The Panchayats as a primary elective body naturally had to be the basic institutions of this approach. But the Panchayat was "too small in area, population and financial resources to carry out all these functions."

The Need for an Intermediate Body

Even if the Panchayat be accepted as the primary unit, the problem of finding out suitable units "the next higher body" which would function with and through the Panchayats as far as possible, remained. The Study Team rejected the District Boards as an appropriate agency for developmental work on the following grounds: (i) lack of tradition (ii) lack of resources (iii) too wide an area. The team found that few of the local bodies at a level higher than the village Panchayat have shown any enthusiasm or interest in developmental work. "The Chairmen and members of the District Boards are not in a position to give any considerable portion of their time to the affairs of such a vast area. The District Boards might have served the purpose for which they were created, i.e., educating our people in self-government, but they have neither the tradition nor resorces to take up this work." Besides, many of the functions of the District Boards had already come to be duplicated by the State Government e.g., the District School Boards in some States. The elective element in the District Board had little actual share in its day to day functioning, which devolved largely into the hands of the officials. The Team was thus driven into finding an institution which would "give democracy to intermediate levels." The Team Found the Panchayat samity as its answer to the problem which would have a "jurisdiction neither so large as to defeat the very purpose for which it is created nor so small as to militate against efficiency and economy.

The Panchayat Samiti as Recommended by the Study Team

The Panchayat Samiti would be identical in extent with the N.E.S. Block, the Tehsil or the Taluka....The Block offers an area large enough for functions which the village Panchayat can perform and yet small enough to attract the interest and services of the residents. The Blocks, functioning already on an approved staffing pattern as developmental units, would present the minimum problems in transitional reorganisation. The team appears to favour an adjustment in the size of the Block, wherever possible, so as to make it "coincide with one of the existing administrative units like Tehsil, taluka or thana. In Bihar, roughly speaking, the thana is tending to become the territorial jurisdiction of the Block.

The Panchayat Samiti, thus delimited, would be constituted by **indirect election** from the village Panchayats. "The Panchayats," the Team recommended, "can be grouped together in convenient units, which can be Gram Sewak's circles, and the Panches of all the Panchayats in each of these units shall elect from amongst themselves a person or persons to be a member or members of the Panchayat Samiti. We consider that such elected representatives should be 20 in number in each Panchayat Samiti." These elected representatives would co-opt two women who are interested in work among women and children. Besides, where the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes constituted 5 per cent or more each of the population of the area, a member belonging to these groups each would be further co-opted by the members.

The Team further recommended that small municipalities, essentially rural in character, which lie as conclaves within the jurisdiction of the Block, should also send a representative to the Panchayat Samiti.

Lastly, among special interests, the Team recommended "that where the existence and importance of the local co-operative organisations justify, a number of seats equal to 10% of the number of elected seats be filled by representatives of these

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tors of the co-operatives functioning within the Block."

"The Panchayat Samiti should have a life of 5 years and should come into being sometime in the third year of the Five-Year Plan period," so that "the Samiti once elected, will be able to see the execution of the second half of the Five-Year Plan drawn up by its predecessor, itself drawing up its own plan for the next period and shoulder the responsibility of seeing it though the first half of the period. This would be in the interest of wise planning and efficient execution of the plan."

The functions of the Samiti, thus formed, would be (i) the development of agriculture in all its aspects, including the selection of the seed, its procurement and distribution, the improvement of agricultural practices, provision of local agricultural finance with the assistance of the Government and of the co-operative banks, minor irrigation works, the improvement of cattle, sheep and poultry etc. (ii) The promotion of local industries (iii) the supply of drinking water, public health and sanitation and medical relief (iv) relief of distress in times of national calamities (v) arrangements in connection with local pillgrimages and festivals (vi) construction and repair of roads of local importance (other than village Panchayat roads) (vii) management and control of primary schools (viii) the fixation of wages under the Minimum Wages Act for non-industrial labour (ix) welfare of backward classes and (x) the collection and maintenance of statistics.

In addition, the Team recommended, the Panchayat Samiti will act as the agent of the State Government in executing any special schemes of development or other activities in which the State Government might like to delegate its powers to this local authority.

Thus, the Team visualised the Samiti as the exclusive agency for rural developmental-cum-municipal functions. Indeed, the Team strongly urged that "except where the Panchayat Samity is not in a position to function in any particular matter, the State Government should not undertake any of these or other development functions in the Block area." The Team contemplated the possibility of entrusting this body with certain other functions like the maintenance and development of small forests, the maintenance of watch and ward establishment, excise and such other items, but the immdiate objective is to ensure that the development of the countryside is carried out as rapidly and efficiently as possible and through **democratic processes.**"

Link with Other Organisations

Having thus defined the functions and scope of the Panchayat Samiti as the principal agency for rural development, the Study Team next proceeds to delineate the scope and functions both of the Panchayat as the primary as also of a supervisory and co-ordinating agency in the form of the Zilla Parishad.

The Panchayat and the Gram Sewak

The Panchayat should have an organic link with the Panchayat Samiti on the one hand and the Gram Sewak on the other. The Gram Sewak, the Team recommended, should function as the Development Secretary of the Panchayat or of the Committee of village Panchayats, should there happen to be more than one within the jurisdiction of the Gram Sewak. The Gram Sewak the team had in mind presumably is the village level worker in the hierarchy of the C.D./N.E.S. staff, who is the lowest functionary of the developmental organisation. The area under such a V.L.W./Gram Sewak is visualised as a circle and the Team recommends that a Block or the Panchayat Samiti should not have more than 20 such circles under it and that each circle should cover a population normally not exceeding 400 or 800 families.

The village panchayat, both in its developmental as also normal maintenance functions, should be under the supervisory powers of the Panchayat Samiti. The budget should be subject to the latter's scrutiny. The Panchayat Samiti will provide such guidance to the village panchayat in all its activities as the latter may need.

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Apart from the duties laid upon the village panchayat by Statute in the different States, "the panchayat may undertake any other developmental work with the approval of the Panchayat Samiti." The Team envisaged the following as the compulsory dutites of the village panchayat. (i) provision of domestic water supply (ii) sanitation (iii) maintenance of public streets, drains, tanks etc. (iv) street lighting (v) land management (vi) maintenance of records relating to cattle (vii) relief of distress (viii) maintenance of panchayat roads, culverts, bridges, drains (ix) supervision of primary schools (x) Welfare of backward classes and (xi) collection and maintenance of statistics, besides acting as the agent of the Panchayat Samiti in executing any scheme of development.

Need for a Supervisory and Co-ordinating Body

The Zilla Parishad

Having assigned to the village Panchayat and the Panchayat Samiti functions in their various fields, the Team felt "that there is very little left for any higher administrative executive body other than the Government." But "to ensure the necessary co-ordination between the panchayat Samiti," the Team suggested "a **Zilla Parishad** of which the members will be the Presidents of the Panchayat Samitis, all members of the State legislature and of the Parliament representing a part or whole of a district whose constituencies lie within the district, and district level officers of the medical, public health, agriculture vterinary, public health engineering, education, backward classes welfare, public works and other development departments. The **Collector will be the Chairman of the Parishad and one of his officers will be the Secretary."**[4]

The Team indicated the following functions of the Parishad: (i) examination and approval of the budgets of the Panchayat Samitis (ii) distribution of funds alloted by the Government for the district as a whole between various blocks (iii) co-ordination and consolidation of block p and acting as the intermediary between Government and the Blocks (iv) ge supervision of the activities of the Pan yat Samitis.

The Parishad, which the Team wa to replace the District Planning Commit may have **Standing Committees** to en rapid disposal of work. **The Team did however, contemplate the Parishad to h executive powers** as that may threaten initiative and effectiveness of the Pancha Samitis in their earlier years. The Te was definite that to ensure the susta interests of the District level officers charge of various development depts, t **should be full-fledged members of Parishad**[5] and not just experts without right to vote. The Team similarly definitely against the direct election members of the Parishad. The Te agreed that on the basis of experience working of these bodies, alterations in th composition, scope and powers may be c ed for subsequently, but what is essen is that "the three tiers of the scheme, the village Panchayat, the Panchayat Sa and the Zila Parishad, operate simu neously."

Features of the Bihar Act

We may now turn to a consideration the structure, powers and administrati relations of the Panchayat Samitis a Zilla Parishads proposed to be set up Bihar under the present legislation:

Composition, Area and Functions of the Panchayat Samities' Membership

The following are to be members of Panchayat Samiti: (i) Mukhias of all Gram Panchayats of the area. (ii) Chairman and vice-Chairmen of munici lities and Notified Area Committees wit the area of the Block, if any, as noti by the State Government. (iii) Three p sons elected by the Secretaries of the operative societies of the area, other th the Central Co-operative Bank. (iv) A rep sentative of the Central Co-operative Ba of the area. These are to co-opt (a) persons, normally resident in the a

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whose experience in the spheres of administration, rural development and public work may prove beneficial to the Samiti ; (b) two women residents of the area, if the Samiti otherwise has no woman as its members ; (c) two persons each belonging to (i) Scheduled castes (ii) Scheduled tribes or (iii) other special interests, if such classes of castes are not otherwise represented in the Samiti, if the population of these classes is 10% or more of the total population of the Block, and one person each if the strength of the class is less than 10% but more than 5% of the total population of the Block.

M.L.A's and M.P's elected from the area of the Block or any of its parts will function as **associate members** of the Samiti.

The associate members[6] will have the right to participate in the meetings of the Samiti, but will not have the right to vote or contest any elective office within the Samiti.

The Block Development Officer will function as the Secretary to and the Chief Executive Officer of the Panchayat Samiti and its Standing Committees, but will not have the right to vote.

Area

The area of the Samiti will be co-extensive with the area of the Block.

Functions and Powers

The Act lays down the powers and functions of the Samiti in an Appendix.[7] Section 13 of the Act states that the Samiti will exercise such powers and functions as are transferred to it by and under the Act by the State Government including those exercised by the former District Boards.

The Samiti will have separate standing Committees to deal with the problems of (i) Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation and minor irrigation, (ii) Education, including Social Education, local arts and crafts, small savings and cottage industries, (iii) Public Health and Hygine, (iv) Transport and Communications, (v) Finance and taxation and (vi) Social Welfare and programmes for the weaker sections of the community including women and children.

Other Standing Committees may be set up by the Samiti with the prior approval of the Zila Parishad. Every standing Committee will have a Chairman.

Chief and Deputy Chief

Every Panchayat Samiti will elect a Chief and Deputy Chief from among its members. The Deputy Chief will take over the functions of the Chief during his absence. The Chief will not only call meetings of the Samiti but will have supervisory powers over the Block Development Officer for giving effect to the decisions of the Samiti or its standing Committees. He will even submit annual reports to the collector of the district on the work of the B.D.O. In emergencies the Chief will have the power to take decisions on behalf of the Samiti or of its standing Committees in anticipation of the approval by the Samiti or the Standing Committee.

The Zilla Parishad

Area

The area of a Zilla Parishad will be co-extensive with the district.

Composition

The Chiefs of all the Panchayat Samitis in the district, the members of the State legislature or Parliament elected from or living in the district, three persons elected by and from amongst the members of municipalities and Notified area Committees in the district and two persons elected by and from amongst the members of managing Committees of central co-operative banks in the district besides a nominee of the State Panchayat Parishad, will constitute the Zilla Panchayat Parishad. In case there is no woman member or member of scheduled castes or tribes, with a population of 5% or more of the total population of the district, the Parishad will co-opt three women and one member each from the scheduled castes or tribes concerned.

The Zilla Parishad will have a President

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and Vice-President elected from amongst its members except the legislators, municipal commissioners and the nominees of the State Panchayat Parishad.

Like the Panchayat Samiti, the Zilla Parishad will have Standing Committees for the different subjects in its charge, like (i) Planning Community Development and communications (ii) Agriculture, co-operation, irrigation animal husbandry and electricity (iii) Industries (iv) Education and Welfare (v) Finance (vi) Public Health, etc.

The District Development officer will be the Secretary of the Samiti and of its various committees, without the right to vote, and shall be under the administrative control of the President of the Parishad, who shall have general supervisory powers over the Panchayat Samitis. Like the Chief the Panchayat Samitis in relation to the BDO, the President of the Parishad will submit annual reports on the work of the District Development officer.

The functions and powers of the Zilla Parishad shall be (i) allotment of funds granted by the State Government among the Panchayat Samitis or Blocks (ii) scrutiny and approval of the budgets of the Samitis (iii) Scrutiny and co-ordination of plans drawn up by the Samitis and general guidance of their activities (vi) regulation of relations between Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis and (v) formulation of plans for the district as a whole and to act as an advisor to the State Government in relation to developmental work. The State Government may, of course, charge the Parishad with other functions as well according to need.

Comparison with the Study Team's Recommendations

The general outline and structure of the Panchayat Samiti and the Zilla Parishad, as also their functions and powers broadly correspond to the recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta Study Team, with some important differences. Thus, while the Study Team had visualised the collector as the President of the Parishad, the B... Act not only keeps him out of the c... but makes a senior official of the r... of District Development Officer, Secre... to the body and subject to the admini... tive control of the non-official Presi... who will presumably be one of ... Chiefs of the Panchayat Samitis, ... in turn will be recruited from amongst ... ranks of the Mukhias of Gram Pancha... The Study Team appeared to have thr... of a non-officialised machinery at the di... level, with the district level heads of rele... developmental departments as full m... bers of the Parishad. The Bihar Act not ... shuts out the departmental heads, but ... them, particularly the District Develop... Officer, on a positively lower status, ... as also the subservience of the BD... the Chief of the Panchayat Samiti, ... features of the proposd set up whic... definitely beyond the scope of the rec... mendations of the Study Team. W... effects this will have on the efficienc... the administration and developmental w... and particularly on the morale of the ser... are at present matters of speculation. ... wonders, however, whether it was neces... to give to the non-official heads of ... Samiti or the Parishad the power to w... reports on the work of the BDO or ... District Development Officer. The ... that the State Government functio... through the collector will have yet ... supreme supervisory powers over the a... cies being set up, and the fact that the ... colector in relation to the district as a w... can function only through the officials, ... not resolve the problems of the BDO or ... District Development Officer, but ... rather give rise to divided loyalties.

There are certain other points of di... ence of lesser importance e.g., the ... visualised the legislators and mem... of parliament of the area as full mem... of the Zilla Parishad only; the Act m... them associate members of the Samiti ... besides making them full members of ... Zilla Parishad.

According to the Study Team, ... Panchayat Samiti was to be largely indir...

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elected. The Bihar Act largely makes it a body with ex-officio memberships. The main principle, however, viz., that the Samiti will, together with the Gram Panchayat, be the field aggency for development, and the District organisation a body without executive functions, remains common to the Act and the recommendations of the Team.

The State Panchayat Raj Board

Another innovation of the Bihar Act is the proposed State Panchayat Raj Board of 15 members, ten of whom shall be legislators elected by the Assembly and the Council, one nominee of the State Government, one representative each of the Bihar State Co-operative Federation and the Bihar State Panchayat Parishad, besides two of the Presidents of Zilla Parishads in each Division of the State by rotation in alphabatical order of the names of the Parishads.

Section 60(8) of the Act indicates the following functions for the State Board, viz., (i) Advising the State Government on important questions of planning and policy relating to Panchayat Samitis, Zilla Parishads and allied matters (ii) A general review of the work of the samitis and the Parishad (iii) Any other matter that may be assigned to it by the State Government.

It is doubtful if this State Board will have much utility other than acting in an advisory capacity to the State Government in view, firstly, of its composition and, secondly, the fact that the Secretary to the department of Local Self-Government of the State Government will act as the Secretary to the Board, and it is still more doubtful if it was necessary to provide for this body bereft of any executive function by the State.

Conclusion

Except for the variations taken note of, the broad features of the Panchayat Samiti and the Zila Parishad conform to the principle of democratic Decentralisation laid down by the Study Team. Indeed, the Bihar legislation in certain respects goes one step further by placing the official machinery for developmental work in the Blocks and the district headquarters more under the control of the non-official than even the Study Team contemplated. At the district levl the Study Team had visualised the initiative to be largely in the hands of the officials under the leadership of the Collector, the Zilla Parishad merely showing as the co-ordinating agency, performing some of the functions of the District Development Committee. The Study Team laid the principal emphasis on the Panchayat Samiti as the main agency for development. The Zilla Parishad, in their scheme of things was to have no executive functions. The Bihar Act takes the Zilla Parishad with its President aided by the District Development officer to a more responsible position. Thus, in place of the two tier structure emphasised by the Study Team, there emerges a four tier structure starting from the Gram Panchayat and ending with the State Panchayat Raj Board with the State Government at the top of them all. The net effect should be a de-officialisation of the initiative and leadership in the work of development. While this may be alright at the lower levels, as visualised by the Study Team, i.e., the Gram Panchayat and the Samiti it has yet to be proved that it will improve matters at the district level. The factors listed by he Study Team itself as responsible for the attenuation of the District Boards, viz., largeness of area and lack of supervisory resources, will not have been removed merely by a change in the designation of the district level body, though, of course, being composed of the heads of the Panchayat Samitis, it should display greater interest in problems of development.

This attempt at combination of official machinery and non-official leadership and control, if successful, will undoubtedly prove to be a landmark in the evolution of development administration. The crucial element in this whole structure will, of course, be the relationship that grows between the non-official and the official should this unfortunately get into wrong channels, as they very well may if the non-

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officials develop tendencies towards excessive bossism, rural development may suffer more than what had been bargained for. The Study Team stated that in the ultimate analysis, the establishment of the Panchayat Samitis with a wide devolution of powers by the State Government has to be an act of faith—faith in democracy. One can only hope that this faith will be sustained by posterity.

1. Sec. 66 of the present Act empowers the State Government to abolish any one or all of the District Boards that it may deem fit and transfer to any Panchayat Samiti or Zilla Parishad any or all of the functions, powers and responsibilities of the District Boards.

2. Three agencies—including the State Panchayat Raj Board which does not however, have much functional importance.

3. There are references, however, to C... Panchayats, the basic units in the structure ... is envisaged.

4. A recommendation which the Bihar ... contravenes.

5. Another recommendation contrave... by the Bihar Act.

6. The Study Team had envisaged ... legislators as full members of the Zilla Parish... only.

7. The functions cover a wide field inc... ing agriculture, animal husbandry, public he... and sanitation, education including so... education, rural arts and crafts, co-operat... rural housing, duties in times of national e... mities or emergencies, maintenance & collec... of statistics, social welfare, formulation of p... for and supervision of the work of Gr... Panchayats and any other matter that may ... entrusted to the Samity by the State Governm...

THREE DECADES OF AIR TRANSPORT IN INDIA

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Indian air transport was born thirty years ago. On October 15, 1932, Mr. J. R. D. Tata, flying a Puss Moth with a cargo of air mail, took off from Karachi to Bombay inaugurating our first scheduled air service. The historic flight was the brain child of Mr. Nevill Vintcent, an ex-R.A.F. pilot, who persuaded Tata Sons to establish air transport in India. Since 1929, Tata Sons had been valiantly attempting to set up air service in India. They submitted many schemes but none of them found favour with Government which had no desire to subsidise the domestic air services in India. Tata Sons took up courage and organised, without receiving any Government subsidy, a scheduled air service from Karachi to Madras, linking up with Imperial Airways' London-Karachi service, with intermediate stopping places being at Ahmedabad, Bombay and Bellary. The first leg of this service on the inauguration day three decades back, from Karachi ... Bombay, was flown by Tata while the second ... from Bombay to Madras was flown by Mr. Ne... Vintcent Looking back, it seems hardly believa... that two second-hand Puss Moths acquired ... £1,000 each could make commercial flying ... reality in India. In between the age of P... Moth and the Boeing, lies the era between ... piston engined planes and the jets.

A year after, in 1933, a second air compa... Indian National Airways, with an authori... capital of Rs. 30 lakhs, was established with ... aim of developing feeder and other internal ... services in northern India. The foundation ... air transport was laid by these two compan... In 1936, Air services of India was formed ... operate air services during fair weather fr... Bombay to a number of Kathiawar States ... Kolhapur. The substantial saving of time and

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fares enabled the company to maintain a high load factor. The period between 1933-39 was an experimental period. The airlines had to face many odds, such as lack of all weather facilities, shortage of trained personnel and the high cost of fuel, but in spite of all this, the record of air services both with regard to safety and regularity was commendable. During four years preceding the World War II, more than 5.5 million miles were flown without any passenger fatality. The position of air transport on the eve of war was as follows :

Total Route Mileage operated	5190
Total miles flown	15,14,000

As compared to it, the air route mileage in 1938 for Britain was 25477 and for the U.S.A. 71199, but the Indian operators had shown their mettle. They had demonstrated that Indian Air lines could organise and operate efficiently on long and difficult routes, e.g., Karachi to Colombo,—a distance of 1815 miles.

The following internal services were operating in India in 1939 before the Second World War broke out.

Company	Route	Frequency	Route mileage.
Tata Sons Ltd.	Karachi-Bombay-Madras-Colombo.	5 Weekly	1815
" " "	Bombay-Trivandrum-Trichnapoly.	1 "	995
" " "	Bombay-Delhi	2 "	805
Indian National Airways.	Karachi-Lahore	5 "	660
" " "	Lahore-Delhi	3 "	265
Air Services of India Ltd.	Bombay-Kathiawar	6 " (seasonal)	410
" " "	Bombay-Kolhapur	3 Weekly (seasonal)	210

Source : *India on Wings* (Civil Aviation Department), page 21.

The declaration of war in 1939 brought all air transport operators on a war footing and air services were run for the Government and defence services. Every possible aid was given to the two companies—Tata Sons and Indian National Airways, to expand thir routes. They were entrusted in collaboration with Royal Air Force Transport Command with the operation of services in different areas with increasing intensity in accordance with the requirements of Government for carriage of freight, military personnel, mail and civil priority passengers. These companies emerged from the war with improved finances and wider technical experience of handling modern air-craft acquired under lendlease. The war crowded into six years the development of perhaps twenty. Considerable advance was made during the period in the techinque of flying and radio communication. One noteworthy gain that accrued from the war was the increased airmindedness of the travelling public. War time experience had sold aviation to the public.

Even before the war ended, Sir F. Tymms had prepared his carefully thought-out plans for the development of different aspects of civil aviation. He recommended besides other things that the service should be entrusted for operation to a limited number of private airlines not exceeding four and that a Licensing Board should be setup. In 1946, Air Transport Licensing Board was constituted but this Board paying scanty regard to the recommendations of Sir F. Tymms, licensed between 1946-48 eleven companies to operate air services. This number was much greater than required to conduct the existing volume of traffic with the result that there was duplication of routes, wasteful competition and a tendency to reduce fares to uneconomical levels.

In spite of subsidise granted to airlines most of them continued to incur considerable losses. The losses incurred by the air companies in 1952 were to the extent of Rs. 47.07 lakhs if the subsidy paid to them is not taken into account. If certain items which were omitted by the companies were taken into account, the losses would increase to Rs. 75 Lakhs.

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Summary of the losses incurred by the air companies.

(Rs. in '000)

Financial year	Revenue	Expenditure	Loss	Subsidy	Loss including subsidy	Items which should have been added to the loss	aggregate loss
1949	6,53,63	7,00,05	46,43	33,91	80,34	—	80,34
1950	7,79,25	8,19,03	26,54	52,50	79,04	—	79,04
1951	8,29,85	8,32,70	2,85	51,66	54,51	—	54,51
1952	7,92,52	8,09,59	12,07	35,00	47,07	27,93	75,00

Source :—Lok Sabha Estimates Committee 43rd. Report (1956-57), page 80.

In 1952, the companies requested the Government to advance them a loan of Rs. 4 crores for replacement of Dakotas by newer types of aircraft. It was felt by the Government that it was neither possible nor desirable to advance this loan with almost certain knowledge that its recovery would not be a practical proposition. Placed as the industry was in deteriorating position, integration of the industry into three or four units with redistribution of routes would have been a proposition worth trial. That was also the recommendation of the Air Transport Inquiry Committee (1950). Unfortunately rationalisation could not be effected and so nationalisation had to step in. Nationalisation, however, demonstrably led to an orderly and impressive progress of air transport in India.

By any yard stick the achievements of the nationalised corporations have been creditable. Air-India has been a paying concern since its very inception. The introduction of jets over the international routes has been responsible for the tremendous carrying capacity. By the end of 1961, the world air lines had ordered 900 jet air-craft and taken delivery of two-thirds of that number. This fact combined with a relatively slight increase in passenger traffic has resulted in serious financial losses for many of the major airlines of the world. Against this background the performance of Air-India even during recent years must be considered quite satisfactory. The corporation's operating profit touched the peak figure of Rs. 1.17 Crores in 1960-61 followed by Rs. 76.99 lakhs in 1961-62. Fortunately the Corporation succeeded in disposing of its fleet of nine obsolute Super-Constellations to I.A.F., thereby relieving itself of the considerable headache of operating piston engined air-craft which though operationally sound were no longer competiti The Corporation, now with six Boeing Jets, ha homogeneous fleet of a single type of air-craft a the distinction of being the first airline in the wo to operate an all jet fleet. It introduced Boeing-7 on the Bombay-London route in 1960 and ente into the North Atlantic market with extension its Bombay-London service to New York, thus coming the first Asian airline to operate across Atlantic. It operates a pool with Aerofloat on t Delhi-Moscow sector, with C.S.A. on Delhi-Pra sector and with B.C.C. and Qantas on all routes from New York to Tokyo and Sydn These partnerships have enabled the Corporati to obtain a greater share of the total availabl traffic in the face of severe competition. A swift over to jets and the pool arrangement with stro partners are sound policies pursued. The Corpor tion has earned for itself a place of distinct in international air transport through its efficie services.

The Indian Airlines Corporation af struggling hard with many odds is slowly emer ing as a profitable concern with an efficient n work of air services. The long era of depressi losses that some time touched a figure of m than a crore of rupees was left behind when corporation showed a modest profit of Rs. 2 lakhs in 1959-60 followed by a profit of Rs. 4 lakhs in 1960-61. The initial period after nati alisation was a period of difficulties. Dur Lok-Sabha debate, a member likened the IAC t youngman married to a widow with ei children. The eight airlines which merged i IAC had all been weakened financially by se years of unhealthy competition. They had va ing degrees of efficiency. In fact all that they h in common was the fact that they all opera

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air transport. The principal causes of the Corporation's high losses, however, were two : an increase in the fuel bill and a steep rise in salary bills. The total fuel taxes paid by the Corporation in many years were higher than the actual operating cost. Air-India is not subject to the same burden because aviation fuel up-lifted for international operation is exempted from paying certain duties. The present fleet of 77 air-craft of the Indian Airlines Corporation, consists of 45 Dakotas, 14 Viscounts, 7 Herons, 5 Skymasters, 5 Fokker Friendships and one single-engined air-craft. The introduction of Viscounts in 1957 started a new era. The Corporation has now embarked upon the major task of replacing its Dakota-fleet. It is conscious of its restricted capacity and a growth of traffic on the principal trunk-routes, 'the golden triangle and Delhi-Bombay', 'Delhi-Calcutta' and 'Bombay-Calcutta' routes. The Corporation now needs larger and faster air-craft for trunk routes and its choice is Sud Aviation 'Carvelle'.

A word of praise may be said about the role of IAC during the recent emergency created by Chinese aggression. It promptly placed at the disposal of government a large proportion of its fleet which indeed did marvellous work.

In short, the last thirty years have laid down solid foundations for Air Transport in India to grow greater in size in the years to come.

EFFECTS OF BANK RATE RISE

By PARAS RAM

In the context of Developmental Planning, bank credit has got its own importance as through this system of monetary operation the largest financing of economic activity takes place. Bank Credit economises the use of metallic currency, helps in the financing of industry and agriculture and increases the productivity of capital by channelising the idle money with the public. But given all its advantages, it has its inherent dangerous potentialities too. Over issue of credit may result in inflation which inflicts on society all the hardships associated with it. Credit also encourages wasteful and reckless expenditure by the public and the government as well. Further, it results in drain on gold reserves of the country, instability in foreign exchange reserves so vital for the developing country and fluctuations in production and employment. Therefore, in order to maintain stability in internal prices and foreign exchange, the Central Bank controls the credit through Bank Rate, the rate at which the Central bank discounts the first class bills. "Whether to rectify foreign exchange balances, increase employment, control inflation, co-ordinate public debt policy, tackle depression or even to assure credit worthiness of international aid recipient countries, the rate of interest has acquired a new significance"

In the days of national emergency, created by the Chinese aggression, monetary and fiscal policies of the nation are to be adapted to provide maximum funds for defence, to achieve a maximum production of goods and services for civil consumption and to hold the price line. The price index of food and all other commodities increased from 86.6 and 92.5 in 1955-56 to 120 and 125.1 in 1961-62 respectively as will be clear from the following table :

Year	Food	All other commodities
1955-56	86.6	92.5
1958-59	115.2	112.0
1959-60	119.0	117.1
1960-61	120.0	124.9
1961-62	120.1	125.1
Nov. 17, 62	130.3	130.8
Dec. 8, 62	122.7	125.5

(Base 1952-53=100)

Though the index has fallen in the month of December, 1962, that is simply due to seasonal

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factors and thus on the whole there has been substantial appreciation of all prices. The increase in prices during the last five years, though not entirely, may be attributed to the increase in money supply with the public which has again been steadily increasing during this period. The money supply with the public has increased from Rs. 2219.92 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 3063.67 crores in Nov. 1962. In order to offset the effect of increased money supply and to make the dear money policy more effective through the rise in lending rates by the scheduled banks, the Reserve Bank has been resorting to increase in its Bank Rate. This results in diversion of the loanable funds to the most essential and productive uses.

With the close of business on 2nd Jan. '63 the Reserve Bank announced an increase of 1/2% from 4% to 4½%, in its Bank Rate. It was the third change in Bank Rate since the Reserve Bank started functioning. The first being in 1951 when it was raised from 3% to 3½% and the second in May, 1957 when it was raised to 4%. Announcing the ½% increase the Reserve Bank claimed that the change announced on January 2, 1962 "formalises the existing pattern of interest rate and simplifies the system of its lending rates." Together with the increase in Bank Rate the Reserve Bank also announced the revised system of lending *i.e.* a change from three tier system to two tier system. The rival systems of lending are as follows :

	Old Rate	New Rate
Upto 25% of their quota.	4%	4½%
Between 25% & 50% of their quota.	5%	4½%
Between 50% & 100% of their quota.	6%	6%

Thus a bank borrowing upto 25% of its reserves will have to pay a higher interest by ½% but the difference subsequently diminishes to nil as the borrowing reaches 50%. The change in Bank Rate together with the changed system of lending did not cause much surprise to the monetary institutions who rather welcomed it because their burden had grown recently due to contribution to National Defence Fund, bank award and higher corporate tax. That is also because their cost of borrowing will not rise under the revised two tier system. The general business community was also not surprised because of the following reasons :

The Reserve Bank seems to hold the view that the minimum lending rates by the banks should not be revised as the recent rise does not alter the average interest charged on its accommodation to banks. However, the bankers' proposal is this that they should charge the borrowers small percent say ½% on the unutilised portion of their credit limits allowed to them.

The Bank rate was raised from 3½% to 4% in May, 1957 and it was only in theory that the Bank Rate had remained stationary since then. Though the rate was not raised till the present rise, the system of multi-tiered system of lending rates was not only to reflect the increasing cost of money but also an attempt to curb the credit expansion. The effective cost of borrowing from the Reserve Bank had already increased and exceeded the bank rate when the system of quotas and graded lending was introduced in Sept. 1960. The gap between the Bank Rate and the interest charged from the member banks had widened during the last two years and thus the Reserve Bank's decision represents an attempt to align its Bank Rate with reality. At the peak of last busy season the average rate of interest at which scheduled banks borrowed from the Reserve Bank, was 5.1% as opposed to Bank Rate of 4%.

The International Monetary Fund also seems to have recommended an increase in Bank Rate.

After the introduction of the graded system of lending the Central Government decided to borrow from the public at a higher rate of interest. Besides both commercial banks as well as other lending institutions such as Industrial Finance Corporations and other Development Banks raised their lending rates. Some of the recent debenture issues such as Defence Bonds issued on November 10, 1962 at 4½% interest have also been offered at higher rates of interest. Moreover, as the Reserve Bank's announcement stated "that the increase formalises the existing pattern of interest rates . . . ." the increase is primarily a formal adjustment to conditions that have already made themselves felt in the money market for some time now. As already stated above the rate of interst at which the member banks borrowed from the Reserve Bank was 5.1%. A formal recognition was also given to the higher existing rates when the

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borrowing programme of the Central Government was carried out during the slack season of 1962, only the Bank Rate was held at the level of 4% to which it was raised on May 8, 1957.

Although the increase in Bank Rate formalises' the existing interst rates yet it is a substantial step towards "adjusting the pattern of interest rates in the organised money and capital markets to levels commensurate with the basic scarcity of savings in the economy in relation to investment goods." Increased Bank Rate will help in attracting a larger volume of savings which are required for developmental as well as defence purposes at present. Moreover, the increase in Bank Rate will not create stringent monetary conditions as the volume of credit for essential purposes is not to be reduced.

Bank Rate, an indicator of the attitudes of monetary authorities to the credit situation, was no longer giving a true indication of the nature of these conditions. Its present rise will give a correct idea of these conditions.

The Bank Rate rise will strengthen the present hesitant upward trend in interest rates. The anamoly created by holding the bank rate stationary while raising upward the effective rate of interest through the slab system of lending, will disappear in future.

In those cases where the interest rates are linked with bank rate, the few favoured borrowers who are governed by contract e.g. the rate of interest on capital permitted to electricity undertakings, shall have a fortuitious advantage. The borrowers who could borrow at particularly easier terms and were paying higher interest rates may economise on the use of credit to some extent and hence more credit might become available to those who were not so favourably placed.

Incidentally the British Bank rate has been lowered from 4½% to 4% and hence makes it possible for foreign exchange banks in India to meet their money requirements from Britain.

Notwithstanding all the factors discussed above, which induced the Reserve Bank to raise the Bank Rate it has been received with mixed feeling. The Bank Rate is traditionally an anti-inflationary instrument but this was already being achieved through the various credit controls e.g. the graded system of lending and the selective credit control measures such as the Reserve Bank's direction to scheduled banks to 'recall, in suitable cases, unsecured advances and advances given against gold and shares (according to a recent direction gold & gold contents of ornaments to be valued at the international price of Rs. 53.58 nP. per 10 grammes ; Rs. 62.50 nP. per tola) for purposes of advances already made.

In the context of national emergency to meet the defence and industrial needs the borrowing rate will have to be increased which will *inter-alia* increase the cost of Government debt. Due to the same reason the system of such type of credit controls has been sparingly used in the past. During the second world war a cheap money policy was followed, keeping the rate of interest at 3% as against a dear money policy with a higher rate of interest, during the first world war which proved a failure. Increased borrowing rate will raise the cost of production and marketing and push up prices threby defeating the main purpose.

It may also add to the financial burden on industry and trade and thus may act as an impediment in the way of industrialisation. As soon as the increase in bank rate was announced the bankers under an inter bank agreement decided to increase their lending rates by ½% from 6% to 6½% in consonance with the rise in Bank Rate. The impact of increased Bank Rate would be felt by the Textile and Sugar industry all the more due to considerable stocks they are forced to hold.

However, the present increase may not be regarded as a sign of further increase in the structure of general interest rates because the effective cost of borrowing had already increased, as has already been discussed, with the introduction of graded and tiered system of lending. The new measure will only penalise banks borrowing in the lowest slab of 25% of the statutory reserves—the average of reserves required to be kept under sub-section (1) of section 42 of Reserve Bank Act, during each week of the previous quarter for which the new bank rate of 4½%, will be charged as against 4% previously.

Therefore, some even go to the extent of suggesting that the "Rate should have been increased to 5% so as to give a lead to money market instead of merely following it as now seems to have been done."

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ANARKALI

By S. N. QANUNGO

Every spring the pomegranate flowers, remind us of the passionate love of Salim for Anarkali, its dramatic climax and grim aftermath. Anarkali stands silhoutted against the background of Jahangir's youth; she paid the debt of life by not what she did but by what she suffered. The story of Anarkali has a compulsive fascination possessed by an honest account; but it so obscures the political picture of the time of Jahangir as to render it meaningless. The poets and writers have accentuated the thrill in their stories at the expense of accuracy in their facts. We should try to ascertain whether the story has any stronger basis in facts.

According to Latif, Anarkali was the step-mother of Salim.[1] She was a favourite wife of Emperor Akbar and her title was Nadira Begam or Sharf-un-Nisa. Latif does not mention the source of his information and his treatment of Anarkali is certainly not historical. He does not build up evidence and erect an edifice of facts. Finch, who travelled in the Punjab in 1608 mentions Anarkali as one of Akbar's wives. He gives her name as Immacque kelle or Anarkikali.[2] Obviously the realistic conception of Anarkali has been sentimentalized in love tales associated with her name and current in modern Indian literary circles.

Latif writes almost with the flavour of authentic history that one day Emperor Akbar was sitting in Shishmahal with Anarkali attending on him. She was in full bloom of youth. Akbar's pleasure was disturbed when he saw from Anarkali's reflection in the mirror that she returned Prince Salim a smile. Akbar suspected his son of criminal intimacy with Anarkali and ordered her to be buried alive. She was accordingly placed in an upright position at the appointed place and was built round with bricks. The account left by Finch is not very much different. He writes, ". . . . . Akbar caused her to be closed within a wall in his Mot where she dyed."[3] Finch is definitely in cent of history when he writes that Anark was mother of Akbar's son Daniyal! was a fellow voyager of Hawkins in 1 and there is no doubt that he has left va able descriptions of cities, towns, buildi and roads. It is foolishness to believe plicity in his account on the ground that was contemporary. Even a school would laugh at his fanciful history of Ba and Humayun.[4] Finch relates so recent event as Khushru's rebellion with gr inaccuracies. He rarely fails to enter but he does not write with attention essentials.

Latif writes that the date given letters and in figures in the marble sar phagus of the tomb of Anarkali is 1008 A (1599 A.D.) which refers to the death Anarkali. The inscription is certainly genuine if it refers to the death of Anarka Akbar was not at Lahore in 1599 and w certainly not in a mood to enjoy the compa of Anarkali in the Shishmahal of Lahor He lost his son Murad on May 2, 1599[5] a hurried to the southern theatre of w Akbar left Salim in charge of general a ministration in the north. In order to ke him from mischief Akbar directed h along with veteran generals like Raja M Singh and Shah Quli Khan to inva Mewar.[6] Is it possible that Akbar wo leave Salim in general charge of No India after the so-called Anarkali affai It appears not only unhistoric but a improbable.

According to Latif, on the sides of t tomb of Anarkali is engraved a Pers couplet composed by Jahangir:

"Ta Kayamat Shukr go yam kir digare rabesh

Ah gaman baz binam yare rabbesh ra

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(Ah could I behold the face of my beloved once more, I would give thanks to my God until the day of resurrection).

This couplet written in Persian has been pointed out as "the spontaneous outcome of a melancholic mind and the irrepressible outburst of an affectionate heart." Would Salim stoop so low as to express his love for his stepmother so openly? Why does he not write a single sentence about 'the face of his beloved' in his Tuzuk-i-Jahangir? Besides it appears impossible that Salim should continue to be respectful to his father who put to death his beloved Anarkali. The recorded facts contradict the story of Anarkali in every particular. Jahangir abstained from meat on Sunday, his father's birthday and used to regret that his father was not present to enjoy the Itr Jahangiri and Yezid pomegranates. He completed the tomb of his father at Sikandra and called it "the city of paradise."[7] Had the Anarkali affair been a major event in the life of Jahangir he would not have entertained such a deep reverence for the memory of his father.

Salim's revolt against Akbar in 1599 is reported to be closely associated with the Anarkali incident. Terry writes, "Achabar Shah had threatened to disinherit the present king (Jahangir), for abuse of Anarkalee; but on his death-bed repented it."[8] De Laet too hints at a similar offence on Salim's part. Terry's voyage is delightful reading but along with unjust criticism of Indian institutions he is inaccurate in historical information. John De Laet never visited India. His 'De Imperio Magni Mogalis' was based on accounts of European travellers. It should be borne in mind that De Laet's account of Anarkali is based on that of Terry. Let us turn to the revolt of Salim. Prince Salim was the spoilt darling of Akbar's family. His youth was marked by youthful prodigality and follies. He gave deep offence to Akbar by displaying indecent eagerness to grasp the supreme power as early as 1591. This was definitely before the so-called Anarkali affair. In 1591 Akbar was visited by a severe attack of colic and he suspected Salim of poisoning him through the instrumentality of Hakim Humam. In agony the Emperor cried out:

> "Baba Shaikhuji since all this
> Sultanate will devolve on thee, why
> Hast thou made this attack on me."
> (Badayuni: Lowe Vol. II p. 390)

In his youth Salim did not hold out promise of a brilliant career. By 1597 he had twenty lawful wives[9] and 300 concubines in his harem.[10] Salim's revolt in 1599 had nothing to do with the Anarkali affair. Before leaving for Deccan, Akbar ordered Salim to lead an expedition against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar. Realizing his inadequacy or the task he began to while away his time in sport and riotus living at Ajmer. He fell under the influence of his evil associates—Sayyad Abdullah, Zamana Beg and Khubu. In 1599 Salim rose in rebellion against Akbar who was busy in the siege of the impregnable fortress of Asir in Khandesh. Had there been anything as the Anarkali affair, Akbar would not have "resisted the counsels of the advocates of strong measures and only demanded in kind, affectionate though dignified language, an explanation of his conduct from the Prince."[11] Jahangir himself was fully aware of his shameful conduct and wrote in his memoirs, "short-sighted men in Allahabad had urged me also to rebel against my father. Their words were unacceptable and disapproved by me. I know what sort of endurance a kingdom would have, the foundation of which were laid on hostility to a father . . . acting according to the dictates of reason and knowledge I waited on my father, my guide my gibla and my visible God and as a result of this good purpose it went well with me."[12]

The so-called Anarkali's tomb in Lahore is an imposing structure with solid masonry work and individual architectural beauty. The building is rather circular in shape, measures 75 ft., 6 inches from East to West and is roofed with a massive dome. The delicate workmanship in the sacrophagus made of a block of pure marble excites our admiration. According to Eastwick it is one of the finest pieces of carving in the world.

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Now the question arises that if the Anarkali affair is no more than a bazar gossip then whose tomb it might be ? Dr. Parameshwari Lal Gupta[13] on the authority of Dara Shuko's Sakhinat-ul-Auliya holds that it was the tomb of Sahib-i-Jamal (mistress of Beauty). She was the daughter of Khwaja Hasan, cousin of Zain Khan Koka; the latter was the son of Pichah Jan Angah one of the nurses of Akbar. Salim had fallen in love with Sahib-i-Jamal and was married to her against the wishes of Akbar. The old Emperor gave his consent when the heart of the Prince was immoderately affected. Prince Parez was born of Sahib-i-Jamal on October 2, 1589.[14] The tomb of Sahib-i-Jamal now known as the tomb of Anarkali was situated in the midst of a beautiful garden of pomegranate trees which was called as Anarkaliwala Bagh.

It is hardly surprising that Dr. Beni Prasad, author of History of Jahangir, has not treated elaborately[15] the controversy about Anarkali. He was far too proficient a historian to go astray. Too little has survived to throw accurate light on Ana... In our ardour to weave a romance we ... given her a cloak of pathos. An incu... romantic forgets that there are limits ... romance. Jahangir is an historical char... one finds it easier to admire than to u... stand.

1. *Lahore : Its History*, Archite... Remains and Antiquties (Pp. 186-188).
2. *Early travels in India*, p. 166.
3. *Early travels in India*, p. 166.
4. *Journal in Purchas IV*, p. 56.
5. *Akbar Nama III* (*text*), p. 806.
6. *Akbar Nama III* (*text*), p. 831.
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahankiri*, p. 249.
8. *Voyage to East India*, j. 330.
9. *Maclagan* (*I. A. S. B.* 1896), p. ...
10. *The Hawkin's Voyages*, p. 421.
11. Dr. Beni Prasad : *History of Jah...* p. 48.
12. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol I, p. 65.
13. *Dharamyug*, 8th April, 1962, p. 3...
14. *Akbar Nama*, (text III, p. 568).
15. Dr. Beni Prasad : *History of Jah...* p. 45.

ON PAKISTAN CENSUS OF 1961

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

The salient features of Pakistan Census of 1961 are given below :—

	Population (Figures in 000's) 1961	1951	Increase %
Pakistan	93,812	75,866	23.7
East Pakistan	50,844	42,063	20.9
West Pakistan	40,815	32,583	25.3
Karachi & Lasbela	2,153	1,220	76.5
	42,968	33,803	27.1

The population of India during the decade 1951-61 has increased by 21.5 per cent. Pakistan's increase is greater. Hindus are being slowly squerzed out of East Pakistan; and they are migrating to India. This has certainly contributed a considerable proportion of India's increase. Pakistan's natural increase would have been g... than the recorded figures but for the comp... emigration of the Hindus.

We now give the area and literacy f... of Pakistan.

	Area in sq. miles	Persons per sq. miles	Literates No. in 000's	% total p...
Pakistan	3,64,373	257	1,43,827	15.
East Pakistan	55,154	922	89,360	17.
West Pakistan	3,00,839	136	47,726	11.
Karachi	8,400	256	6,741	31.
	3,09,239	139	54,467	17.

The 1961 figure for Literacy in India i... per cent, Joseph E. Schwartzberg of the U...

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sity of Pennsylvania says that in Pakistan there appears to have been an actual *decrease* in literacy. The figures cited to him at the Pakistan Embassy in Washington are 19.1 per cent in 1951 and 15.3 per cent in 1961. The corresponding 1951 figure for India was 16.6 per cent. In 1951, it was greater than that of India, now it is much lower. He doubts the facilities to those Hindus who remains there.

A contributing factor of this decrease in the literacy of Pakistan is the continued exodus of the literate Hindus, and the denial of educational facilities to those Hindus remains there.

In this connection the following extract from Sir Mortimer Wheelers' (for sometime Director of Archaeology in Pakistan) book *Still Digging*, pp. 203-4, may prove interesting reading :

"One can but wish its leaders a clear vision and honest single-mindedness ; they have a long and stony path in front of them. The following news paragraph, from the *Pakistan Times* of February 8th, 1949, hints at the jungle which lies at their doorstep.

THEY ALLOW PENS NOT PISTOLS
(*By Our Special Representative*)

Are pens and pistols used by the examinees of the Punjab University ?

An interesting side-light is thrown on this in a circular letter issued by the University of the Punjab to Heads of various educational institutions. It reads : 'It has been decided that candidates found possessing fire-arms or anything capable of being used as a weapon of offence in the examination hall shall be liable to punishment under Unfair Means Regulation.'

Inquiries made by me show that quite a large number of examinees openly took help from the text-books in answering questions in the University Examinations in 1948, when the invigilators tried to stop them from doing so, the examinees silenced them by showing loaded pistols." The book was published in 1955.

The sex proportion in different areas in 1961 and in 1951 are given below :

Per 1,000 males.

	1961	1951
Pakistan	922	888
East Pakistan	927	908
West Pakistan	877	868
Karachi	772	753

We give below the population of East Pakistan division by division as well as district by district, and the respective percentages of increase since 1951.

East Pakistan (Pop. in 1961 in 000's)		% of increase since 1951
East Pakistan	50,844	20.9
Rajsahi Division	11,815	26.2
Dinajpur	1,710	24.0
Rangpur	3,797	29.6
Bogra	1,573	22.8
Rajsahi	2,814	27.1
Pabna	1,957	23.3
Khulna Division	10,072	21.0
Kushtia	1,166	31.5
Jessore	2,199	28.7
Khulna	2,450	17.8
Barisal	4,257	16.8
Dacca Division	15,298	21.3
Faridpore	3,179	16.9
Dacca	5,103	24.6
Mymensingh	7,016	21.8
Chittagong Division	13,263	16.0
Sylhet	3,493	13.9
Comilla	4,380	15.4
Noakhali	2,384	4.7
Chittagong	2,980	28.6
Chittagong Hill Tracts	386	34.0

Chittagong Hill Tracts is an area where the Muhammadans were in a small minority. The present policy of the rulers is to convert it into a Muhammadan majority district, and they are encouraged to emigrate to this area. The sex-proportion in 1951 was 870 per 1,000 males and now ten years later it has come down to 812, thus proving that immigrants are pouring into it. This is confirmed by the phenomenal rise in the increase of population.

The area, density of population per sq. miles, the number of literates and the percentage of literacy, division by division of both East and West Pakistan and of the Federal territory of Karachi and Lasbela are given below :

	Area	Density	No. of literates in 000's	% of literacy
East Pakistan	55,134	922	8,936	17.6
Rajsahi Division	13,351	888	1,979	16.7

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Khulna „	12,886	782	1,863	18.5
Dacca „	11,880	1,288	2,459	16.1
Chittagong „	17,017	801	2,635	19.3
West Pakistan	3,00,839	136	4,773	11.7
Peshawar Div.	28,131	225	416	6.4
D. I. Khan „	11,128	110	82	6.7
Rawalpindi „	11,206	357	298	17.4
Sarghoda „	17,096	351	761	12.7
Lahore „	8,906	726	1,035	16.0
Multan „	24,287	266	634	9.6
Bahawalpur „	17,508	147	206	8.0
Khairpur „	19,349	156	412	13.6
Hyderabad „	36,823	89	427	13.0
Quetta „	54,058	14	80	10.6
Kalat „	71,808	7	21	4.0
Federal Territory	8,400	256	674	31.3
Karachi	1,357	1,520	671	32.6
Lasbela	7,043	13	3	2.9

The problem of Pakistan is to equate East Pakistan with the West. The majority of people live in East Pakistan and they are more literate. The density of population in the East is nearly seven times greater than in the West; and it is bursting notwithstanding the forced exodus of the Hindus.

Our Census Reports say that the population of such and such areas could not be enumerated on account of administrative difficulties. Not so the Pakistan report. In giving even the provisional totals, it says "excluding Jammu and Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan, Junagadh and Manvadar." It introduces political propaganda in it, we can understand its claim over Jammu and Kashmir; but it separates Gilgit and Baltistan. It is insistent on a plebiscite in Kashmir. But the people of Jungadh and Manvadar have long long before by an overwhelming majority joined the Indian Union; but Pakistan still claims it.

And our rulers with more than a soft corner for Pakistan are rectifying boundaries in favour of Pakistan. They made a gift of about half a mile of rail-line with land in Tripura even without informing Parliament. They are very anxious to make a gift of Berubari. Why should India be over-generous while Pakistan continues to give pin-picks and shows enmity towards it?

There are 16 places with a population of more than 1,00,000 which are regarded as Cities as against 103 Cities in India. Their state-wise distribution is shown below :—

Andhra Pradesh	11
Assam	1
Bihar	1
Gujrat	7
Jammu & Kashmir	6
Madhya Pradesh	2
Madras	8
Maharashtra	9
Mysore	12
Orissa	6
Punjab	1
Rajasthan	5
Uttar Pradesh	6
West Bengal	17

Of the major States only Kerala has go city.

The areas and population of the Paki cities are given below :—

City	Area in sq. miles	Population in 000's	Literates in 000's	% Liter
Karachi	230.0	1,916	642	33.
Lahore	128.0	1,297	412	31.
Dacca	28.0	558	236	42.
Hyderabad	18.0	434	109	24.
Phallpur	11.0	426	102	23.
Chittagong	58.0	367	153	42.
Multan	13.0	358	89	25.
Rawalpindi	18.0	343	132	38.
Peshawar	9.0	213	61	28.
Gujranwala	4.3	197	49	24.
Sialkot	14.0	168	57	34.
Narayanganj	5.0	162	59	36.
Khulna	6.0	128	49	38.
Sargodha	7.0	112	30	27.
Quetta	17.0	107	44	40.
Sukkur	3.7	100	28	27.

There are reasons for suspecting that population of East Pakistan has been sh deflated. The Hindus of East Pakistan have rated mostly to West Bengal, Assam and Tri Many Muhammadans of East Pakistan have trated into Assam.

The populations of these regions in were :—

	Population in 000's	Increase 1951 in 00
Assam	11,860	3,029
West Bengal	34,968	8,665
Tripura	11,141	502
	47,969	12,196

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The over-all increase is 34.1 per cent during 1951-61. Add to this total figure of the population of East Pakistan in 1961 and the increase since 1951 :

			Increase
East India	47,969	12,198	34.1 %
East Pakistan	50,844	8,781	20.9
"	98,813	20,979	26.9 %

The difference between the two percentages 34.1 and 20.9 = 13.2, if it be due entirely to migration across the border, is possible if the migrants numbered 55,44,000. But the exodus of the Hindus plus the infiltration of the Muhammadans, into Assams is not of this order.

The problem of Pakistan is to equate East Pakistan, accounting for 55 per cent of the population, and of 62 per cent of the literates, with West Pakistan. Hence there is likely to be a tendency for the rulers of Pakistan, who hail mostly from the Punjab, to deflate East Pakistan.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE CHANGING EFFICACY OF MONETARY POLICY

By Prof. NARESH CHANDRA NANDA, M.A., Sastri

Introduction

Neo-classical economists from Wicksell to Keynes (of The Treatise) generally belived that monetary policy by lowering the interest rate and concurrently the supply price of capital goods, could stimulate investment demand sufficiently to achieve the full utilisation of available resources. Conversely it was believed that a rise in the interest rate would serve to deter enough marginal borrowers to keep total spending within the limits of total supply at the prevailing price level. The investment-demand schedule was believed to be sufficiently elastic so that a correct monetary policy in the long-run would ensure the absorption of fullemployment savings. Yet this Age of Faith had soon to be followed by the Age of Despair.

The Great Depression of the 'Thirties simultaneously dragged down monetary policy from its position of honour that it had so long occupied and raised doubts as to whether it had any influence at all on spending decisions. Sceptics questioned as to whether so minor an item in the total cost picture as a small rise in interest rate was sufficient to alter the spending decisions of the borrowers.

Thus owing to the disillusioning experience of the 1930's and the associated developments in economic theory set in motion by Keynes' General Theory, confidence in the effectiveness of monetary policy reached a low ebb in the early post-war years. Many economists were convinced that most components of monetary demand were so interest-inelastic that an effective stabilisation credit policy would require impracticably large fluctuations in the value of existing debts and thus excessively complicate the troubles of debt management during inflationary periods.

Scepticism Analysed

Economists now, therefore, hold cautious views on this subject. According to Prof. Alvin H. Hansen, the investment-demand schedule is fairly elastic with respect to very high interest levels (*e.g.*, 8 per cent—16 per cent and above) and is fairly inelastic within a rather wide-range of interest rates at the lower levels (*e.g.*, 2 per cent—8 per cent). But by that (8 per cent—16 per cent and above) it would certainly produce serious deflation. Mr. Schlessinger observes that for short-lived investments such as those in machinery and plant, the period of investment is too brief for changes in the interest rate to have any substantial influence on costs (principally because of the business rules of thumb being applied in the short period). On the other hand, for long-period investments, when it is obvious that even a small change in interest rate will have substantial impact upon costs, the risk allowance is so large that variations in the cost of borrowing would be swallowed up by variations in risk

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and such other factors as heavy taxation of large incomes and capital market imperfections. But we think that there are at least certain types of relatively risk-less investments like housing, public utilities and consumer durables, which are extremely sensitive to interest rate changes. However, in general and as the empirical studies by the Oxford economists and the trend of evidence of businessmen before the recent Radcliffe Committee indicate, investment spending, in a direct way, can be expected to react very inelastically to interest rate changes. The availability of liquid resources appeared, from the businessmen's answers, to loom larger than the rate in interest in the making of decisions about investment. Thus, a new theory of money, called The Liquidity Theory of Money, is emerging and gaining ground with the passage of time.

Re-assessment Reviewed

But despite these sceptical views, two leading economists, Profs. Meade and Robertson, have, of late, expressed their view in favour of the revival of control by the rate of interest. Prof. Robertson has seriously doubted the wisdom of "putting the rate of interest in chains" and has advocated "some sustained re-thinking in academic circles." Along with Meade he thinks that both sides of the demand and supply equation are likely to be sensitive. "Since in spite of the diminished theoretical status", he writes, "the dragon has still a certain practical importance, in connexion, for instance, with national debts, putting him and leading him about has become a popular sport." He dis-advocates the neo-Keynesian view against the casual influence of the rate of interest on capital outlay. He has rightly regretted that we should "have thrown that respectable corset on to the bonfire and have chosen this juncture of the world's history to indulge in an unprecedented degree of gratuitous false teeth." As regards the budgetary engines, Prof. Robertson has expressed grave doubts : Firstly whether they can be put into engines and operation. Secondly, this engine of fiscal policy is by its nature a somewhat cumbrous and unwieldy one, working with a pronounced time-lag and difficult to set moving, at all events, in a parliamentary democracy more than once or at most twice a year. Pressure of political alliances and vested interests, we may add, also impede its proper functioning. Thirdly, it is very difficult to make frequent, swift and apparently capricious changes which might be needed to make fiscal policy operate successfully as the sole regulator of economic activity. Lastly, high direct taxes on income have unfortunate effects on incentive. At the same time, indirect taxes on particular kinds of consumption are, by no means, a perfect substitute. The time is, therefore, ripe to pay due attention to the twin problems of the true nature and percentage of this queer beast, the rate of interest, in the preservation of economic stability. Besides this theoretical reassessment, such practical factors as the post-war excess liquidity problem and the Korean War boom may be thought to have also considerably favoured the renewed emphasis on the various techniques of monetary policy.

In view of all these, we reject the idea that for purposes of stabilisation no reliance should be placed on monetary policy. We are of the opinion that the principal measure for maintaining stability and promoting economic growth should be an appropriate and flexible monetary policy in conjunction with fiscal and other weapons. But we also think that the efficacy of interest rate has changed and will go on changing continuously, some forces (*e.g.*, enlarged consumer-instalment credit-purchase, lower amortisation assumption and hence shorter planning period, etc.,) tending to dull its edge while others (*e.g.*, the growing public utility sector, etc.,) sharpen it. The debate on the modus operandi continues, but while it continues the phenomenon itself is changing.

The "New Monetary Policy" Critically Examined in View of the Rapidly Growing Hurdles

Fortunately, "new" theories have also appeared from veteran hands to safeguard the efficacy of monetary policy. Let us, therefore, have a brief look into the "new monetary policy" of Williams and Rosa, Sproul and Musgrave. According to Prof. Musgrave, a higher Bank Rate, besides its having important psychological effects, would certainly result in the restriction of credit availability or supply which would consequently be an effective means of controlling the use of credit even though the demand for funds is inelastic. Mr. Rosa observes that it is the greater sensitivity of the long market to small changes in short rates that gives added impact to

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changes in short rates. He emphasises that through its guidance of prices in the Government securities market (with the growth of large public debts) the Central Bank can exert a powerful influence upon the volume and timing of changes in the general availability of credit. It is principally through its effects upon the position and decisions of lenders, and only secondarily through its effects upon the decisions of the borrowers and savers, that the Central Bank action affecting the interest rates achieves its significance.

We admit that there are certain notable endogenous weaknesses of this "new" theory itself. But even if they are overlooked, the following growing exogenous impediments in the way of making a higher Bank Rate effective must, we think, be taken into account in view of their overwhelming importance : (1) (a) excess reserves held by the commercial banks, etc., & (b) large bank-sales of short-term Government securities, (2) locking-in-effects of Bank Rate changes (3) non-bank holdings of short-term or redeemable Government securities, (4) (a) Federal Reserve support policy & (b) the Treasury policy of keeping interest rates low and stable (or the "Bills only" policy in the U.S.A.), (5) insensitiveness of the sales-maximising oligopolies and other financially powerful firms, (6) pressure of the growing "escaping" sectors where general monetary controls have little more than an incantative effect except at the price of recession and unemployment : (a) excessive market power (whether of business firms or of unions), (b) substantial increase in the volume of consumer finance (at least in the short run) & (c) the rising proportion of overhead costs to total costs, etc., and (7) the all-time possible conflict between domestic objctives and the maintenance of reasonable stability in the foreign exchange markets.

Moreover, the following alternative sources of finance, which majorly nullify the desirable effects of a certain monetary policy, deserve immediate attention to be strongly dealt with : (1) Growing importance of self-financing, huge reserves and undistributed dividends being kept by large firms, especially by the manufacturing corporations, (2) structural changes since World War II : remarkable growth of non-banking financial intermediaries, namely, (i) insurance companies and saving banks, (ii) hire purchase finance companies and personal and sales finance companies, (iii) land-mortgage banks and indigenous banks (*e.g.*, the Mahajans, Shroffs & Sahukars in India) and (iv) the rapid growth of specialist financial institutions and development banks (both private and public) like the British ICFC and FCI and the Indian IFC, SFCs, ICIC, etc., the rise of building societies, undertaking of mortgage lending by the LIC and the development of hire purchase finance in relation to consumer durables, etc., (3) Issues of shares and debentures (with the growth of corporate-business system) by well-established firms, especially by the joint-stock companies and (4) Increased velocity of the circulation of the existing volume of money: Activisation of idle balances by firms and banks, (5) Furthermore, the use of book-credit and formal lending and borrowing within the private sector in presence of a higher Bank Rate should not also be overlooked. Again, the following factors, standing in the way of a proper realisation of the desired objectives of a certain monetary policy should not go neglected : (1) Not so well-planned and well-phased deficit financing in large doses in a developing economy, (2) Rising proportions of liquid resources at the disposal of the public (from 25.2 per cent in 1954-55 to 29.4 per cent in 1958-59 in India) and of the commercial banks (from 51 per cent in 1957-58 to 58.2 per cent in 1959-60 in India) in relation to national income and (3) Higher percentage of the nation's use of currency notes and coins (about 67 per cent in India) in relation to bank deposits and bank-money, etc., (about 33 per cent in India) especially in the underdveloped world, the Central Bank's control policy affecting only the latter.

Conclusion and Suggestions

In consideration of our above discussion, we conclude that interest rate changes, in and of themselves, have had little direct effect on spending decisions of the industrial potentates and of the U-sector (the upper classes sector) particularly and the people in general in any society. Again there is a ceiling to the rate of interest as well as a floor and the seriousness of the problem pertains to the fact that the "effctive" rate of interest, or equivalently, the "effective" reduction in the availability of credit does not lie within the institutionally feasible range. To

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ensure stability the Central Bank, along with the Government, must, therefore, have to adequately regulate and restrain the unwholesome operations of the above-noted vigorously growing neutralizing hurdles and to invariably wield its all-pervasive control all over the financial world, banking and non-banking.

The progressive obsolescence of any economic theory is a function of its lagged willingness to recognise the structural changes and institutional re-arrangements. New problems arise requiring, in the changed circumstances, new theories for their solution. The "new" monetary policy was a gallant attempt in this direction. The shift of emphasis from demand to the supply side of credit availability has much to recommend it. What remains is to incorporate within the thory the various leakages to monetary policy like the velocity changes and other structural developments, mentioned above. Besides, the Central Bank must be able to control the liquidity of the whole economy. We think that the lending of all financial institutions can be indirectly controlled through changes in the level and structure of interest rates. A rise in the interest rate will slow down their lending by imposing capital losses on their security holdings. Thus, while a rise in the interest rate has had little direct effect on spending, it depresses spending indirectly by reducing the lending of financial institutions and so the public's liquidity. Moreover, if the national debt is lengthened at the same time, the liquid asset base of the commercial banks will further be limited and thus their lending also depressed. This brings debt-management to the forefront as it is the principal factor affecting the level and structure of interest rates. The authorities in managing the debt should not concentrate exclusively on short rates but should extend their operations over the medium and long ends of the market as well. It may be added that during inflationary periods the debt should be lengthened and interest rates raised, during deflation the opposite policy should be followed.

In these ways monetary policy can certainly be helpful in tempering moderate fluctuations and promoting economic growth. A flexible interest rate policy, by strengthening confidence in the national currencies, secures both internal and external stability. It is, we believe, an indispensable part of any programme for dealing with the Balance of Payments problem. But it would ... dangerous mistake to over-rate its potency ... neglect of fiscal and other weapons including ... non-monetary ones. That is, to attain ... full employment and economic progress we ... gest to exercise a discriminatory and mild ... somewhat simultaneous application, in a ... ciously balanced way, of all the prevailing ... ties of monetary policy along with fiscal ... other weapons. While applying them more ... less simultaneously and in a balanced ma... we have to very highly emphasise their sel... rather general use. The age-long experiment ... their general use has produced either negati... very adverse effects. Prudently selective ... cise of these three policies, which, we think, ... be the duty of every Central Bank and Go... ment, would certainly promote prosperity in ... desired areas and sectors, (*e.g.*, underd... rural areas and the Plan-priority-essential ... investments in our economy) and control in... lity in the undesirable ones (*e.g.*, the non-... priority non-essential type projects and the ... ing U-sector, etc., in India). Lopsided indu... developments with all their associated evi... over-urbanised areas can thus be largely ... trolled and the ideal of regional balanced ... lopment remarkably realised with all its ... some impact, social, economic and political ... the economy.

At the same time, we should not be so ... placently satisfied with the effectiveness of ... present control weapons that we make no ... to improve them or devise better ones. In ... context, particular mention, we think, is des... by (1) (i) security reserve requirement or ... variable secondary reserve requirement or ... basing reserve requirements on assets ... than on deposits, (2) a differential taxation ... different types of bank advances to di... areas, (3) secondary liquidity ratio, (4) a s... but discriminatory tax on particular types ... vestments or on projects of particular areas ... one-time special tax on lending (from w... financial institutions, banking or non-... ing) for particular purposes, (6) limited ... over wages as the economy advances, (7) s... accounts system (as in Australia) and las... not the least (8) a special deposit system ... England). It should be stressed that the ... deposit scheme and the security reserve ... coupled with selective credit controls and ... weapons, can be used with advantage in a ...

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lopment-seeking economy like ours for removing the discrepancies between the rate of growth of credit creating capacity and those of output and productive capacities and effectively dealing with the sensitive pressure points in specific credit channels. This would thus immensely help realise the ideal of controlled expansion. Therefore, (9) (i) control of real estate or construction credit, besides (ii) fixation of margin requirements to control unbriddled stock exchange speculation and (iii) regulation of consumer instalment credit or hire purchase finance—of the selective credit control weapons—should be given whole-hearted attention of other fiscal measures. Government spending, savings and debt-management and of the non-monetary measures output adjustment, wage-policy and the most important of them all, price control and rationing should be duly co-ordinated with them. Such a well-integrated approach, besides ensuring stability and growth, would further help us remove inequality of distribution of income and wealth, prevent concentration of economic power at the disposal of a few and check conspicuous consumption of the U-sector thereby augmenting the total quantum of resources available to finance developmental programmes.

We hope, our conclusive suggestion would be rendered due recognition and considerable importance by the authorities concerned as the activities of the rapidly growing de-stabilising sectors and of the financial institutions other than the commercial banks substantially widen with the process of economic development and as the forces emerging therefrom become strong and vigorous enough to blunt the edge of the traditional Central Bank weapons.

SRI AUROBINDO AND BANDE MATARAM

By UMA MUKHERJEE and HARIDAS MUKHERJEE

I

Bengal was the main scene of operation of a mighty revolution more than fifty years ago. The hero of that revolution was Sri Aurobindo with his group of revolutionary youths whom he had been training up in the extreme forms of self-sacrifice in the service of the country and in achieving for it *Purna Swaraj* or complete freedom. The revolution aimed at was more vital and fundamental than what is generally conceived. Its primary objective was to accomplish a moral and intellectual revolution in the mind of the country, to kindle in the people a burning desire for national freedom. Indeed, he introduced into Indian politics at the very dawn of Freedom's battle what would be called the New Thought or the New Spirit which broke away from the orthodox and traditional thought the Indian National Congress had stood for, for about a quarter of a century (1885-1905). This New Thought was an exposition of a philosophy of Nationalism, which he developed and placed on scientific foundation during the years 1906-08 against the ruling moderate and mendicant thought of the Congress. This was an epoch of intense storm and stress, of strife and effort, of great breaking and building in tune with the tumultuous awakening of a mighty people after a slumber of ages, and it was *Bande Mataram* which was the *Sanjivani Mantra* or the resurrection of the country as a deity. This conception was a reborn passion for the country, which appeared no longer as a mere piece of earth but an image of the Cosmic, had then seized the mind of the people, and it was Sri Aurobindo who gave a most passionate and powerful expression to their rising hopes and aspirations. In him was incarnated the very soul of awakened India in its innate individuality and inherent spirit of integration.

II

Bande Mataram, the musical composition of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, was impregnated

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with a revolutionary fervour with the commencement of the Swadeshi Movement in 1905 when at a fated moment it suddenly became the sanctified hymn of Nationalism, a *mantra* for worshipping the ocuntry as a deity. This conception was responsible for appropriating for the daily paper its name *Bande Mataram*, founded by Bipin Chandra Pal, whom Sir Aurobindo later called "one of the mightiest prophets of Nationalism". Intended to be a daily organ of Indian Nationalism with its motto as "India for Indians", Bipin Chandra first started this paper as a personal venture in August, 1906, and Sri Aurobindo soon joined him. Later on, Sri Aurobindo fell ill, and during his absence, Bipin Chandra, in view of his growing differences with other members of the editorial board, severed his connection with the paper (December, 1906) only to resume it in May, 1908, after Sri Aurobindo's arrest in connection with the Alipur Bomb Case. Thus, during the period from December, 1906 to April, 1908, Sri Aurobindo was the controlling spirit of the new journal.

III

The life of the *Bande Mataram* as an Extremist organ was a short-lived one (August, 1906—October, 1908) due to the political attack of an alien bureaucracy. But during the brief period of its existence it effected a profound revolution in Indian politics, in the thoughts and feelings of his countrymen. It is, however, to be noted that Extremist thought in Indian politics had earlier beginnings than Sri Aurobindo's advent in Bengal in 1906. But this was then an unorganised sentiment waiting to be developed as a system. By the middle of 1906, Sri Aurobindo fully plunged into politics and organised before long the kindred spirits into the New Party or the Nationalist Party, then called the Extremists as distinguished from the Moderates. Repudiating the narrow ideal of Colonial Self-Government or Dominion Status within the British Empire to which the old Congress was irrevocably committed, he popularised along with Bipin Chandra, the contrary conception of *Purna Swaraj* for the country. This conception was so revolutionary at that time that the Moderates who then controlled the Congress could not accept it, and so it became a serious bone of contention between the two wings of the Congress. Sri Aurobindo also rejected the petitioning policy of the Congress and built up a comprehensive practical programme covering its sweep not only the doctrine of Passive Re... tance but also the cult of Revolution. The t... methods of non-violence and violence, consti... tionalism and revolution that marked Indi... arduous journey towards *Swaraj*, were first for... ulated by him in clear and unmistakable terms. Sri Aurobindo was as much a Passive Resis... as a Revolutionary. The question of violen... and non-violence did not trouble him so much ... it did many others in the subsequent phases ... the Freedom Movement. He never mixed up or... nary ethics with politics which has its own eth... —the ethics of the *Kshatriya*, not that of t... Brahmin, and he was never tired of preachi... that the morality of the *Kshatriya* must gov... our political thinking and action. "To impose ... politics the Brahmanical duty of saintly suff... ance", said he, "is to preach *Varnasankara*" ... confusion of duties which is subversive of t... social organism. He approached the question ... violence and non-violence in politics purely fr... a pragmatic standpoint, only as a matter of poli... or expediency. He was the last man to make ... fetish of non-violence or *ahimsa* which he did n... consider a speciality of Indian genius. On t... contrary, he believed that varying doses of vi... lence are not only helpful but indispensable f... converting our petitions into demands and fr... bringing the legal, pacific or constitutional ag... tation within the realm of realisation. Thus, Sr... Aurobindo was in the strictest sense of the term... true prophet, path-finder and pioneer of India... Freedom Movement. Of all the statesmen Moder... India has produced, he had the clearest vision ... Indian Swaraj in its fulness as well as of th... practical means to attain it by strenuous an... sustained struggle. In the political arena h... exhibited two distinct but inwardly allied pers... nalities—as a Passive Resister and as a Revol... tionary,—and in both the capacities he cast ... powerful influence over the whole course of India... Freedom Movement which had its culmination ... the transfer of power in 1947. His spirit of pa... sive resistance found a veritable incarnation ... Mahatma Gandhi while that of revolution a fi... ing embodiment in Netaji Subhas Chandra Bos...

IV

Contemporaries of Sri Aurobindo still rec... with emotion the intense sincerity of passi...

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with which he threw himself, heart and soul, into the National Movement during those tumultuous times. He appeared in Bengal in 1906 as a God-ordained leader of men and very soon won for himself his rightful place in the National Movement. Nationalism with him was not a political cry, not a mere sentiment, it was his passion and religion. "Nationalism," he said, "is not a mere political programme ; Nationalism is a religion that has come from God ; Nationalism is a creed which you shall have to live." Nationalism thus conceived found its fullest expression in the literature that he created by his unique compositions in *Bande Mataram*, the premier organ of a revolutionary Nationalism of the times. His editorial comments at once became the classics of Indian politics in those days. They made the people intensely aware of the mission and destiny of the movement, imparted to it a new moral tone and confidence and ultimately prepared the mind of the country for the revolution which was forging ahead. Indian Nationalism had in that revolutionary epoch its best prophets in Bipin Chandra and Sri Aurobindo. With many others in the field it was a political sentiment, but with them it was a divine energy for the resurrection of the national soul. They were not only its prophets and spokesmen ; they were of it and in it ; they made it a religion on the alter of which nothing was too dear for them to make an offering. They breathed a new fire and an unforgetable spirit in Nationalism which commenced with Herder and Mazzini but reached its fruition in their lives. Each one of these heroes was a votary of world culture and a worshipper of the Universal along with the National, but none was perhaps a greater synthetic force than Sri Aurobindo. He was a perfect blend of the National and the Universal.

V

Why is it that Sri Aurobindo was so passionately insistent on India's claim to *Swaraj* which he advocated as her inalienable birth-right ? For her complete national self-fulfilment. Every nation on earth has a peculiar bent of its own, its individuality which cannot be retained, far less fostered, under the shadow of a foreign power representing a different temperament and a different genius. In his clear conception the work of Nationalism in India was two-fold. "It has," said he, "to win *Swaraj* for India so that the present unhealthy conditions of political phthisis which is overtaking Europe, may be entirely and radically cured, and it has to ensure that the *Swaraj* it brings about shall be a "*Swadeshi Swaraj* and not an importation of the European article. It is for this reason that the movement for *Swaraj* found its first expression in an outburst of Swadeshi sentiment which directed itself not merely against foreign goods, but against foreign habits, foreign dress and manners, foreign education, and sought to bring the people back to their own civilisation." Again, he wrote : "The return to ourselves is the cardinal feature of the national movement. It is national not only in the sense of political self-assertion against the domination of foreigners, but in the sense of a return upon our old national individuality."

VI

In the handling of the current political problems confronting the country at that time, Sri Aurobindo exhibited a boldness and originality all his own. His approach to the Anglo-Indian cant of Indian uity as an essential condition to her political freedom still appears strikingly novel. As part of the problem the question of Hindu-Muslim unity also received his close attention for comments. What he thought over these issues, which are still of animating interest to the country, is to be seen in the articles he wrote in *Bande Mataram* (1906-1908). A trained student of history and literature and politics, he was not a politician of the demagogic type. He could rise above the common prejudices of his times and view the current events in their true national and international context. A super-idealist as he was, he was a *real-politiker* also at the same time. He had no sympathy with that class of minds that fights shy of battle in the hour of battle out of false humanitarian impulse. He preferred manly resistance to tyranny even by violence to a cowardly refusal to give battle under cover of a *sattwic* ideal. Times without number he warned his countrymen that, circumstanced as India was at that time, a fierce turmoil and tension with the interest adverse to the national interest was all but natural and so he counselled them to brave the situation in that spirit. When the news of the Jamalpur *julum* or

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atrocities let loose on the Hindus by the bureaucracy with the help of its Mahomedan mercenaries leading to the desecration of the temple and violation of woman's chastity reached him at Calcutta, he at once administered a sharp rebuke to the Hindus for their utter apathy and demoralisation in the following words :

"From all parts of East Bengal comes the terrible news of violation and threatened violation of women by *badmashes*. Bengal is then dead to all intents and purposes. Nowhere is the honour of women so much valued as in India. And as our people do not lift their finger or court death when seeing women violated before their eyes, they have morally ceased to exist. Long subjection has crushed the soul and left the mere corpse. If Bengal has been seized with such a severe palsy as not to strike a blow even for the honour of our women, it is better for her people to be blotted from the earth than encumber it longer with their disgrace."*

Two days later, Sri Aurobindo again by way of a strong warning both to the people and the bureaucracy made the spirited comment :

"The country in which the cry of outraged chastity rises day after day unavenged to heaven is doomed to ruin. The Government which permits it and stands looking on smiling and with folded hands, is already doomed by the justice of heaven ; it shall pass away and be as if it had never been. But we too who look on while our sisters and mothers are outraged,—against us too the doom will go forth unless we act before it is too late."†

The spirit that these words breathe evidently prefers death to dishonour. It demonstrates beyond the shadow of a doubt the moral and spiritual stuff of which Sri Aurobindo was made. He was neither a weak pacifist nor an impotent moralist in politics which is by its very nature a trial of strength between opposing forces. Never for a moment did he confuse the end with the means nor did he adopt in the hour of actual crisis a doctrinaire attitude which often becomes a cover for immoral inaction or the dull passivity of the mind. The spirit to serve and to suffer was as strong in him as the spirit to resist and to strike. His ideal was "a free and united India," but his whole mind was against any timid compromise which involves a surre or negation of the very ideal for which re ciliation is sought. "True national unity," said, "is the unity of self-dedication to the co try when the liberty and greatness of our moth land is the paramount consideration to which others must be subordinated." If the spirit self-dedication to the country is wanting, n cry for unity will not make us united. The basis of unity can be laid only under the insp tion of an overmastering ideal—an ideal tr cending ourselves and to which all of us offer an unquestioned allegiance. This sort unity alone can lift a people out of despair degradation.

VII

In fine, it has to be noted that party poli in modern India really dates from the Swad Days when the ruling Moderates came un challenge from the rising Extremists or Nationalists. They differed from each other b in respect of the political ideal and the practi means to realise it. Animated by a larger id of freedom, the Extremists preferred the pa of a hard and difficult struggle with the bure cracy to the blessings of prosperous serfd Thus they introduced a new discordant eleme into Indian politics and the introduction of th new element threatened to break the s called Congress unity. The Moderates got alarm and began to openly denounce the new politi trend as inimical to national progress. It is w to remember what Sri Aurobindo as an acc dited leader of the New Party wrote at that ti in reply to the Moderate charge of fomenti disunity in the Congress : "There is," observ Aurobindo, "a cant phrase which is always our lips in season and out of season, and it is cry for unity. We call it a cant phrase beca those who use it, have not the slightest concepti of what they mean, when they use it, but sim employ it as an effctive formula to discour independence in thought and progressiveness action. It is not the reality of united thought a action which they desire, it is merely the appe ance of unity. Be your views what they m supress them, for they will spoil our unity swallow your principles, they will spoil unity ; do not battle for what you think to the right, it will spoil our unity, leave the nec

* Vide *Bande Mataram*, May 2, 1907, p. 4.
† *Bande Mataram*, May 9, 1907, p. 4.

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sary things undone, for the attempt to do them will spoil our unity ; this is the cry. The prevalence of a dead and lifeless unity is the true index of national degradation, quite as much as the prevalence of a living unity is the index of national greatness. So long as India was asleep and only talking in its dreams, a show of unity was possible, but the moment it awoke and began to live, this show was bound to be broken."

"There is," Aurobindo wrote further, "another idea underlying the cry for unity and it is the utterly erroneous impression that nations have never been able to liberate themselves and do great deeds unless they were entirely and flawlessly united within. History supplies no justification for this specious theory. On the contrary, when a nation is living at high pressure and feelings are at white heat, opinions and actions are bound to diverge far more strongly than at other times. In the strenuous times before the American War of Independence, the colony was divided into a powerful minority who were wholly for England, a great hesitating majority who were for internal autonomy but unwilling to use extreme methods and a small but vigorous minority of extremists with men like John Adams at their head who pushed the country into revolt and created a nation."*

* Vide the author's *Bande Mataram and Indian Nationalism*, p. 52.

RAM MOHUN AND MODERN EDUCATION IN INDIA

By C. R. GOSWAMI

Raja Ram Mohun Roy is 'the Prophet of the Indian Renaissance.' It is he who could comprehend the cross-currents of history and initiate lines of action, during the early years of the last century, to be followed by his counrtymen with or without conscious debt to him. 'At that juncture of history India realised her self in Ram Mohun Roy'[1] writes Pramatha Choudhury a celebrated Bengali author of balanced judgement.

The genius of Ram Mohun appears all the more astounding and its significance deeper when we consider that Ram Mohun was no mere product of the West. He startd learning English rather late in life—at the age of 24 (1796). He assimiliated no doubt, Western thoughts and ideas thoroughly having drunk deep in their sources (Greek, Latin & Hebrew), yet the core of his outlook was crystallized earlier. He was out and out a rationalist. This rational make up is manifest in 'Tuhfut-Ul-Muwahhuddin' —a book written in Persian with an introduction in Arabic by Ram Mohun as early as 1804. Also in his booklet 'An Appeal To The Christian Public' he noted that though coming of a Brahmin family, he had rennounced orthodoxy at a very tender age. It is with the help of this rational approach and its concomittant humanism that he wanted to free the nation from the fetters of mediaevalism. Neither the Christian nor the Hindu orthodoxy had any appeal to him. 'Ram Mohun's Chief aim was to found his faith upon reason "writes U. N. Ball in his study of Ram Mohun's faith.[2]

In the present article our aim is to review the works and ideas of Ram Mohun in the sphere of education. Good many people, both Indian and European, took part in educational activities at the early part of the nineteeenth century. But Ram Mohun's work and views call for special attention because of his unique position in the history of modern India. "He was in fact the first modern man in India."[3]

The first educational grant for India was sanctioned by British Parliament in 1813 (Renewal of Charter). For the first time East India Company's attention turned towards education. They instituted enquiries into the prevalent systems of education in different provinces, but nothing tangible

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could be done till 1823 in which year the General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed in Calcutta.

Ram Mohun Roy settled in Calcutta in 1814, after retirement from Company's service, with a view to devoting himself entirely to his mission.

At the time 'Tols' and 'Pathsalas' for Hindus, and Madrassas for Mohammedans were prevalent all over India; but these were in a dcadent condition. Missionaries engaged themselves in educational activities initially prompted by a proselytizing attitude; they did render, however, certain appreciable services. Enligntened Indians felt the urgency of modern education in modern lines. Consequently School Societies and School Book Societies were formed in Calcutta, Bambay and Madras (1817 onwards) particularly to disseminate elimentary education, both English and Vernacular, among the mass of the people.

An influential section of the Society wanted higher education of the Western type for their children. This was crystallized in the establishment of the Vidyalaya or the Hindu College in Calcutta (merged in the present Presidency College) in 1817. David Hare took an important part in this.. But a close examination of records "proves clearly that Ram Mohun was the originator of the scheme"[4] though he had to dissociate himself from the Committee for the success of the scheme itself —the Orthox members of the Hindu Community being loath to have him as an associate.

Ram Mohun then established by himself an English School at Suripara (a locality in Calcutta). "This was the first English School in Calcutta run entirely by Indians." Here about 200 boys received education free and the entire cost was borne by Ram Mohan. Later he started a class for advanced students at his garden house on Upper Circular Road, and an Englishman was appointed teacher. When suitable accommodation was found at Simla near Cornwallis Square the class was shifted there, and the Anglo Hindu School was started formally in 1822. The School was run by the Unitarian Committee though the expenses were borne mainly by R Mohun. Wards of the rich and the p alike received education here free of c without any discrimination. Romapra Ram Mohun's own son and Debendra Tagore were among the students of t School. From a report in 'Bengal Hark (10th Jan. 1828), unearthed by Brajen nath Banerjee, we get an account of a p lic examination held by this school 1828. About 50 students appeared at examination. "Besides three classes were examined in reading, spelling, gra mar and translation the first or most vanced class, was also examined in Joy Scientific Dialogues on Mechanics Astronomy, in the first sixteen propositi of the first book of Euclid, and in trans ing into Bengali a passage of Voltai History of Charles XII of Sweden."[5]

The Committee of Public Instruc referred to above was composed mostly Orientalists. The very first thing it did was to sanction the completion of Sanskrit College in Calcutta, which been approved and liberally endowed the Government in 1821. It was on occasion that Ram Mohun came out as militant champion of Modern Educat He addressed a very forceful letter of p test to Lord Amherst, the then Gover General. He demonstrated that "Sansk system of education would be the best culated to keep this country in darkne that it was no good to continue a decad out-dated system, and that what country needed was not "what was kn two thousand years ago," but "a m liberal and enlightened system of instr tion, embracing mathematics, natural ph sophy, chemistry and anatomy, with o useful sciences."

Though the letter was not immedia fruitful, yet it did certainly pave the for the famous minute of—Macaulay the final Resolution (1835) of Lord Benti on English education. Macaulay's ad cacy of English education is remarka forceful, yet it should not be given un importance, imperialist designs also read in it in a rather facile manne Macaulay did not want to suppress

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Vernacular, rather he wanted their speedy growth. "Indeed," writes Mr. Hampton, "there are good grounds for believing that the demand of Indians for English education was a more important factor in the development of educational policy than the desire of the Government to find suitably qualified recruits for the public service or the efforts of the missionaries to employ education as a means of conversion.

'In the forefront of this movement for the spread of English education stood Ram Mohun Roy....The unique position which he occupies in the life of the metropolic gave his advocacy of the 'new learning' an influence which carried much weight."[6]

Ram Mohun's another notable contribution towards English education is the support, moral and material, that he gave to Alexander Duff in his attempt at establishing a missionary institution in Calcuttta. But for Ram Mohun, neither accommodation nor students would be available to the Scottish evengelist as the study of the Bible was a compulsory item in his scheme of education. Ram Mohun had no objection to the students reading the Bible because of the fact that he considered the Bible unequalled as a book of religious and moral instruction. He convinced the boys that mere reading from the Bible would not turn them into Christians.

Herein we come to the central idea of Ram Mohun about education. According to him education must be moral, even religious. He was as much distressed with the secularism of the Hindu College as with the orthodoxy of the Pundits. In a word, Ram Mohun desired, through education, moral, rational and broad-based, development of the individual. As for methodology details, Ram Mohun's views are not known. It is, however, evident, that he strongly disliked the old methods of cramming grammar, declining each word and other stereotyped gymnastics of the intellect given to the boys in 'tols, and was generally in favour of the methods followed by the English teacher.

One thing, however, must be clearly understood that Ram Mohun, himself, an accomplished Sanskrit Scholar, was quite aware of the importance of the knowledge of Sanskrit and all that it stood for. As he founded English Schools so he established a 'very neat and handsome college (in about 1825) which he calls the vedanta College' in which instruction was given in Sanskrit literature by eminent Pundits. "With this institution" wrote William Adam, an unitarian associate of Ram Mohun on July 27, 1826 "he is also willing to connect instructions in European science and learning and in Christian Unitarianism provided the instruction is conveyed in the Bengali or Sanskrit language."

Here Ram Mohun insists on the use of Bengali or Sanskrit as the medium. On the other hand he strongly supports the use of English as medium in Duff's School. In Anglo Hindu school and his Suripara School, English was naturally the medium. These only show that Ram Mohun was keen about modern English education—' the new learning 'which was indispensable for the progress of the nation, though he never lost sight of the ancient Hindu Sastras which he would study in the light of modern thoughts. He empployed English as the medium since he must at that stage, but he did not want to perpetuate it as such. Side by side he wanted to experiment with Bengali as the medium for western learning. In fact he looked forward to the day when the vernaculars would replace English. "During the years 1822-24, he published in his weekly paper 'Sambad Kaumudi' several articles on scientific subjects, e.g., echo in accoustics, properties of the magnet, 'description of a balloon, behaviour of fishes, etc. The articles proved his eagerness to popularise scientific topics amongst the educated people of Bengal through the medium of their vernacular."[7]

It is alleged that Ram Mohun's educational activities remained confined to the upper class people of the metropolis. It is difficult to say if the results would be worthwhile had Ram Mohun employed his resources to provide popular education for the masses. He, however, made no secret of the fact that the movement for the enlightenment of India could make little

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progress unless it had the support of the higher classes.

Lastly we must quote from records the amount Ram Mohun paid to teachers as salary. William Adam, one of the inspectors of Anglo Hindu schools writes in 1827 "Two teachers are employed, one at a salary of Rs. 150 per month, and the other at a salary of Rs. 70 per month."[8] The Englishman employed at his garden house class for advanced students was paid Rs. 100|- a month. This shows Ram Mohun's regard for teachers and the importance he attached to their work.

Such opinions are sometimes aired that had there been no English education we could be more truly Indian. These speculations have little value. Tagore once wrote as a rebuff to the adverse critics of Bankim Chandra to the effect that it was impossible to assess the contributions of the latter since the very literary atmosphere breathed and the language used at the time was the creation of Bankim Chandra. Similarly an objective assessment of Ram Mohun's policy of education is impossible because of the fact that we wholly belong to the New India that has been created as a result of the policy suggested by him.

1. *Prabandha Sangraha*, 2nd series, p. 1[illegible]
2. *Ram Mohan Roy*, By U. N. Ball, p. [illegible]
3. *A Survey of Indian History*, K. M. Panikkar, p. 215.
4. *Ram Mohan Roy*, U. N. Ball, Chapter IV.
5. *Ibid*, p. 158.
6. *Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education*, p. 38.
7. *The Father of Modern India: Commemoration*, Vol. Part II. p. 329.
8. *Ibid*, p. 330.

LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

MRS. DEVIPROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY

XIII

SRI Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury is a peculiar combination. He is very progressive in some of his ideas and very outmoded in certain others. His conception of women and their place in the world is not at all compatible with modern times. It is not that he wants the women to be kept in strict purdah who should not be allowed to see the light of the sun. It was he who introduced co-education in his institution. But he does profess most emphatically that a woman's sphere is her home and not in the outside world. In her home she is the ruler and must be obeyed. But woe to her who tries to outstrip that limit and proclaim equality with men. He has no sympathy for such as these.

As a rule Deviprosed avoids travelling by omnibus or tramcar. But sometimes when the mood permitted, specially in his younger days, he did make occasional trips in some such vehicle, just for a little fun and change. Once [illegible] nothing particular to do he boarded an empty bus in the early hours of the day. Gradually it became filled up and the artist found its atmosphere uncongenial to his taste. He stood up to leave the vehicle at the next stop. In doing so in the midst of a crowd he accidentally came in physical touch with a young professional woman of some sort. She made a remonstrating [illegible] like 'Ah !' which was at once taken up by a chivalrous youth who perhaps was waiting for opportunity to get introduced to her. He blurted out most insolently, 'What, man, are you blind? Can't you see a lady is standing there ?' At this remark a sardonic smile played on the lips of Deviprosad. He looked disdainfully at the youth, threw a searching glance all round the vehicle and then retorted. 'A lady ? pray where is she?' At this a subdued laughter was heard from both sides. Fortunately the bus came to a stop at

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juncture and the woman in question got down followed by her erstwhile protector. An elderly man who was sitting at the further end, exclaimed with glee, "well done young man. That's the way to treat these women. They will board a crowded bus and then expect everyone to be on the alert to guard thm from contamination. What cheek !'

Deviprosad never advocated academic education for women. He professed that the education they need was how to be a good wife and competent mother. to him the stigma of a University is necessary for only those who are compelled to take to a profession by force of circumstances or who prefer to make a career for themselves instead of guiding a home. The artist believes that if a married woman is tempted to make a career, her home and children are bound to suffer. A story which was repeated to him about a social worker confirmed him in his conviction. He was told that a mother was a social worker of some importance, and when she was about to go to a child welfare meeting, to her great consternation she found her own child to be ill. It is but natural for a sick child to wish to have the mother by his side. He caught hold of her sari and said with tears dripping down his cheeks, "Oh mother, please, don't go, I want you to be near me." The mother had no time to lose. She snatched the sari from the child's grip and went away in grat haste saying, "That is not possible my boy. I have a child welfare meeting to attend. I am the chairman and I have got go. The ayah will be with you dear." The irony of this story so exasperated the artist that he forthwith drew a picture depicting the scene which was published in the 'Swatantra,' a weekly journal, and later found place in his own book called, "Ironies and Sarcasms."

Another great objection of the artist to imparting academic education to the woman consists of the belief be entertrins that the system of education as it exists in our land today, is detrimental to their health. A majority of the product of the universities, and the school and college girls we come across, are lean and unhealthy in appearance. Unless mothers are healthy how can we expect them to produce strong and healthy children ? He likes to see women rounded and full grown. 'Strong and healthy men and women are the assets of the country, he says.

Those who are acquainted with these views of the artist find it difficult to believe their eyes when they come to know his wife. She is delicate to look at and in no way caters to the taste of our artist as far as physical beauty is concerned. How is it then that he selected her to be his mate ? Or was the match arranged by others to whose wishes he had to bend unconditionally ? People who know Deviprosal intimately, are fully aware that he is not a person to follow the dictates of others. No, the choice was that of his own. If any one is to be blamed it should be his Destiny which enticed him to take this false step.

Deviprosad had an ambition to see a few of his girl students to come at the forefront of the art line. But in this he was sadly disappointed. Some of them he found very quick in their progress, but upto a certain standard. When they reach that point, their progress becomes retarded. He failed to discover the cause and inferred that this was perhaps the reason why so few women outshine or even equal the men in the creative fields.

According to Deviprosad a man has to fight against odds and, therefore, is expected to be hard and rough in his outward structure as well as in the formation of his character. That is a qualification for him and not a draw-back. The peace of the home depends on the woman. She, therefore, must be soft, meek, gentle and submissive. Here also the artist is thwarted by Destiny. The woman who guides his home is not what one would call a submissive type. She has her own views which she expresses and asserts, and does not accede without question to all the wishes of another individual, whoever he may be, if she felt she could not agree. She accepts contradictory opinion when she is convinced by arguments or finds her mistake through her own experience. If however in describing her thus I have given the impression that she is a tarmagant, ready to pick up a quarrel at every opportunity, I have done her an injustice. She has to her credit the difficult task of managing the household of one of the most unruly of men with fair success, for three decades or more.

Years may come and years may go but work goes on for ever,—such appears to be the condition at the studio at Chromepet. When I arrived three years ago at the news of my husband's illness I was given to understand that as soon as the work that was at hand, these were the double life size statues (two in number) of Rajah

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Sir Annamalai Chettiar, were completed, we would return to our homeland. But when the statues were finished and ready for transport, Lo and behold ! the order for another statue was waiting. Delhi wanted one of Deviprosad's own compositions called the 'Rhythm' to be cast in double life size for the National Art Gallery. Our departure, therefore, had to be postponed for an indefinite period of time.

This was not a very tempting prospect for me. The greatest part of the day, the artist is occupied with his work of one kind or the other. He still retains his habit of early rising, if not at 4.30, at 5 or 5-30 in the morning. Now he does not make his own tea as before. The liquor is kept ready in a flask which he mixes with sugar and milk according to his taste. While he is thus engaged he does not sit idle. He is at his table with a pen from his numerous collections and goes on writing either articles, stories or letters. At 7 O'Clock the typist arrives and his office work starts. As soon as his assistants or the labourers appear on the scene, he is off to his temple.

In the studio, Deviprosad's whole attention is focussed on the modelling of the figure to which he gives shape by the touch of his fingers. He is then completely oblivious of all else. His whole attitude becomes so tense that he looks, if I may say so, almost ferocious. One dares not disturb him even by a whisper. This is a most tough time for those whose duty it is to serve and carry out his commands. The tools or the materials needed must be provided at a moment's notice. If there is any delay the artist is furious. He fails to understand why they can't keep things ready when they know he would want them. If a wrong thing is brought, God help the person who brings it! The artist has no mercy for such a one. He looks daggers at him and throws away the thing in disgust. "Is this what I wanted ? I shall go mad if I have to work with a nincompoop like you." Dos he realise when he predicts his mental derangement that if a normal person watches him in his creative mood he may think that the artist was already half way to it ? I wonder !

But this is beside the point. My sympathy goes out to those who have to assist him when he is still searching for the dsired effect. Very few can cope with him during this period unless he is well seasoned and had previous experience of studying the artist at work. But once he get satisfactory result he becomes a different m He then feels sorry for his rude behaviour says almost apologetically, "Did I speak to harshly ? But I did not mean it. When I am the midst of my search, I dont know what I s or do. You do understand, don't you ?"

While the husband is thus occupied in t studio, what does the wife do ? At chrom to spend the time is indeed a problem. The wh establishment consists of six small rooms, of which three are allotted to her share. All rest are reserved for studio or office purpos The largest of the three rooms at her comma is used as the sleeping apartment. Of the ot two, one serves the purpose of a dining ro *cum* stores. It barely holds a small table la enough for two. The remaining one she calls dressing room. In my opinion the more app priate name would be a box room or far be a lumber room ! There is a permanent shalf the top on which all sorts of statues and stu materials are deposited. There is no such pl as a living room. A kitchen, of course, there The house is supposed to have been built letting out in two portions. The extra kitch is surely a boon, for that has enabled her improvise a bathroom. At Chromepet bathroom are out of fashion. Social contacts as such the is none. So long as the artist is in the midst his work she has to invent her own plans escape from the monotony of existence,—not easy job ! Mornings are always busy hours for housewife, more so perhaps when a person h to live in a place where not only the daily nece sities of life but even a cook has to be import from outside. Moreover no decent servant co be had in the vicinity. Untrained coolies o were available and these had to be transform into domestic servants. The moment they gla a little knowledge, they think themselves in pensable and their attitude changes, specially b cause one has to depend on them for wa which has to be drawn from the wells. Besid the poorer classes have now learnt to make qualification of their poverty. They are so sup of getting help on that ticket that they becom bold enough to be defiant on occasions. Plac as she was, one can well understand that it w not difficult for her to while away a portion her time in her activities as the manageress an uncommon household. But what about

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rest of the day ? Though I admit that a woman's first duty is to see to the smooth running of the home, she cannot be expected to be content with that alone. Her mind needs food and where was she to get that from ? She was fond of reading and found great relief in the company of books. She read not only during her lonely hours but even in the evenings when her husband came back tired after the day's work. They would then sit in the front verandah of the house and she read while he listened. Thus they were able to ward off the burden of solitude. This was indeed a luxury for them at Chromepet. But alas ! Fate became jealous of her and she had to relinquish this one source of joy in her banishment.

I have elsewhere described the studio at Chromepet. It is a temporary shed made of bamboos and dry leaves. Since the statues to be made are enormous in size the height of the structure is also great, almost as tall as a two-storeyed building. The artist has to examine his works from far and near in order to detect the progress of the model in making. The space occupied by the studio therefore is not small. This vacilliates like a ship in mid sea when there is a strong gale. The artist had a bad experience of it when he was working on "Rhythm." A cyclone of high velocity created havoc in many parts of the Madras city and its suburbs. Deviprosad was unnerved with anxiety about the fate of his almost finished work. Though some sort of precautions were taken beforehand, it was not sufficient to vouchsafe the safety of the shed. He and a few of his workers braved the rain and the storm to secure it more strongly. When the storm passed and the statue was safe, the artist breathed a sigh of helief. His first action then was to take all precautionary measures possible to make the studio storm proof. The shed is now well protected with wires and ropes and has little chance of being damaged even by the strongest of gales. Yet the artist has no peace of mind if the rustling noise from the trees gives the slightest indication of an approaching storm.

One cannot help but marvel at the ingenuity of the men of genius ! Inspite of such an awful experience Deviprosad had a sudden inspiration of making a similar studio at Calcutta, a city which is often oppressed by heavy storms and whose roads are flooded with water during the rains. To safeguard the husband from unnecessary mental worries, the wife disapproved of the project. This time however the assertive man was discreet enough not to insist and the conception was nipped in the bud to the great relief of the wife.

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BHOTIAS—THE FRONTIERSMEN OF KUMAON

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There is a certain amount of confusion inherent in the very use of the word Bhotia, since it is employed to designate a number of culturally-unrelated groups of people. We come across people who call themselves Bhotias in Kumaon, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Eastern Tibet. Obviously, some of these groups are so far removed, that they are even unaware of each other's existence. However, the Bhotias everywhere are connected with some kind of a trade between Tibet and the region in which they live. They have been the chief suppliers of cereals, sugar, haberdashery and a whole lot of other things to the pastoral nomads of Tibet, and, the suppliers of salt and wool to the farmers of the warm valleys to their south.

One such group of Bhotia traders inhabits the northern-most parts of Kumaon which now constitute a new administrative unit, called Uttara Khand, in Uttar Pradesh. The Bhotias of Kumaon differ from all other Bhotias in one major respect. While most of the Bhotias elsewhere are Buddhists and follow the Lamaistic form of Buddhism, the Kumaon Bhotias are not Buddhists. Almost half of them are Hindus, both in their claims as well as in their practice of Sanskritic ritual. The other half could be called partly, Hindus and partly "animists", like a number of our Scheduled tribes.

If we look at the Kumaon-Tibetan border, in a map, we find a series of mountainous spurs running southwards from the watershed which forms our northern boundary. It is on these spurs that some of the highest snowy peaks of the Himalayas are situated. From these spurs, innumerable ridges of varying altitudes spread out in all directions, so that the entire terrain appears to be a tangled mass of snowy peaks, glaciers, deep gorges and steep, barren hill sides.

The Land of Bhotias

A number of tributaries of the Ganges and the Kali, which later assumes the name of Ghagra in the plains, come out of this mass like roaring torrents, descending on rapid slopes and cutting the hard rocks in the process.

These tributaries have given us five river valleys along the border which are inhabited by the Bhotias of Kumaon. The Bhotias inhabit these valleys, roughly speaking, for a distance of about 50 miles south of the watershed. The routes of communication here lie along the course of these rivers, and the passes through which the Bhotias travel to Tibet also lie at the sources of these rivers.

The five main river valleys, inhabited by the Bhotias in Kumaon, have been known to us from time immemorial. The most used route to holy Kailash and Mansarovar lie through these valleys. The famous Badrinath temple is also situated in one of these valleys.

These five Bhotia valleys are separated from each other by snow-covered mountain ranges which are formidable barriers, making it extremely difficult to go over directly from one valley to another. Because of isolation and limited contact we find that each valley has a cultural identity of its own. The people in each valley share a sense of unity, a distinctive dialect and a common way of life. The Bhotias in different valleys are aware of these differences, but they are not altogether aliens when they visit a neighbouring valley.

Two Main Streams of Bhotias

We can divide the Bhotias of these five valleys into two groups, Western and Eastern. The Bhotias in the western valleys of Mana, Niti and Johar could be placed in one group, since they all claim to be Hindus and follow the norms of Hindu religion in their everyday life. The number of inter-marriages in these three valleys is also fairly large.

The Bhotias of the other two eastern valleys, the Darmiya, Byansi and Chaudansi Bhotias form another group. These three groups

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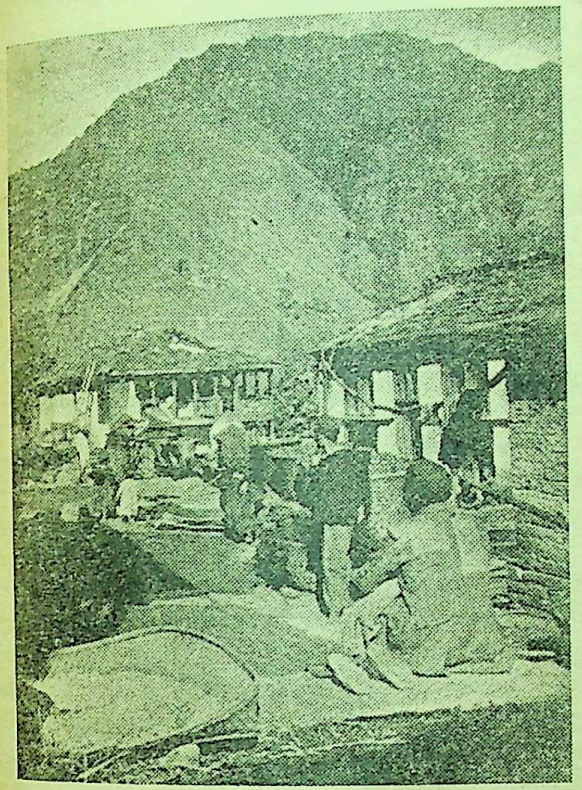
Bhotias also freely inter-marry and share certain customs and practices which are not found in the first group.

While the western Bhotias speak dialects of Pahari Hindi with a number of Tibetan words thrown in, the eastern Bhotias speak dialects which belong to the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. The number of Hindi and Gorkhali words in their vocabulary is considerable.

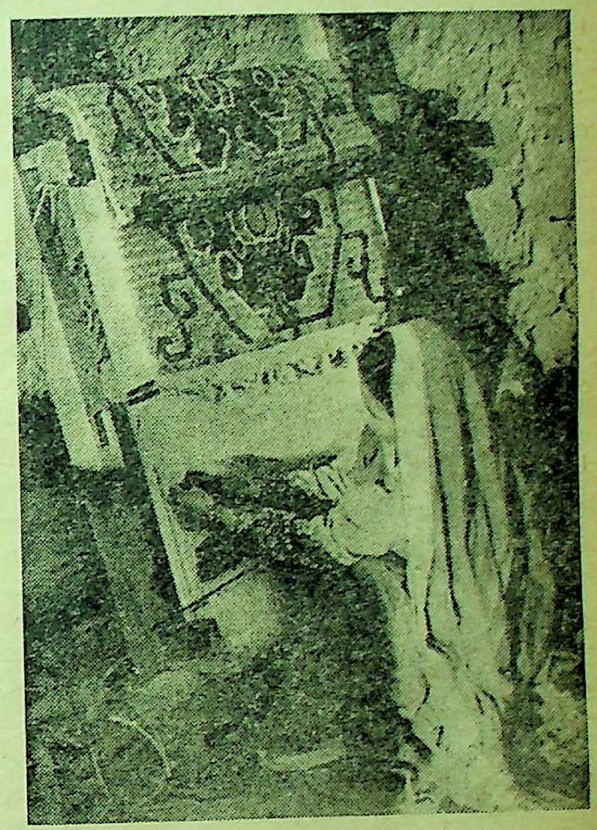
Hindu Ancestors

Racially speaking the Bhotias all over Kumaon have intermixed with the Tibetans in varying proportions and as such we find a sprinkling of Mongoloid traits among them.

The Bhotias in each valley have interesting legends to explain the arrival of their anestors in these valleys. Most of these legends speak of

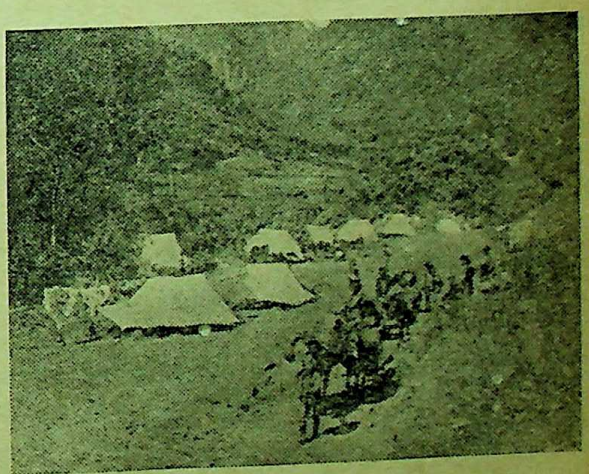


A Group of Dwellings in a Bhotia village with a backdrop of High Hills



A Bhotia woman weaving a carpet

Worship Ritual in a Bhotia village



Bhotias on the way to a Trade Fair—they are important in the Valleys

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Hindu Rajputs having come to these valleys from Garhwal or Nepal and settled down here after obtaining certain trading rights in Tibet. History also speaks of the Hindu Rajas of Kumaon having taken quite a bit of interest in the colonisation and administration of these valleys.

Eking out a subsistence in the bleak and rugged terrain which the Bhotias inhabit, is not an easy task. Their villages near the border are situated at heights between 10,000 and 14,000 feet above sea-level and these are covered with snow for half the year. If we look at the location of the Bhotias in relation to a larger region we can understand the basic nature of their economy.

Trade—Mainstay of Bhotia Economy

To their south the Bhotias have warm, fertile and prosperous valleys. Until quite recently the farmers here had surplus stocks of rice, barley and millets but they had no source for the supply of such essential commodities as salt and wool.

To the north of Bhotia valleys lie the trans-Himalayan regions of Tibet where several nomadic groups, with their flocks of sheep, roam over the vast stretches of pasture-land and pursue a pastoral economy. In the course of their movement, the Tibetan nomads are in a position to collect salt, borax and gold-dust from the Tibetan plains. They are also quite willing to give away their surplus of salt and wool in exchange for cereals which they cannot grow here.

The Bhotias are thus situated in the middle of two regions of contrasted production. Their own valleys being unfit for agriculture or large-scale sheep-rearing, they had to look to these two regions for their livelihood. By virtue of their location they were in a position to meet the requirements of the people in the two regions by simply transporting the required commodities from one region to the other. Through their medium, the trade thus became not only a form of ecologic adjustment between the two regions, but for the Bhotias it also became the mainstay of their economy. They had virtually no competitors because of the difficulties involved in travelling to Tibet and the difficulties in dealing with the Tibetans.

The Bhotias, while in Tibet, traded mainly with the Dogpa nomads. This trade was mostly in the form of barter. All trading was governed by tradition. A Bhotia always traded with his own Dogpa *Mitra* (or friend). The right to trade with a *mitra* was hereditary and could be bought and sold for a consideration.

Prices in these markets were not determined by the laws of demand and supply but by tradition, haggling, and the capacity of a Bhotia to give his goods away on credit. A transaction sometimes carried within a complementary transaction which affected the rate of exchange. For example, in a Tibetan market, eleven years ago a sheep-load of barley could be exchanged for three sheep-loads of salt at the normal rate of exchange. But a Bhotia would receive only two sheep-loads of salt for one of barley if there was a complementary transaction involved. The Bhotia besides taking the two salt-loads, also had the right to buy the fleece of the two sheep which load of salt he had taken. The payment for the wool of these two sheep was only at the rate of eight annas per fleece. Neither of these two transactions at that price were possible independently.

The Bhotias have had a reputation of being shrewd, hardy and adventurous. The profits in their barter deals often seemed to be high, but their net profits were seldom as much. This is borne out by the fact that during the last 50 years more and more Bhotias were thrown out of the trade. Bad debts, excessive demands made upon them in the markets across the border and the treacherous routes destroying animals with their loads of merchandise, took away a big slice of the Bhotias' profits.

Semi-Nomadic Life

Climatic conditions and trade needs require the Bhotias to lead a semi-nomadic life. To meet this, they have two sets of houses, except the Johari Bhotias who have three. During the summers they migrate to their houses near the border with their families and trade goods. Between July and September they make several trips back and forth to the Tibetan markets. By the end of October they migrate to their winter houses situated in warmer valleys, generally between 30 to 50 miles south of their summer homes.

Each migration involves transporting the goods in saddlebags on the backs of sheep and goats. These animals can carry a load between 15 and 20 kilograms and cover five to six miles

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a day. The Bhotias, therefore, have to make several trips while transporting their goods and families from one place to another.

Between November and April they go around from place to place in Kumaon and western Nepal exchanging salt for cereals. During this period they also attend several fairs where they sell a variety of goods for cash. By the end of April they begin to get ready again to move to their northern summer homes. Thus, a Bhotia's cycle goes on.

So far, the Bhotias have had only a secondary interest in agriculture. This is, of course, in keeping with their nomadic life. The Chaudansi Bhotias are an exception who by virtue of their favourable location are able to raise two crops in a year and are settled agriculturists.

The Bhotias all over Kumaon add substantially to their incomes by making a variety of woollen goods. Bhotia shawls, blankets and carpets fetch a handsome price in Kumaon. Most of the weaving here is, of course, done by women.

Social Structure

Among the Bhotias, the 'valley' is an important structural unit of identification, but it lacks a formal organization. The village, the clan and the family are important units of social organisation. Every village has a headman and a panchayat to look after most of its affairs. Each village is divided into a number of patrilineal clans which are exogamous. The family is a well-knit socio-economic unit. The Bhotia children are trained here from the very beginning to make the best use of their time and natural resources.

The western Bhotias, who follow the Hindu way of life, employ a Brahmin priest in the various ceremonies connected with births, marriages and deaths. The marriages here are arranged by the parents and widow remarriage is looked down upon. The women in Johar observe purdah which is rather unique in these parts.

By and large, the western Bhotias approximate the Hindu Khasiya Rajputs of Kumaon in their customs and religious observances. Johar valley has produced a number of well-known personalities, and in recent years the Johari Bhotias have provided most of the leadership to the Bhotia community.

The Eastern Bhotias possess a number of customs and practices which are frowned upon both by their own brethren, the western Bhotias, and the Hindus. The eastern Bhotias worship a number of local spirits and deities. The women here enjoy considerable freedom. Marriages are not arranged by the parents but they are usually the result of a mutual liking which two persons may develop in Rang-Bang gatherings. In Rang-Bang, unmarried boys and girls assemble in a field or a vacant house in the evenings, and here they usually drink, dance and sing together. The custom of marriage by capture is still prevalent.

The last rites called 'dhurung' are unique among these people. In 'dhurung', the soul of the dead man called (nushimi) is first requested to enter the body of a yak or a goat, and then it is told how to pursue the path to heaven. The animal is then killed and sometimes eaten. In recent years the Hindu practice of 'shradh' has also been substituted for 'dhurung' by a number of Bhotias, but there is no general acceptance.

Chinese Interference

Before the acquisition of the Bhotia valleys by the British from the Gorkhas, these valleys enjoyed a self-contained and semi-independent life. During the British period, although the Bhotias jealously guarded their trade interests in Tibet, their participation in the urban, administrative and commercial life of Kumaon increased considerably.

Soon after India's independence the Bhotias found themselves faced with another problem: the coming of the Chinese into Tibet. The Chinese began interfering in their traditional trade arrangements with the Dogpas, and despite the Sino-Indian agreement relating to trade, the Bhotia trade situation continued to worsen until last year when it was completely stopped. The Bhotias have lost the mainstay of their economy.

Fortunately, however, for the last eight years National Extension Service Blocks have been functioning in Bhotia valleys. Efforts are being made to settle Bhotias on sheep-rearing, cottage industries and agriculture. In view of the crisis with which the Bhotias are faced now they are quite willing to try the alternate occupations that are being opened up. The pace of socio-cultural change has been accelerated. The number of Bhotia boys and girls with a high school and college education has increased, and the Bhotias, now in larger numbers, are aspiring to participate in the national life of the country.

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A NEW LIGHT ON PLATO

By D. S. MAHALANOBIS

"ALTHOUGH twenty-two and a quarter centuries have elapsed since the death of Plato, the great minds of the world are still occupied with his writings. He was, in the fullest sense of the word, the world's interpreter. And the greatest philosopher of the pre-Christian era, mirrored faithfully in his works the spiritualism of the Vedic philosophers who lived thousands of years before himself, and its metaphysical expression."*

Plato, during a greater part of his life of eighty years, has taught and written extensively. A part of his teachings, at any rate, reflects a philosophy that Madame Blavatsky is justified in calling "the spiritualism of the Vedic philosophers." Modern writers on Plato seem to have made no attempt to investigate this possibility. Hence, those who have tried to interpret him without reference to this Indian key-note, have been set a problem that, instead of solving, they have passed on to the readers to solve. The Encyclopaedia Britannica recognizes this difficulty in its summarisation of Plato's metaphysical theory :

'Since Plato refused to write any formal exposition of his metaphysics, our knowledge of its final shape has to be derived from the statements of Aristotle, which are confirmed by scanty remains of the earliest Platonists preserved in the Neo-Platonist commentaries of Aristotle. These statements can, unfortunately, only be interpreted conjecturally. According to Aristotle (Metaphysics, A 987, b 18-25) Plato's doctrine of Forms was, in its general character, not very different from Pythagoreanism, the Forms being actually called Numbers. The two points on which Aristotle regards Plato as disagreeing with the Pythagoreans are, that (1) whereas the Pythagoreans said that numbers have as their constituents, the unlimited and the limit, Plato taught that the forms have as consutituents "the One" and the "great and small'; (2) the Pythagoreans had said that things are numbers, but Plato intermediate class of "mathematicals." It is curious, that in connection with the former difference Aristotle dwells mainly on the substitution of the "duality of the great-and-small" for the "unlimited," not on the more significant point that the "One," which the Pythagoreans regarded as the simple complex of unlimited and limit, is treated by Plato as itself the element of limit. He further adds that the "great-and-small" is, his own technical terminology, the "matter," the One, the formal constituent, in a Number.'

'We have then to intrpret, if we can, the main statements : (1) the statement that the Forms are Numbers; (2) the statement that the constituents of a Uumber ar the "great-and-small' and "the One."'

Now, no one seems to have explained what these terms signify—"the One" and the "great and small." All attempts to understand Plato would prove feckless as long as we do not know what the terms really mean. It is a known fact that Plato taught "in a language intelligible only to the initiated." And the initiated alone can interpret him. We have, threfore, to turn for our guidance to the "Vedic philosophers," who, Blavatsky says, had inspired Plato's doctrine. One who has a little acquaintance with Indian philosophy, could easily find that Plato's metaphysics is, essentially, an exposition of the Sankhya system, touched up, when occasion required, by his own details. Let us, therefore, at the outset, penetrate the nigema that screens over his terms. The "great and small," we shall see, is Plato's designation for Prakriti of the Sankhyas. The "great" is simply a literal translation of Pradhan, another name for Prakriti, and "small" refers to the infinitesimals, called gunas, inherent in Prakriti. Prakriti, the "great and small," is, of course, unlimited. "The manifested worlds traced in the Sankhya to an unmanifested ground, Prakriti, which is conceived as formless and undifferentiated, limitless and ubiquitous, indestructible and undecaying, ungrounded and uncontrolled, without beginning and without end. But the unity of Prakriti is a mere abstraction; it is in reality an undiffe-

* H. P. Blavatsky.

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tiated mainfold, and indeterminate infinite continuum of infinitesimal Reals.—" (Dr. B. N. Seal). These Reals are called *gunas*, forming a trinity—*sattwa*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, *i.e.*, essence, energy and inertia. They are not independent entities, but are independent moments in every substantive existence. Prakriti has, therefore, the inseparable adjunct, 'triune.' Prakriti is "great" (Pradhan), and is "small" at the same time, since it is a manifold of infinitesimal *gunas*. Its whole store consists of the "smalls." These are unlimited, and so is Prakriti. This unlimitedness of Prakriti can only be brought into limitation, into form, by the Purusha, the Absolute, the ONE. Prakriti is the material stuff, or matter, out of which finite existence is moulded under the influence of the Purusha. "The starting point in the cosmic history is a condition of equilibrium or equippoise consisting of uniofrm diffusion of the Reals . . . . The transcendental (non-mechanical) influence of the Purusha (the Absolute) puts an end to this arrest, and initiates the process of creation. Evolution begins with the disturbance of the original equilibrium."—(Dr. B. N. Seal). We can, therefore, see that the "One," the Purusha, is the "element of limit," is the formal cause in a Number. It can, therefore, be regarded as one of the two constituents in it. Hence, Plato could justly enunciate, on the authority of the Sankhya, in his own enigmatic language, that the Forms have as constituents, "the One and the great-and-small." And Aristotle's interpretation is not wrong when he says that "the great and small" is, in his own technical terminology, the "matter" ; "the One", the formal constituent, in a Number. Thus, we may now, convincingly define that "a number is something which arises from the determination of a determinable, (the great and small), by the One".—(A. B. Taylor).

Forms, according to Aristotle's exposition of Plato, we know, are called Numbers. The form-stuff, however, has to evolve through different stages, to be material objects. At each stage, a matter-constituent, called *tanmatra*, is incorporated till the final stuff results. These participating *tanmatras* are Plato's "mathematicals", since they exist in mathematical proportons in each and every object. The first product of Prakriti (and Purusha), according to the Sankhyas, is Mahat, i.e. cosmic *akasa*, or cosmic ether ; the last is *kshiti*, matter of the physicists, or the world of sensible things. Between them are interpolated the *tanmatras*.

We can see, with a little analysis, that Plato's doctrine is not very much dfferent from Pythagoreanism. Pythagoras seems to have been substantially influenced by the Sankhya system. The principal difference that has become apparent, between Plato and the Pythagoreans, seems to be due, in the main, to lack of explanation of the terms used by either. The two sets of terms cannot be equated against each other, on their face value.

The Pythagoreans said that "numbers have their constituents, the unlimited and the limit". Evidently, these two terms, "the unlimited and the limit", refer respectively to the Prakriti and the Purusha of the Sankhyas, since Prakriti is the unlimited ground, and Purusha is the limiting cause, to which the origin of the world is traced in the Sankhya cosmogony. Thus, "unlimited" and "limit" of the Pythagoreans are equivalent to the "great-and-small" and "the One" of Plato, respectively. Their first product (i.e. the first product of Prakriti and Purusha), according to Pythagoreans, is One, the "simplest complex of the unlimited and limit". This "One" of the Pythagoreans, therefore, represents Mahat, literally, Great One, of the Sankhyas. Mahat is the Great One, the Cosmic Being illuminated with consciousness. It is also called Cosmic Consciousness or cosmic *akasa*, which stands on top of the evolution series on the material plane. This cosmic akasa is equivalent to Plato's ether—"the mother and reservoir of all visible creation—an invisible creation—an invisible and formless eidos, most difficult of comprehension and partaking somehow of the nature of mind. We cannot mix up this Great One, Mahat, of the Pythagoreans, with "the One" of Plato, which is the Absolute ONE, Purusha. When the Pythagoreans say that things are numbers, they do not contradict Plato ; they simply leave out the description of *tanmatras*, the "mathematicals" of Plato, just as we do not always refer to electrons and protons when we define matter as consisting of atoms.

Plato's indebtedness to Indian philosophy is profound. None can deny that his doctrine reveals a remarkable grasp of the Indian systems. Should we say that all this concordance happened by accident ? We need to have explanations. Madame Blavatsky's excerpt cited in this connection, is an clue. It is not her mystic intuition that spot-lights

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Indian influence On Hellenic writers. Numerous on Oriental scholars bear her out. For example, Colebrooke, Royle, Pococke, Hoernle, Wise, Jolly, Enfeld, Garrison, Sir William Jones, Rawlinson, etc. Some of them, e.g., Pococke, go even to the length of saying that Greek civilization, not excepting her language, is a local variation of Indian culture taken to Greece by early colonists from India. Princep is recorded to have observed that "Greek was nothing more than Sanskrit turned topsy-turvy."

Enfeld points out that "India was visited by Pythagoras, Anaxardes, Pyrrho and others, who afterwards became eminent philosophers in Greece."

Sir William Jones confirms that "it is impossible to read the Vedanta or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the Indian Sages."

Prof. Radhakrishanan observes that "in the mystic cults of Pythagoras and Plato we have a different conception which is admitted by students of Greek literature to be un-Hellenic in character. What is the origin of this un-Greek mystical tradition which cuts across the main rationalistic spirit of the Greek thought? Tradition and expert knowledge of today agree that we discover in it, the influence of India."

Prof. Macdonell is forthright in drawing out the inevitable conclusion: "Turning to Philosophical Literature, we find that the early Greek and Indian philosophers have many points in common. Some of the leading doctrines of the Eleatics, that God and the universe are one, that everything existing in multiplicity has no reality, that thinking and being are identical, are all to be found in the philosophy of the Upanishads and the Vedanta system, which is its outcome. Again, the doctrine of Empedocles, that nothing can arise which has not existed before, and that nothing existing can be annihilated, has its exact parallel in the characteristic doctrine of the Sankhya system about the eternity and indestructibility of matter. According to Greek tradition, Thales, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Demostritus, and others undertook journeys to oriental countries in order to study philosophy. Hence there is at least the historical possibility of the Greeks to have been influenced by Indian thought through Persia.

"Whatever may be the truth in the cases just mentioned, the dependence of Pythagoras on Indian philosophy and science certainly seems to have a high degree of probability. Almost all the doctrines ascribed to him, religious, philosophical, mathematical, were known in India in the sixth century B.C. The coincidences are so numerous that their cumulative force becomes considerable. The transmigration theory, the assumption of five elements, the Pythagorean theory in geometry, the prohibition as to eating beans, the religio-philosophical character of the Pythagorean fraternity, and the mystical speculations of the Pythagorean school, all have their close parallels in ancient India. The doctrine of metempsychosis in the case of Pythagoras appears without any connection or explanatory background, and was regarded by the Greeks as of foreign origin. He could not have derived it from Egypt, as it was not known to the ancient Egyptians. Inspite, however, of the late tradition, it seems impossible that Pythagoras should have made his way to India at so early a date, but he could quite well have met Indians in Persia.".

It seems surprising that Prof. Macdonell does not notice any very great Indian influence on Plato as he does in the case of Pythagoras. Yet, Plato alone, of all the ancient philosophers of Greece, seems to have imbibed India's profound wisdom at a time and to an extent, nearly incredible to us of today. And this could perhaps only be if he had drunk at the source, sitting at the feet of the Indian Sages. In ancient India, Vedic learning was to be acquired from the lips of the Guru. The sacred wisdom was not a thing of commerce to be bought at a price. Only a distorted version could be learned from secondary sources. And when one reads between the lines one is impelled to believe that Plato's was not just a smattering. We see no reason why we should not believe that Plato found his way to India. Macdonell, however, points out that "the Neo-Platonic philosophy may have been influenced by the Sankhya system." It is hardly any reason to suppose that Plato's followers would go out of their way to the Sankhyas, if Plato himself had nothing to do with them. They could as well have turned to Confucianism.

The distance, both in time and space, stands in the way of Macdonell's belief as to the possibility of so long a journey having been undertaken by Pythagoras. We forget that those were the days of foot-slogging over long distances. A

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it was only 22 years after Plato's death that Alexander's army of 120,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry crossed the borders of India in B.C. 326. Famous for his athletic built, and keen as an army man, Plato certainly could, for his love of wisdom and philosophy, have embarked on such a journey, and his extensive travels are a thing to reckon with. Authorities are not certain as to where he went. Nevertheless, tradition has it that his travels took him, among other places, to Egypt, Sicily, Italy, Judea and India. "Twelve years he wandered, imbibing wisdom from every source, sitting at every shrine, tasting every creed. Some would have it that he went to Judea and was moulded for a while by the tradition of the almost socialistic prophets ; and even that he found his way to the banks of the Ganges, and learned the mystic meditations of the Hindus."—(Will Durant.)

RE-WRITING INDIAN HISTORY

By D. P. SINGHAL

Looking at the vast number of publications on Indian history since independence it does not take much prophetic quality to pronounce that the history of India will be soon re-written by Indian scholars expressing their changed outlook. It is, however, apprehended in the western countries, certainly in Britain, that new narratives are, and will continue to be, inspired by nationalistic feelings and aimed at emphasising the evils of the colonial past and the virtues of the precolonial era. Consequently, perhaps, in Britain too one notices a great deal of organised activity both in the fields of research and publications relating to recent India which may appear to have been aimed at cementing firmly the good record of the British. To some extent these patriotic attitudes are true but to accept them as the sole or even dominating motive force would be to miss the whole point of history. The need for re-writing history arises from a variety of reasons and fresh interpretations must not be adjudged to be necessarily tendentious. If an Indian historian criticises a British historian, why should it be regarded as a difference between Indian and British, and not a pure historical controversy between two members of the same profession.

Historians hardly ever agree on interpretation but they generally admit the need for each generation to re-write history. Many of them concede, in fact expect, that their own work will be superseded in due course; historical investigation, consequently, is an unending process. Yet every historian claims to be telling the truth, as no one else has done before, and points out in unmistakeable terms the errors, inconsistencies, omissions, and assumptions, in the writings of his predecessors. This can be explained only by realising that history is not the re-enactment of the past but a recollection of it. This historian is not accounting for what had actually happened but merely narrating what had been recorded or is recording what he thinks posterity would find worthwhile. Thus he has a dual function to perform : to record and to interpret or, in other words, history, as it is available to the reader, is written in two stages. It is humanly impossible for a historian to record everything that happened in the past, even in the narrowest field of his choice. Selection of events for record upon which narratives are based depends upon the sense of judgment of the recorder, who is guided in his assessment by his beliefs, interests and values. Impossibility of summoning the past for direct inspection renders reliance on records complete. No matter how strongly a historian feels about it otherwise, he cannot break through the material preserved for him by someone else. It is, therefore, not surprising that an eminent modern historian, Professor Barraclough, calls history "a series of accepted judgments."

How do we know that the battle of Plassey took place in 1757 ? Because some contemporary writers had said so. As we cannot recall the year 1757 and see it for ourselves we must

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accept the incident as recorded. The involvement of the element of human perception in recording events and interpreting them makes historical narratives, even based on the same data, so varied. Hence a discovery of new material, a change in outlook, values of society brought about by a revolution or advancement of knowledge, must lead to the re-writing of history. Indian history is no exception. The changing concepts of history alone require periodic revisions. History is not what it was a few centuries ago; it certainly has travelled a long way from scrupulously cataloguing events to tracing their causal links. Professor E. H. Carr once observed, "I hope I am sufficiently up to date to recognise that anything written in the 1890s must be nonsense." Then again even in the same period all historians or even most of them do not subscribe to one theory of history. Different historians subscribe to different concepts and their writings carry the imprint of their academic beliefs.

History, therefore, is what historians make of it and claims to complete objectivity must remain untenable and Lord Acton's hope a dream that histories of such impartiality can be written, that can be accepted as satisfactory by every possible reader, whatever his race or creed. It is subjective, however, only to the extent that it carries the stamp of its writer's personality. As long as the story is allowed to unfold itself naturally, without any deliberate distortion or suppression of facts, it is historically an objective account, irrespective of the conclusions drawn. A great editor of the Manchester Guardian, C. P. Scott, once said, "Facts are sacred, opinion is free." Writing history therefore is a task requiring not only high intellectual capabilities but also moral standards. "If the man who writes History" said Kemal Ataturk "is unfaithful to the man who makes it, Truth is betrayed and Mankind pays the penalty."

It is against this background that the re-writing of Indian history must be first considered. The Indian scholars are not altogether concerned with the examination of the British deeds or misdeeds in India but with the historicity of the events historicised. If any omissions or inaccuracies are detected they must be corrected and the writing recast. Unfortunately many British writings on India suffer from certain prejudices based sometimes on personal bias but often on ground-consciousness. Actually [illegible] notion of self-superiority is not only British [illegible] is almost universal. The Greeks regarded [illegible] as barbarians, the Jews looked upon themselves as *the* chosen people and the Chinese suffer [illegible] the illusion that they are the celestial people whereas the rest are devils—either red or black depending on the colour of their skin. This [illegible] of self-righteousness has often coloured historical narratives everywhere. For example let us take the case of the English and the French in the Hundred Years' War. In both countries [illegible] history books aim to create the impression that their own country won the war. Beginning [illegible] the Athenians against the Spartans, the Romans against the Carthaginians, the Greeks against the Persians, the readers of European history are compelled to take sides in practically every major dispute. These prejudices become more apparent when modern happenings are considered, such as the Napoleonic wars and the last two world wars. Even the persistent efforts of the UNESCO to break down the national frontiers from the point of European history have not fully succeeded. At least twice since the conclusion of the second world war some of the British and German historians, after considerable and prolonged mutual consultation, have published common drafts of the causes of the First Word War, yet, both in Britain and Germany, they "aroused a good deal of opposition from critics unable to abandon views which had already hardened into orthodoxy".

Small wonder if the British writings on India carry a strain of nationalism. Even the American scholars, while adopting a radical attitude towards their own revolution against the British and taking quite an independent line on issues of European history, did not seriously question the British interpretation of India. Their interest in India, however, was limited and partial to certain. For instance they refused to admit anything derogatory to the British administration and accepted uncritically that whatever was done under the British auspices in India was for the good of Indians. In recent years their disapproval of the Indian policies, especially in the field of international politics which affect them directly has not made it any easier for them to change their past attitude. On the contrary it has found vigorous expression in their persistent attempts —with notable exceptions—backed by huge financial resources, to trace in present day India

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tinuation of all the oft-quoted evils—caste conflicts, utter social backwardness, incapacity for independent existence, etc.,—and in their reluctance to concede even the obvious progress and change.

Generally speaking the British, convinced of their superiority and accepting the degenerate condition of the eighteenth century India as its normal condition, looked upon their rule as a part of the perennial struggle between West and East, *i.e.*, between liberty and despotism and characterised it as "march of civilisation" in which authoritarianism and political power were employed to dethrone "oriental despotism" to ensure the growth of civilized communities. Seely declared that nothing as great was ever done by Englishmen as the conquest of India, which he classed alone "with the Greek conquest of the East" pointing out that the British who had "a higher and more vigorous civilization than the native races founded the Indian Empire . . . . partly out of a philanthropic desire to put an end to enormous evils" of the "robber-states of India". Even before such a moral basis was given to the British rule in India and the doctrines of guardianship or of trusteeship were evolved, popular historians such as Macaulay and Malleson had explained the British ascendancy in terms of the superiority of British individual or national character. Either the remarkable qualities of people like Clive and Hastings or the inherent virtues of the British race were held responsible for British triumphs. James Mill in his History of British India (1818) declared that the people of Europe, even during the feudal ages, wre greatly superior to the Hindus. Later, at the beginning of this century, Vincent Smith, Dodwell, Coupland and others, more or less wrote in the same strain making it abundantly clear that India would relapse into its old state of degeneration if the firm hand of the benevolent paramount power was withdrawn. "Take away the British raj", said Lord Bryce, "and the idea of unity will vanish like morning mist". Those British writers who took a sympathetic attitude towards India were run down as wicked "Radicals" or "sentimentalists" who hampered the "good work of ruling India". Kipling's wholly misleading, if not mischievous, caricatures of Indian life, wrapped up in literary brilliance, were easily accepted as authentic pen-pictures by the western reader and their influence often could be detected in historical writings, parliamentary speeches and political policies.

Consequently incidents such as the Black Hole of Calcutta and the Cawnpore massacre became typical expressions of Indian history ingeniously used by many writers as examples of oriental cruelty and cunning. Seldom an attempt was made to scrutinize the historicity of Holwell's testimony, around which the fabric of the Black Hole was woven, although he was generally regarded by eminent historians as "untruthful and unscrupulous". Practically all the books on Indian history included a detailed account of the murderous fire opened upon the Europeans on 27th June at Cawnpore, in which only four men had survived to tell the tale. It is not pointed out in these books that a fortnight later when the forces of Havelock retaliated, the massacre was so complete that no Indian lived to tell the tale. A distorted picture was presented not only by suppressing certain facts, but also by contrasting the best aspects of the British culture and contribution with the worst features of the Indian society. The technique of two standards, *i.e.*, to emphasise the merits of one's own side and the defects of the opponents, is quite well-known and well-employed, yet it is wonderfully effective on the non-specialist readership. For example, the burning of widows (sati), and the caste discrimination in India were emphasised repeatedly, and no attempt was made, even for the sake of comparison, to refer to the burning of heretics or orgies of witch-hunting, or to slavery or public hangings in Europe. In parenthesis it must be pointed out that the two are not in the same category. There are differences of dimensions, of callousness, and of effect on society. Of the two Sati was more despicable, dastardly and depraved. No qualms of conscience of their own past deterred the British, however, from pointing out that these evil practices were abolished by the British, for they offended their sense of decency and justice. Little was said of the persistent efforts which the Indians themselves made to root them out. What would have happened to Bentinck's great and undoubtedly praiseworthy efforts without the ardent support and agitation of Ram Mohan Roy before both the Indian public and the British Parliament? On the contrary the history books declare that the Indian Revolt of 1857 was a reaction of orthodoxy in a corrupt society against the enlightened British policy

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of social reform. If there was any good found in Indian society it was proclaimed to have been borrowed from the Greeks. The trigonometric sine was not known to the Greeks and it was in use in India from the third century onwards. Yet for Paul Tannery "the fact that the Indians knew of sines was sufficient proof that they must have heard about them from the Greeks".

British misconceptions about India included religion and science alike. Mystical India was contrasted with practical Britain. No attempt was made to distinguish one phase of Indian society from the other. The Indian contribution to phonetics, grammar, metallurgy, medicine, algebra, chemistry, physics, civil engineering, music, etc., was completely ignored. Even in recent works of history of science no mention is made of Indian scientific tradition. This disregard, however, appears to be more an outcome of ignorance than of design. Such tendentious accounts are not typical of India alone. In fact, all Asian history has suffered in similar ways from European partisanship. A sympathetic western historian, criticising the western attitudes towards the East recently observed that "the man in the western street knows little about the East except what he thinks queer".

It was inevitable that reaction against such partisan historiography should have set in, especially during the period of national consciousness. New ideas and movements were increasingly captivating the Indian mind, and Indians, scholars and others alike, had found new courage to defend themselves against undeserved onslaught which until recently they had been content to ignore. Intense emotions of national pride at times produced equally extreme views, whose historicity was, however, thinly veiled. They upheld the supremacy of their own culture and civilization and tried to belittle the western contribution. Hinduism was defended in all its entirety, and a certain school of its ardent advocates even asserted its supremacy over other religions. Social abuses, such as the caste system were either denied or diluted or rationalised. Even sati was in some ways glorified. The British regime was denounced as rooted in tyranny and exploitation; their military successes were attributed either to treachery, forgery or bribery. Adopting the British technique some historians selected such events for concentrated treatment where the imperialist rule could be shown at its worst. For instance the tragedy of Amritsar in 1919, an unlawful but unarmed assembly of 5,000 Indians were mercilessly fired upon troops of General Dyer. The only exit was ed by the volleys of bullets. Hundreds di more than 1,500 were wounded. There we lying there for two days, dying of thirst, the ground, bleeding to death and nobody after them. These writers, like their nation ers and other freedom-fighters, were co that foreign domination had ruined India mically, politically, culturally and spi The British rule in India was prolonged believed, not so much by their military macy over Indian forces, as by inflicting of psychological inferiority on Indian through the education which had made th brace the very chains that bound them and ed in them the spirit of resistance.

Whatever be the verdict on the histor such writings, it cannot be denied that m them were based upon sound historical r and had undoubtedly given a new imp Indian scholars to investigate their own p themselves. In no small measure it deter tish writers from indulging in flights of p fancies and wild generalisations. These surprisingly paved the way for intensive fic historical research. Dadabhai Naoroji, Datta, Major Basu, Savarkar, Tilak and others can thus be justifiably regarded as runners of modern Indian historiography.

While political conflict were being fo the historical plane, an academic revoluti also going on in the minds of historians were concerned with the historicity of the a and not with either upholding the British or denouncing them. Their task was to the story, without fear or bias, as it unf self. If, in the process of doing so, it trip some toes it was just too bad. Until the s English education Indians did not fully the value of history and its influence on th mind and as such did not write many h accounts. The ancient period of India, wit wealth of extremely rich literary sources, picuous for its lack of historical texts, w exception of Kalhana's Rajatarangini w Kashmir in the twelfth century. The Mu ers during the mediaeval period certainly keener sense of history but it did not much beyond giving an account of royal

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households, military campaigns and religious activities. It certainly establishes a clear chronology of the major political events but little is known of the changing patterns of society. It was not, however, until the expansion of western knowledge and ideas of history that there developed in India a body of historians trained in scientific techniques of historical investigation who began to explore for themselves their own past, which was so far done by the Europeans, and felt the need, as any historian would have, to scurtinize the existing writings on the subject. They include among them such famous names as R. G. Bhandarkar, Raychaudhuri, Sardesai, J. N. Sarkar, S. N. Sen, Nilkanta Sastri, R. C. Majumdar, Panikkar, whose works match European scholarship. It should be pointed out here that in the British camp too there are historians such as Digby, Havell, Thompson, Garratt, Basham, Cantwell-Smith, Boxer, who do not subscribe to the national sentiment and have written history as they have seen it.

As might have been expected, Indian independence from British domination initiated a new stage in Indian historiography and accentuated the growth of historical literature on both sides. In India, for instance, a comprehensive history of India under the general editorship of K. M. Munshi is already on its way; six of the ten projected volumes having been published. Another is being planned by the Indian History Congress of which one volume has come out. The Government of India has officially sponsored a History of the Freedom Movement—the first volume being published last year—and, a history of the 1857 Revolution. The latter, published in 1957, is a remarkable work of historical objectivity. Nothing in Indian history is more productive of national prejudices as the Great Revolt of 1857. An objective account of this uprising was an extremely difficult and delicate task. Yet this feat was achieved by the eminent Indian historian S. N. Sen in his work just called eighteen fifty seven. The outstanding objectivity and profound scholarship of this work were suitably recognised in Britain as is well-indicated in the fact that the Oxford University awarded a D.Litt. to its author —a very rare honour indeed for an Indian scholar. When the reader realises that this work was commissioned and published by the Government of India and carries in its foreword, written by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a nationalistic inter-

pretation, in marked contrast to Sen's dispassionate treatment of the subject, his admiration for the author increases all the more and his belief in the competence of the Indian historian to hold out successfully against any pressure of pride or prejudice.

In this period of post-independence the British scholars—the British Government has comissioned no histories—have shown an unusual interest in recent Indian history as is suggested by a spate of publications by Griffiths, Spare, Mosley, Moon and many others. These writings seem to have been inspired by the urge to perpetuate what was best in the British rule and suggest explicitly or implicitly that modern India is the product of a deliberate enlightened British policy. It is of some significance that the British series of Indian History—the Cambridge History of India, which is being revised will have all British contributors and the Indian series—the History and Culture of the Indian People—will be entirely a work of Indian scholarship. Yet among both sets of editors and historians are men who sincerely advocate the need for objective writing without any nationalist considerations and enjoy supremacy in the field of their own interest. It is difficult, therefore, to believe that joint enterprise has been precluded on both sides for reasons other than nationalistic? When one looks a little further at the publications, at books which are widely displayed and distributed and those which are reviewed in the western press upheld or criticised and examines them carefully, several patterns emerge one of which would certainly appear to be national bias.

Under the stimulus of this national conflict, however, interest in history has grown steadily and led to a re-examination of it and to the discovery of some very valid reasons for revision. The British interest in India was mainly confined to their own activities which led them to produce, even at their best, history with an Anglo-centric character. Indian history was written as if it were a footnote or an appendix to the history of Britain. Certainly it is mainly written by the retired British administrators and is largely political and administrative. It is mainly either an account of the dynasties and kings of particular reigns or a description of British factories and trading posts, or a narrative of their policies and organisation. Consequently it is local, narrow, and perhaps in some respects e.g. the

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British trading activities, too specialist, but often dull and uninteresting. Indian history if viewed as the growth of various peoples in various phases of human development would, no doubt, make a fascinating study, but if we continue to understand it in political terms, it is bound to be dull and lopsided. The history of India, which has been the cradle of some of the principal religions of the world and of a major and most ancient civilization (as well as the scene of vast empires), must be an account of social and cultural development, and not primarily a political history. It must be much more than merely an account of revenue systems, administrative reforms and military campaigns. Take these out of Indian history books and very little will be left. Not only the new versions must remove such lopsidedness but also analyse the thought processes of Indians which distinguished their actions from others. India's part in the development of human thought, civilization and institutions has to be comparatively studied and a serious investigation undertaken to explain scientifically the arrested growth of Indian society during the medieval and pre-modern periods.

Again Indian history must be viewed within a broader human framework. Unless the historical developments in India are inter-related with other countries, its full significance cannot be realised. The scope of Indian history has to be widened, and the evolution of social and cultural forces in one region have to be related to movements in other parts of Asia, and, finally, to the development of human civilisation. It may appear at present somewhat of a remote possibility for even the history of Europe,in spite of the efforts of Jacob Burchhart and Acton, has barely been lifted from a collection of narratives of component units. But a start has got to be made.

The British, necessarily, looked upon India from outside and their view was that of a bystander, which in some ways is a valuable viewpoint but it is essential to look at India from within. As action is inseparably linked with thought, an Indian is better placed to get into the thought processes of his ancestors or contemporaries and analyse the events or policies with greater accuracy. Imaginative understanding of the peoples under discussion is the most essential pre-requisite of history-writing. British writings were mainly meant for western readers; now Indians must re-write these accounts to ... them inteligible to Indian, as well as non-I... readers. Some periods and areas of I... history have been better studied than others, example north India, for a variety of re... The gaps must be filled and once they are ... the whole picture may well appear differe...

For these and for other reasons re-writi... Indian history is being undertaken both in I... and outside. Many European scholars have ... the effort and are rendering valuable assi... to Indian scholars. In recent years ... American scholars have also entered the ... but their main interest, because of their in... ment in world politics, is confined to co... porary history and their traditions of his... writing in this field is, in any case, still i... formative stages.

The problems involved in re-writing I... history are, however, varied and enor... Indians will soon be faced with the task ... evolving their own historical categories. Wh... we adopt the commonly used western di... of periods—ancient, medieval and modern—... the sake of general convenience and conf... or devise a new system based upon consi... tions of changes in society and its eco... patterns or something else, is in itslf not a ... vital question. A good deal of discussion, at ... quite unrelenting, has taken place am... scholars on this point and to the present wr... most of it seems rather immaterial. Labels ... not as important as contents as long as we ... on some kind of uniform practice.

The most formidable difficulty ho... emanates from the scarcity of material on ... Indian side. Historians, are absolutely limited ... their sources. Indians, surprisingly, until rec... did not realise the value of preserving histo... records and hence did not care to preserve ... Much of whatever little was kept has been ... This gap has got to be filled by constant se... for new materials in the private archives ... Indian princes, merchant houses, temple re... and by a more thorough scrutiny of the hi... writings in local languages. It places a ... burden on the already overstrained fina... resources of the country, but both the Go... ment and the people must realise that histo... studies can be neglected only at the grave ... of severely damaging the growth of ide... risk which no country can afford to unde...

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No amount of economic planning and techological advancement can compensate for the advantages of historical studies. One of the most difficult tasks of the historian in India may well be to make his countrymen history minded in this age of technocracy. Meanwhile judicious use of existing materials tackled from a different angle, and a comparative study of the archives of different European powers—the interests of the Dutch, the British, the French, the Portuguese and other overlapped in certain areas and all these powers have kept records—should produce fresh and valuable interpretations. For this, evidently, Indian scholars will have to acquire suitable linguistic equipment and adequate financial backing either to visit archives in the European countries, where most of the materials are preserved, or to acquire their microfilm copies, which too is an expensive affair. Centralisation of historical materials, however, is somewhat a common problem to most historians and money is the only answer, wherever it may come from. In fact Indian history tackled by an Indian from a variety of European angles may well produce some very interesting narratives and may even give a new diamension to the study. New tools of investigation, such as archeology and anthropology especially for the understanding of earlier periods, will have to be increasingly used, tlthough even they cannot produce drastically altered versions unless some new materials are brought to light.

Most important of all would be to build a sound tradition of historical scholarship in India. There is no Institute or School for historical research or any well-laid programme for it as there are in other countries. We have in our country, as has been stated above, some very brilliant historians and some equally promising scholars, and a number of laboriously done research publications are constantly enriching historical literature, yet our historical research is scattered, uncoordinated, unsystematic and uncertain. Indian scholars generally do a lot of hard work, collect most useful data, but often neglect to sift the material, assess it properly, and arrange their findings in order of relative importance. The tendency is to include in the narratives as much data as possible rather than reject the non-essential. Their historical discussions are often brilliant but the verdict indecisive. The result is often extremely useful and praiseworthy but seldom definitive. Hesitant brilliance or timid scholorship can hardly command respect and attention.

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KAHLIL GIBRAN

By Sri KUBER NATH RAY

Kahlil Gibran, an Arabic Poet of our century has been characterised by the critics as one of the truimvirate on the modern literary scene of Asia, the other two being Tagore of India and Na-gu-chi of Japan. They represent the voice-Soul with the whole range of its colourful spectrum, though the average green modernist of our universities would not prefer to call them 'religious'. Certainly none of them is 'communal', but to call them 'secular' is to devaluate them, though it is being done in the case of our modern-poets like Rabindranath and Subrahamnyam Bharati by those so called 'progressives' who behave like a guilty thing surprised at the very word 'religious' or 'Bhakti', 'Vaishnavite' etc. though they appreciate T. S. Eliot for his Roman Catholic back-ground.

The Near East is a land of prophets. Kahlil Gibran was born in one part of the Near East that is called Lebanon. He wrote mainly in Arabic but almost a dozen of his works are available in English too, some of them translated by the poet himself. The chief among his works are : 'The Madman' (1918), 'The Prophet' (1932), 'Jesus the Prophet' (1933), 'Nymphs of Valley' (1942), 'A Tear and a Smile' (1950). He travelled throughout Europe and America and in the last part of his life settled permanently in the U.S.A. That is why in his poetry we find the desert-and-vineyard images of Arabic and Persian stock accompanied by the Northern imagery of sea and mist. His two works 'The Prophet' and 'The Garden of the Prophet' are among the most widely read books of our time. Their majesty of feeling and the spiritual warmth have been recognised by the West too. One of the outstanding critics A.E. (George Russel), the famous Irish poet and dramatist, writes : "I do not think the East has spoken with so beautiful a voice since Rabindra Nath Tagore.... I have not seen for ye a more beautiful book in its thought, when reading it, I understood it better ever before what Socrates meant beauty of thought which exercises a de enchantment than beauty of form."

The spiritual reservoir of Gibr poetic fire is the great tradition of his lands, the Hebrew prophets, the Neo-tonics of the Alexandrian school, the torian teachers of the pre-Islamic era above all the Moslem sufis of Arabia Persia, in short the whole of the Eas the Islamic penumbra. Besides this, poetry contains the Aryan temper of Hi and Greek thoughts, e.g., the cyclic vie the universe and creation, the rebirth immortality of soul and the like. In f not only Gibran but Sufism, in general indebted to Hindu and Greek sources the above factors. Sufism in its origin independent of Islam and perhaps it older than Islam. During the life-ti of the Prophet Mahammad we traces of well-organised Sufi-groups. C mystic Sufi nun Rabbia is referred to by teachers of early Islam. For a long ti the orthodox theology of Islam did not c onise Sufism because the latter does accept any prophet as mediator betwe God and the devotee, while in the former is a necessary condition. Mansoor and S mad were beheaded by the ortho authorities for saying 'An-Al-Hugue' (I He) which became a slogan of later culture. In fact it was the genius of Isl al Guzzali (10th century) which brou synthesis between the two, and since a Sufism became an integral part of Isl As to the origin of Sufism, it is one those knotty problems of history which doomed to remain undecided for ever. one fact is now more or less accepted it was influenced by Neo-platonism, Hebr

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thoughts and Hindu ideas. Kahlil Gibran's poetry inherits all these and represents a grand synthesis of all.

The Sufi protagonist of 'the Garden of the Prophet', one Alimustafa, speaks to his disciples in the presence of the rising sun:

"The image of morning sun in a dew-drop is not less than the Sun. The reflection of life in your soul is not less than Life.

"The dewdrop mirrors the light because it is one with light and you reflect life because you and Life are one.

"Shall a dew-drop say, 'But once in thousand years I am even a dew-drop', speak you and answer it saying: Know you not, the light of all years is shining in your circle?"

Here we find Gibran expressing the very core of Sufism. According to Sufism the universe is a mirror in which God looks into Her face (as Sufi takes God for Eternal La Belle Dame or Beloved), that is, world is reflection of God. A Sufi further feels oneness with all the objects of Nature as they also share his ecstacy and restlessness and passion for 'Her' (The God). In all the living beings God's self is projected and this projection is called 'being' or 'Ruh', (or 'Jivatma' as a Hindu would call it) which is, evidently, nothing but image of God caused by that act of projection. It is natural for Ruh to feel urge towards its original source, that is, God. Neo-Platonists call this creative aspects of God, 'Nous' or 'Logus' (a term used by Aristotle), which projects ideas and souls on the formless matter and thus the phenomenal world comes into existence. This 'Nous' is the source of all the individual souls. This extension of Plantonic philosophy is the bed rock of Christian and latter Sufi-Moslem philosophies. Sufis restate the same fact in a poetic way. The rhetorics of the expression differs, fact remaining loyal to its source—tradition.

This Sufism-cum-Neo-platonic standpoint is the main force of Gibran's intellectual background. Let us take another example.

"In your waking dreams when you are hushed and listening to your 'deeper self' our thoughts like snowflakes fall and flutter and garment all the sounds of your spaces with white silence."

This 'deeper self' is nothing but what Sufis call 'qualib' (conscience) in which 'Quibla' (God or the Holy stone 'Asabad' which is symobl of God) exists, and this qualib in our body itself is the Quaba. One need not go to Mecca for God, as everything is inside: This is what every sufi says.

Further, writes Gibran:

"All thing shall melt and turn into song when Spring comes. Even stars, the vast snowflakes that fall slowly upon the larger fields shall melt into singing streams. When the Sun of his face shall arise above the horizon, which frozen symmetry would not turn into a liquid melody? And, who among you would not be the cup-bearer to the myself and the laurels?"

Here God's Beauty is shown one with Nature. Man is urged to be a cup-bearer (Saqui) to this Beauty. Object of devotion in Sufi tradition is taken to be Feminine, so the sentiment of devotion was, or is, sensuously amorous and erotic. Here Kahlil Gibran has made free use of the traditional sufi-imagery. The amorous sentiment by the poet is kept intact, but the formal relation of images is reversed. The 'She' of traditional sufi poetry becomes here 'He' and so the Saqui is the man himself. There is another formal distinction from old sufi poets like Hafiz, Rumi and Attar. The traditional symbols of sufi poetry were of vineyard stock, i.e. wine, wine-creeper, cup, lips and the associated images like glances and smiles, nightingales and roses, etc. But in Gibran's poetry we find clouds and snowflakes, mist and dewdrop and sea-foam and waves, blue and white, and so on. These images come from his personal impressions and they sometimes fit better than the traditional images. Let us take one example of 'Oropand-sea-imagery' which express the above referred philosophy 'Emanation of soils from Nous'.

"It was but yesterday that you were with the moving sea and you were shoreless and without a self. Then wind, the breath of life, wove you a veil of light on her face and her hand gathered you up and gave

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you form and with a head held high you sought the heights. But the sea followed after you, and her song is still with you. And though you have forgotten your parentage, she will ever assert her motherhood and forever she will call you unto her.

"In your wonderings among the mountains and the desert you will always remember the depth of her cool heart. And though ten times you will not know what you long for, it is indeed for her vast and rythmic peace."

This is the voice of Arif ('Prajna' or supermind), which feels the urgency of Haquiquat (the truth of the Beautitude or the Grand Union). These ideas are as old as the Vedas. According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the birth place of philosophy is India not Greece and there were well-developed systems of Upanishadic Vedant and Samkhya (in germs at least) long before Buddha. (Introduction: 'History of philosophy: Eastern and Western', Longmans). Considering the facts that there was a regular commerce between Egypt, Sumeria, Babylone, Greece, etc. and this Indian sub-continent from the day of Indus-valley culture; and that Persian culture, specially that of Pahlavas', (whose high piping "Pehlvi" is referred to by Omar Khayyam) was inter-twined with Indian Culture from the Pre-Buddhist era, it is not un-convincing that the Vedanta, Pythagoras, Plato and Sufism are the various scions of the same original stock, whose root is the Veda, the oldest available vistas of our human race.

Catholicity of Kahlil Gibran is further expressed in many of his poems where he speaks, in clever terms, about ideas like prenatal existence, rebirth and immortality of soul preached by Hindus and Greeks. Rebirth or the cycle-of-birth-and-death is Christianity. Gibran writes in one of his poems:

"A thousand times shall my father and mother be buried here (in this garden) and a thousand times shall the wind bury the seeds, and a thousand years hence you and I and these flowers shall come together in the garden even as now, and we shall be, loving life; we shall be dreaming of s... and we shall be rising towards the su...

This cyclic view of life is the out... of Gibrans' Catholic sensibility which ... characteristic of our un-orthodox centur...

* * * * *

A very significant point in the m... experience of the poets of Sufi school ... Bhakti school, is the relative absence of ... Christian mystics call the Dark Nigh... soul. It is a stage in which old sensit... the sensory and perceptive systems of ... mer parts of the life have been destro... while new spiritual sensibility has not ta... place or evolved in the mind. This s... of passive sensibility or insensibility ... called the Dark Night of soul or the De... of soul in the language of mystics. ... devotee at this stage becomes insensible ... pain and pleasure both. Inability to ... anything is worse than feeling pain. S... such a stage, pain also is welcomed as a re... as it gives the pleasure of feeling somet... —and Christ, the Tiger, is sought to in... pain and bruises on the devotee, the vic... of His love. Thus sadism intrudes in ... aura of spiritual feelings. In orie... mysticism, its psychological background ... ing different, this stage is left almost a... moot point. In the poetry of Kahlil Gibr... too we find almost nothing which can be ... lated to this. In his mystic experience th... are expressions of restlessness, the sense ... unspent spiritual force in the soul, like ... arrow on a stretched bow, and a str... wistfulness for Fana (the Great union). ... all these are positive aspects of mystic s... sibility, while the above referred stage (... Dark Night) represents a negative one. ... us take one example.

"And the night waxed deep; and ... mustafa was dark with the night; ... spirit was as a cloud unspent. He c... again:—

"Heavy laden is my soul with her ... fruits—would I were a tree flowerless ... fruitless. **For the pain of abundance** ... more bitter than barrenness.

"And the sorrow of the rich from wh... none will take is far grater than grief ... the poor whom none would give."

This 'pain of abundance', this wish...

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ness for release of the abundance is quite different from the desert barrenness of the Dark Night of soul which is much talked of, and much glorified in the Occidental mysticism.

* * * * *

Gibran in some of his poems, has expressed the final stage of Sufi spiritual activity (i.e. 'Fana' or the Great union) not through traditional symbols of 'lover and beloved' or 'cup and lips' but through the elemental imagery of universal forces of nature, and thereby combining Sufism with Nature-mysticism. For example :

"O Mist, my sister, my sister Mist
I am one with you now.
No longer I am a self
The walls have fallen
The chains have broken
I rise to you, Mist
And together we shall float upon the sea
Until life's second day when dawn shall lay you in a garden
And me babe upon the breast of a woman."

Here is the Sufi Wordsworth speaking of relations of soul in the context of "formless and elemental" Nature and speaking of the life beyond the heavenly life after the death, that is of rebirth. The he of the Lake-District was confined to the primary level of Nature mysticism, to the moonlight, flowers and colours of this life only, which everybody can feel. But Gibran's is colourless and transparent belonging to a formless state in which an object is only in elemental condition, only one step further from the primary Matter. Wordsworth's mysticism is 'Sagun' while Gibran's is 'Nirgun', if we are allowed to use our own terminology.

* * * * *

Besides this mystic appeal in Gibran's poetry we find a love for aphorism and fables (Niti-katha) in which he expresses the diamond-cut-experiences of his own life, with classical simplicity and clarity. This reminds us of the mannerism and style of 'the Bostan' and 'the Gulistan' of Sheikh Sadi, the great classics of Arabic literature. Another characteristic of Gibran's speech is its sermon-like quality which is perhaps an outcome of his devotion to 'Alkoran' and the Holy Bible. The following lines are akin to the fiery message of Hebrew prophets, in tone and gestures ; and they have a message not only for the Arabic world but also for the Indians of our time :

"Pity the nation that is full of beliefs and empty of religion.

"Pity the nation that wears a cloth it does not weave, eats, a bread it does not harvest, and drinks a wine that does not flow from its own wine presses.

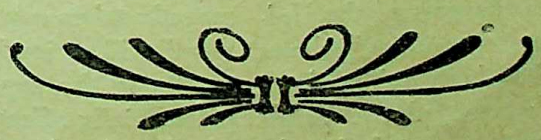
"Pity the nation that acclaims the bully as a hero, and deems the glittering conqueror bountiful.

"Pity the nation that raises not its voice save when it walks in funeral, boasts not except among its ruins, and will rebel not save when its neck is laid between the sword and the block.

"Pity the nation whose sages are dumb and whose strongmen are in the cradle.

"Pity the nation devided in fragments, each fragment deeming itself a nation."

N.B. :—The qutraians herein, belong chiefly to Gibrans' master-piece : 'The Garden of the Prophet'.



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MODERN REVIEW FIFTY YEARS AGO

University Lecturers And Politics

One could heartily support the dictum of the Government if were merely laid down that educational institutions must not be turned into political institutions, though even then one would wonder at the inconsistency of the powers that be in allowing Aligarh College to be a hot bed of anti-Congress politics while tabooing the views promulgated by the Congress party.

In modern times people very reasonably pay as much attention to politics as in the middle ages their ancestors did to religion. And all forms of political activity are no more harmful than are sorts of religious beliefs and doings beneficial. One main object of education is to turn out good citizens, not cloistered monks. Therefore to produce an atmosphere of "pure study", supposing it could be done, would not be a laudable object. Not that we want a professor of mathmatics or of English literature to lecture to his class on communal representation, or the evidence of Covenanted Civilians before the public Service Commission, or the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Contempt Case. What we want is that a sound mathematician or a ripe English scholar should not be disqualified for a professorship because of his political views or activity, so long as they are within the bounds of the law. We also think it indispensably necessary that politics should be a subject of serious University study for advanced students and lectures thereon should include within the range of their discussion inportant contemporaneous political questions.

The Calcutta University Senate's reply to the letter communicating to the University the order of the Government of India in the matter of the appointment or reappointment of certain gentlemen nominated as University lecturers by the Senate, follows the lines of the resolutions passed at the Senate meeting held to consider the subject. The letter is a long one. It proves that there has not been any irregularity on the part of the University for the "Government to condone," shows that the Government itself has been guilty of unconscionable delay in its correspondence, points out that the new procedure suggested in the Government letter for the appointment of lecturers is impracticable, and says that a further communication will be addressed to the Government regarding the question raised in Mr. Rasul's ... Mr. Shurwardy's letters as to the ... of the order of the Government of India.

On the question of the desirability or ... wise of politicians becoming University lectur... the Senate, through its Registrar, delivers ... as follows :—

"The second matter with which I am dire... by the Senate to deal, relates to the principle ... which University Lecturers should be appo... in future. In the third paragraph of your l... it is stated that His Excellency the Gover... General-in-Council does not consider it desir... to appoint as University Lecturers men who h... recently taken a prominent part in political m... ments and it is added that it is in strict accord... with the higher views of university teaching ... the development of universities which are ... generally accepted, that an atmosphers of ... study should be fostered by all means. The Se... desire me to point out that the principle, in ... way it has been formulated, indicates the a... tion of a new policy by the Government of I... and that before this new policy was promulga... the Senate might well have been afforded ... opportunity to express their opinion upon a q... tion so vitally affecting the University, its lectur... and its students. Apart from these circumstan... the Senate desire me to urge that the principle ... self has been formulated with needless genera... The Senate respectfully submit that, although ... ing a prominent part in a political move... would be a disqualification in a Lecturer, if e... the part taken was an improper part or ... movement itself is an objectionable movement, ... the mere fact of taking a prominent part (thou... perfectly honourable) in a political move... (though wholly unobjectionable) ought not to ... a ground of disqualification. The Senate e... tain grave apprehension that the unqualified a... tion of the principle that it is not "desirable ... appoint as University Lecturers men who h... recently taken a prominent part in political m... ment" will seriously hamper the action of the U... versity in the appointment of Lecturers, and ... prejudicially affect, in many instances, the inte... of education by depriving the University of ... services of exceptionally competent men. ... Senate consequently deem it their duty to appr... His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Co...

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with a request to reconsider the matter and to alter or qualify the decision mentioned in your letter. It ought not to be overlooked in this connection that the University Lecturers undertake the instruction of Post Graduate students and that the students themselves are young men at least 21 years old, who are fairly well educated and may be deemed to possess some judgment and discretion. Whatever restrictions may be considered desirable in the case of teachers in charge of boys in Schools or youth just admitted to Colleges, similar limitations obviously cannot be reasonably applied to the case of Univrsity Lecturers appointed to deliver courses of lectures to grown up graduates. The Senate are not able to discover that any such restriction are applied in British or German Universities, or that Professors or Lecturers in those Universities are excluded on the ground that they have recently taken a prominent part in political movements. Indeed, the literal application of the far too comprehensive principle formulated in your letter would lead to the position that a University Lecturer cannot be permitted, even in times of exceptional ferment and excitement, to make strenuous efforts, by speeches or by his writings, to wean the rising generation of young men on the side of established authority, order and discipline. The Senate feel confident that this could never have been intended by the Government of India.

The Modern Review, August, 1913

* * *

Bengal Public Opinion On The New Educational Policy

Inspite of the almost cyclonic weather, the Calcutta Town Hall meeting, held on the 28th July to consider the new educational policy of the Government of India was a great success. The gathering was very large and thoroughly representative of all sects and communities of the people of Bengal. All parts of Bengal were represented by delegates coming from almost all the important towns of the Presidency. This great meeting had been preceded by mass meetings held in the public squares of Calcutta and its suburbs and meetings in the mofussil. Raja Peary Mohan Mukherjee occupied the chair. As Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh said in proposing the Raja to the Chair, the Raja was the acknowledged leader of the landed aristocracy of the province. The educated classes also were proud of the Raja as he was the oldest living graduate of the Calcutta University. As a member of the Senate for years, he had taken a most active part in all questions relating to education. Raja Peary Mohan was, therefore, pre-eminently qualified to preside over the meeting.

The gravity of the situation created and the intensity of the public feeling roused by the new educational policy of the Government are indicated by the President's confession that "Failing health, decaying capacity to do any serious work and inability to bear the strain of a crowded public meeting had well nigh deterred me from taking a part in the deliberations of this momentous meeting,—and to palsied indecisions of the evening of life, exclaim. 'Avaunt perplexity',—questions in respect of which a man's obligations last, to use the words of Longfellow 'till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.' Despite my wearied limbs and faltering steps, I take my stand before you as a representative of the future, and invoke Divine blessings on our filial enddeavour to rescue from peril our 'bounteous Mother,' and the cause of education generally."

He went on to say :—

"Great is the occasion that has brought us together from all the four quarters of united Bengal. It affects the education of the youth of Bengal now and hereafter. The contemplated changes in the policy of Government have excercised the mind of the whole nation, Hindus and Mahommedans, and created a general feeling of the gravest alarm. For the first time in the history of education in Bengal the University Act of 1904 set up the Executive Government above the body corporate of the Universities and officialized them in internal constitution and in their external relations; but even the bare semblance of control and authority which was left to the University under Lord Curzon's Act is now sought to be done away with. The proposed University of Dacca which, like the lean kine in the Pharao's dream, threatens to eat up the fat ones, is to be a department of the State, and the withdrawal from the University its power of recognition of Secondary Schools and the substitution of the School Final for the Matriculation examination will complete the process. It is hard to make out what the University has done to deserve this treatment. One should have thought that it has deserved richly both of the Government and the country, that it has achieved singular success in fostering the growth of an efficient and beneficent system of

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education, that it has enforced in secondary schools discipline, method, organization—all that go to secure a high standard of efficiency, that on the selection of text books they have brought to bear the varied knowldge, erudition and experience of a body of learned men and educationists, that in arriving at the conclusion of debatable question they have invariably safeguarded their action by full discussion by opposing reason to reason and argument to argument, that the very nature of its corporate existence enables it to maintain a continuity of policy and a standard of perfection quite impossible and hardly ever attainable under the administration of an ever-changing body of officers temporarily placed in power. The wrong and injustice which the contemplated changees in the educational policy of the Government will inflict on the community is no less conspicuous. Who among us do not know that it was a number of Hindu gentlemen and not the Government of the country who, as the real pioneers of English education in Bengal, took up 'the task eternal and the burden and the lesson' and that the old Hindu School and a number of smaller educational institutions owed their existence seolely to private munificence? It was Lord Hardinge's famous Minute of 1844 that gave the greatest impetus to private enterprise in the matter of spread of education. Under the aided system inaugurated by him, even the remotest corners of the country were studded with schools. In the fifties of the last century my late father took up the cue and established 31 schools in his estates in one day, and he was not alone in the field and the schools those pioneers sowed broadcast produced their own crop of men thirsting for knowledge and craving for culture. It was therefore, no misreading the history of the development of education in Bengal which led the Education Commission of 1883 to recommend the encouragement of private effort and the withdrawal of the State from the direct provision and management of education,—especially of higher education in India. We have every reasonable ground, therefore, for taking it upon ourselves to enter our unqualified protest against the unwisdom and injustice of the contemplated changes in the educational policy of the Government. We cannot too confidently pray Government to vindicate the watchword of hope and the message of a new life and high and still higher ideals which only two years ago we had the honour of receiving from His Imperial Majesty the K... Emperor's own lips."

The first resolution ran as follows and ... moved by Babu Bhupendranath Basu, secon... by Maulavi Wahed Hussain and supported ar... others, by Mr. Sharif.

"That this meeting records its respe... but firm protest against the policy of the Gove... ment of India to exclude persons who h... prominently participated in recent poli... movements, without reference to the chara... of such movements, from being engaged ... University Lecturers; the meeting is of opi... that such a policy involves an undesir... restriction on the exercise of the valued ri... of citizenship and, if enforced, will in pra... be found detrimental to the interests of ed... tion by keeping out some of the best men f... the field of educational work in this country."

The second resolution, moved by Princ... Heramba Chandra Maitra, was to the effect:

"That this meeting, while thanking ... Government of India for its desire to extend ... application of the principle of free Elemen... Education records its deliberate conviction t... some of the principles advocated in the Res... tion of 21st February, 1913 in regard to Prim... Education will, in their practical work... materially add to the cost of Primary Educa... and thus tend to restrict its progress; and t... meeting urges the Government to give grea... prominence to the necessity of extending Prim... Education with a view to its being made i... mately free and compulsory than to the ques... of raising its standard and quality in the pres... stage of progress. This meeting is of opinion t... there is no ground for the suggestion that ... multiplication of schools is not an urgent prob... in this Presidency and prays that the Gove... ment will be pleased to formulate in cons... tion with non-official leading men and repre... tative associations in the Presidency a def... scheme of Primary Education. This meeting ... further of opinion that having regard to ... special circumstances of this Presidency a ... ginning should be immediately made in ... introduction of free and compulsory educa... in selected areas in Bengal."

Mr. B. Chakravarti moved the third res... tion which was as follows:

"That this meeting deplores the refusal ... the Government of India to accept the

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commendations of the Calcutta University for the affiliation of Colleges upto certain standards as in the case of Ananda Mohan College (Mymensingh) and protests against the policy of unnecessary interference with the administration of the University as tending to bring the Universities and the system of hgher education in the country more completely under official control to the serious detriment of the best interests of education."

The fourth resolution, moved by Babu Ambica Charan Majumdar, seconded by Dr. Nilratan Sircar, and supported, among others, by Maulavis Fazluddin and Azizur Rahman, ran as follows :

"That in the opinion of this meeting there is no necessity for the introduction of the School Final Examination and dpriving the University of its control over Secondary Education, either as an alternative to or as a substitute for the Matriculation Examination."

Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea moved the following resolution in an eloquent speech :

"That this meeting views with alarm and anxiety the proposal of the Government of India to transfer the power of recognition of Secondary Schools for the purpose of the Matriculation Examination from the University to the Local Government and urges the abandonment of the proposal on the following among other grounds:

(a) That there is no justification for the proposed change, in as much as the University has never asked to be relieved of this work and has performed it with a measure of discrimination and efficiency which has won for it the respect and the confidence of the public and the approbation of the Government;

(b) That the Schools being the feeders of the Colleges it is necessary and desirable that the authority that controls the Colleges should supervise the instruction given in the schools, thus interlinking the Secondary and the University education together;

(c) That while in Bengal the majority of the Schools have been founded and are being maintatined by private effort, the proposals of the Government of India will place these schools entirely under Government control and their recognition will vest in a department of the Government which will delibearete in secret like other departments of the Government without the aid of popular representatives who now, as members of the Senate, take part in such deliberations;

(d) That under the existing system the Department of Education has the fullest opportunity of stating its views upon any question of recognition and it is essential that the final decision should be with a body like the Senate which, even as at present constituted, is not likely to be guided by any views othr than educational and which deliberates in public with the aid of popular representatives."

We are sorry that there was no resolution on the policy foreshadowed in the Government Resolution as regards the education of girls. The Government has laid down that "the services of women should be more freely enlisted for instruction and inspection," but has said nothing regarding the higher education and training of *pure blooded* Indian women for the profession of teaching. Government, indeed, says that "The difficulty of obtaining competent school mistresses is acutely felt in many parts of the country," but the only suggestion made to meet that difficulty is contained in the following sentence : "In this connection it has been suggested that there is a large opening for women of the domiciled community who have a knowledge of the vernacular and who might be especially trained for the purpose."

God save us from the knowledge of the vernacular possessed by Eurasian Women ! While they may prove useful adjuncts to the C.I.D., it is not clear how their personalities, social status and social ideals will help in the moulding of the characters of Hindu and Musalman girls and hold before them inspiring ideals of womanhood. Like every other class of human beings, Eurasians may have a bright future if rightly guided; but at present they are a distinctly inferior class, unfit to supply teachers to the Hindu and the Musalman community. We regret, therefore, that our leaders have been blind to the dangers lurking in the suggestion contained in the Government Resolution

The Modern Review, September, 1913

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

THE PRINCE OF PEACE IN THE SPACE AGE : *By Dr. Mithrapuram K. Alexander, Dubuque, Iowa : Wm. C. Brown Boow Co., 1962. $ 2.75*

Here is an exciting book by the India-born scholar, Dr. M. K. Alexander, Adviser to the United Nations Volunteer Educational Unit, and Co-ordinator for the Humanities Course at the Arkansas A. M. and N. College. A member of the Mar Thoma Church of South India, the author sketches in bold strokes the relevance of the teachings of the Prince of Peace to our Space Age. I have always maintained that only an Indian Christian scholar can do justice to the beauty of Jesus' teachings and derive proper insights from the life of Jesus and the story of the Christian Church. Christians of the Western world are apt to be narrow and parochial in their outlook and ethnocentric in their treatment of "the Church Militant."

Free from the fetters of theological dogma, Dr. Alexander succeeds in imparting to the reader an insight into the rich heritages and contributions of other world religions besides Christianity. And in the shape of things to come a hundred years hence, he visualizes the formation and operation not only of a world Council of Churches embracing all the communions of Christianity but also of a Federal Council of Religions as "a formidable bulwark against the floodtides of aetheism, materialism, corruption." (p. 164).

His appreciation of the American social heritage and of America's role in the making of the new world order is most welcome. Quoting Walt Whitman, the Poet Laureate of Democracy, "O America ! because you build for mankind, I build for you," he recounts the story of America's war against "poverty, disease, ignorance" in underdeveloped and developing countries.

Approaching the problems of inter-racial as well as international relations from the stan point of the humanities rather than from the stan point of the social sciences, the author arri at conclusions thoroughly in harmony with findings of sociology, anthropology and politi science.

Dr. Alexander took an active part in Indi struggle for freedom under Mahatma Gandh leadership and acted as one of its spokesmen the U.S.A. under Gandhi's wings. He spe some time at Sevagram and studied Gandh program of Nai Talim (New Education).

Author of several books on Philosophy a Religion and of a textbook on the Humaniti Dr. Alexander has in this book made a distin contribution to our understanding of the role *The Prince of Peace in the Space Age*. His optimism concerning the future is an effectiv antidote to the gloomy predictions of the prophe of doom.

(Dr.) Haridas T. Muzumdar

THE GURAZADA SOUVENIR : *Publishe by the Gurazada Centenary Committee, Andh Pradesh, Hyderabad. 21.9.62. Rs. 2.00.*

Thirteen writers who knew Gurazada Appa rao have given a full picture of this educationist social reformer, poet and playwright who wa born in Andhra just a century ago. Though fra in health, Apparao's superior mind produce Telegu poetry and play which at once put hi in the forefront of public life. His social drama Kanyasulkam is still useful and its cinema ver sion is widely popular in the whole of Sou India. Many of his writings are texts in college and schools.

Apparao passed away in 1915, but hi memory is being cherished with reverence. Th Souvenir is well-produced and is full of photo graphs. Andhra Pradesh knows how to commemo rate its leaders.

M. Gupta

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PEARLS OF WISDOM : *By D. S. Sarma. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, pages 244. Price Rs. 2|-.*

Prof. Sarma has devoted his life-time of thought and reflection on the fuundamental problems of religious philosophy—particularly the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. In the present book he has selected passages according to their subject matters not only from the *Upanishads* but also from the *Bhagavad Gita* and arranged them in the form of separate chapters.

The book has been divided into three parts —Part I contains besides introduction (23 pages) chapters on Faith, Reason and Knowledge, God's Creation, Man, Natural and Social, The Beginning of Religious Life—Rituals and Myths, Mental and Moral Development, Virtues and Vices and The Law of Karma and Re-birth. Part II contains chapters on Union through action (*Karma Yoga*) Union through devotion (*Bhakti-Yoga*), Union through meditation (*Dhyana-Yoga*), Union through knowledge (*Jnana-Yoga*), God Manifest and Unmanifest (Brahman) and The Self, Individual and Universal (*Atman*). Part III contains chapters on The World of Spirit (*Brahma Lok*), The Mystic Syllable, The Mystic Oneness, Self-realization, Songs of Bliss and finally, such miscellaneous pearls of wisdom as are scattered throughout the *Upanishads* and the *Gita* but could not find them in other chapters. Notes on the Extracts have been given at the end for the benefit of readers.

At the beginning of each chapters he has given the subject matter followed by relevant quotations in Nagri Script and their translation in English.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, has written a 'foreword' for this book and in his words "The Pearls of Wisdom"—has a message not only to our people but also to others. It is my earnest hope that the book written under great disabilities by its distinguished author, will be read widely.

A. B. DUTTA

BASIC HISTORY OF MODERN GERMANY : *By Louis L. Snyden. Eurasia Publishing House Private Ltd., New Delhi-1, pages 191. Price Rs. 2.50 nP.*

The history of Germany is the story of constant struggle of the continental Teutons for a compromise between uniformity and disruption. The theme of this book is a story of dichotomy, particularism and divergency. For a thousand years the Germans tried to have a golden mean between centralism and disruption. Until 1871 there was nothing called 'Germany' but Germanies.

Although Germany played an important role in Europe and world history, it was never a typically European nation. Even the great French Revolution and negligible effects on the Germanies. The ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity had no firm root in German people and German rulers were despots of the East with a thin layer of constitutionalism of the West. The twin flows of liberalism and democracy were overcome in the Germanies and in Germany by the forces of nationalism and militarism.

The present book is an introduction to the study of German history and the author has not over-burdened the reader with details, only essentials are presented.

Part I of the book contains besides the introduction, the story of the Rise of Russia, Era of French Supremacy 1789-1815, Restoration in the Germanies-Austro-Russian Partnership 1815—1849, German Social and Economic Life after 1815, Revolution of 1848, Bismarck's Wars of National Unification 1864-1871, Era of Bismarck 1871-1890, Economic, Social and Intellectual Currents 1870-1914, Wilhelm's Germany 1888-1918 and finally from the Weimar Republic through Nazi Totalitarianism 1919-1957.

Part II contains readings which have been selected to illustrate the major points of the text. In most cases summary of documents have been given as presentation in full was not possible for want of space.

We have no doubt this well-written and authoritative book will help the readers to understand a great people who contributed so much to the advancement of modern civilization and caused two World Wars causing death and destruction to millions. A new Germany has been built up almost the scratch after World War II which humanity watches with admiration and hope.

A. B. DUTTA

J. N. BANERJEA VOLUME : *a Collection of articles by his friends and pupils on his retirement from Carmichael Professorship of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta. Published by the Alumni Association of the University. To be had of Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Bancharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12, Rs. 20|- Text 352 pp. Illustrated with 7 Plates.*

This sheaf of 63 articles from the pens of

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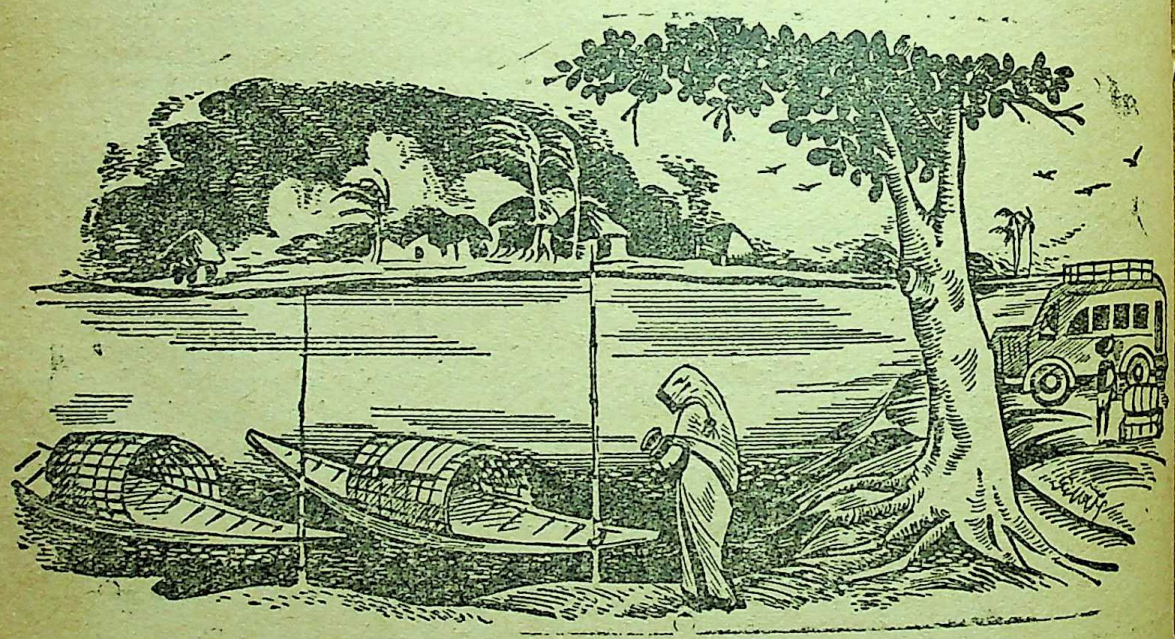
famous Indologists, principally of Bengal, throw new light on various aspects of history and culture of India, some of them of unique interest,—as enlarging the boundaries of Ancient Indian History. Prof. Jitendra Nath Banerjea—is a specialist in Indian Iconography and Numismatics—but the articles effored to him in this Collection, excepting Dr. S. K. Chatterjee's brilliant Essay on 'Bramhinical Diety in 'Indo-China', Pal's 'Two Syncratic Icon, and Dr. Gaurinath Sastri's 'Clay Images of Durga,'—cover other aspects of Indian History, Society, Politics, and Inscriptions and Literature. On the topics of Political History—Prof. D. C. Sirkar's 'Karnatas Outside Karnata', and Dr. Altekar's 'New Light on the History of Bihar', based on Tibetan Sources—are of exceptional interest. P. C. Gupta—in his documented article : "Bible, Chapati and Greased Cartridge" offers data for the causes of the Sepoy Mutiny. Art and Architecture—are represented by several articles of which D. P. Ghose's beautifully illustrated article : 'The Chaitya Window Motif' is a solid piece of research, S. K. Sarasvati's study of Muslim architecture in Gujrat is a stimulating study—but suffers from want of illustrations. Sukumar Sen in his 'Dva Suprana Sayuja' ... pounds an ancient Vedic motif with its ... *pauranik* development. Debala Mitra's illustrated study of 'Pancha Pandav Temple' throws ... light on Orissan architecture. Old Indian Rit... are represented by two essays of N. Sengu... and P. Pal. Prof. Siva Prasad Bhattachary... brilliant Survey of Sanskrit Authology is perh... the most fascinating presentation of the to... with much frank criticism. N. R. Roy's 'T... and Style in Indian Art' is a piece of va... shadowy speculation, lacking in vision or ob... tive study. Indian art scholars have produ... nothing to approach Alice Boner's 'Principles ... Composition in Hindu Sculpture' which ... should study. We have indicated summarily ... high lights in this valuable series of Esse... which, neatly printed, and ably edited, ref... great credit on all concerned. Even, non-In... logists will find much attractive matter in ... stimulating collection of Essays in Ind... culture.

Kaundinya



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Indian Periodicals

Some Aspects of University Education: Medium of Instruction

Writing for the *Science and Culture*, the observation of the Chairman of the University Grants Commission, Dr. D. S. Kothari, and which form a part of the Sampurnanand Committee's report on national integration, would seem to be most apposite :

A few words on the problems of the medium of instruction at the university stage. One does not expect that when we discuss a subject such as this one's views will be readily shared by others. It is sometimes heartening to remember that "if education can be defined in one word, that word is controversy; where concord arises, learning withers, where conflict rules, education flourishes." In dealing with the language problem we are concerned with a dynamic and creative situation, and a discussion of the subject will benefit us all provided it is free, frank and objective. The first condition for dispassionate discussion is a mind receptive and 'utterly at ease.'

It seems that so far as the near future is concerned universities have to function largely on a bilingual basis instead of a monolingual basis, namely, the regional language and English, as recommended by the National Integration Council (June 1962). For postgraduate study and research, and to serve as a link for intercommunication between the universities, and also with the outside world, English is an obvious choice for us in the context of the times. On the other hand, to facilitate understanding of difficult subjects and basic concepts, and to bring together workers and thinkers which is an essential process for advancement of science and industry in the country, the use of regional languages becomes almost a necessity. (Hindi should be taught as a compulsory language at the school stage to serve as a 'communication link' throughout the country). As the National Integration Council (June 1962) has observed :

"In the Council's view, the change in the medium of instruction is justified not so much by cultural or political sentiments as on the very important academic consideration of facilitating grasp and understanding of the subject-matter. Further, India's university men will be unable to make their maximum possible contribution to the advancement of learning generally, and science and technology in particular, unless there was a continuous means of communication in the shape of the regional languages between its masses, its artisans and technicians and its university men. The development of the talent latent in the country will also, in the view of the Council, be retarded unless regional languages are employed as media of instruction at the university stage.

It is most important that the introduction of regional language as medium of instruction is not misinterpreted to mean shutting out of English from university life and work. In fact, for successful completion of the first-degree course a student should possess an adequate command of English to be able to express himself with reasonable ease and felicity, to understand lectures in that language, and to avail of literature in English (particularly scientific and technical). With this aim in view adequate stress should be laid on the study of English as a language right from the school stage. The study of Russian should also be on a much more extensive scale than at present.

As has been pointed out on several occasions, the present arrangement under which a large proportion of students at the first-degree stage, and also later, use their regional language for the purpose of examinations, though class-room instruction is given through the medium of English, is educationally undesirable and unsatisfactory. A sudden switch-over in the medium of instruction for a student in passing from school to university has in most cases very unwholesome effects. In a student's life the change from school to college is a crucial stage. On entering college he finds that there is a greater demand on his powers of understanding and concentration than he was accustomed to at school. When to this is added the perplexity and difficulty inherest in a sudden change in the medium of instruction in going from school to college, no wonder that many a student feels bewildered and lost, and loses zest in studies. The difficulty of medium of instruction is adeed to

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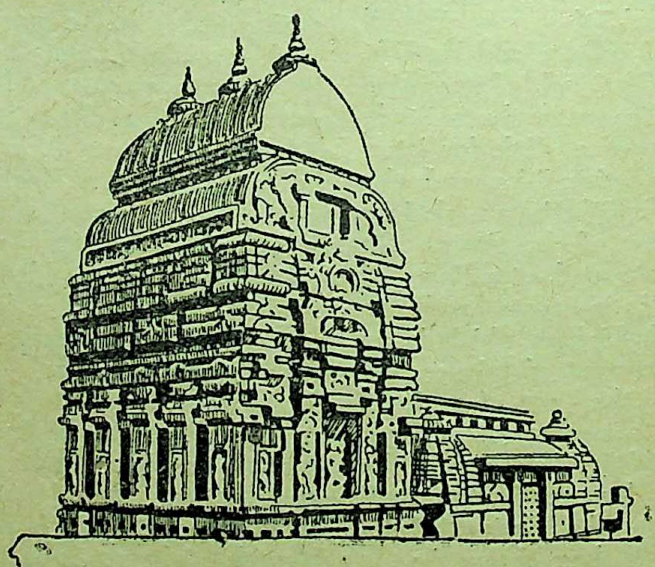
that of subject matter, and the two together become too much for a good many students. At the early stage of the under-graduate course it will be, therefore, an advantage if the bulk of the instruction is given through the regional languages. As one goes higher up the educational ledder, more and more instruction would be through the medium of English.

Whatever may be the medium of instruction, it is important (in the interest of academic mobility and for other reasons) that a teacher at the unversity stage should be entitled to lecture in English (even at the under-graduate stage), if he so desires. I am thinking—I need not say again—of the near future and not what the position would be, or should be, after some decades. In such a case a teacher would probably have to put in more effort in getting the subject-matter across that if he were lecturing in the students' own language. But the points is that the understanding and grasp of a difficult subject would be much better and creative if it was presented to students in their own language.

Whatever may be the policy and programme of the universities regarding the medium of instruction, it is important that energetic action be taken to produce books and literature, particularly scientific and technical, in the regional languages. This is important for a variety of reasons. It would help to bring together the elite and the mass of the community. It would asist materially in the progress of industrialisation, would help in the dissemination of science, the scientific outlook.

As the Integration Council has observed, change in the medium of instruction in a uni- sity is primarly a matter for the university co- cerned. For a variety of reasons and circu- stances there cannot be a rigid formula in matter which could be applied indiscriminate- to all the universities. In the transition fr- English to a regional language as medium instruction, every precaution should, of cou- be taken to ensure maintenance of adequ- standards. In fact, the purpose and also desirability of the change should be judged the improvement it makes in the quality standard of eduation. We must proceed carefully, but careful adtion is not synonym- with slow speed or no action at all. In f- caution is meaningful only if it is tied to a pu- of deliberate action.

The importance of a common linguistic between the universities cannot be gainsaid, what is still more important is that they sho- co-operate in joint programmes of teaching research, in forging and sharing comm- aspirations and common aims. We should, w- all the energy and enthusiasm we have, deve- a corporate intellectual life amongst the univ- sities in the country. And no impediment sho- be allowed to stand in the way of this proce-



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Foreign Periodicals

Defining the UN's Role

Writing for the *New Leader* under the above caption, Darius S. Jhabvala, *New York Herald Tribune's* United Nations correspondent, attempts an analysis of the U.N's role which should be widely appreciated :

When the special session of the General Assembly convenes on May 14, the main item on the agenda will be United Nations finances. The problem may be simply stated : How to provide the necessary funds to finance the peace and security operations of the world organization. But its solution is difficult and the long-range consequences of any default could prove exceedingly grave.

Of immediate concern is the deficit created by the failure of certain member states to support two vital and current operations—one in the Middle East, the other in the Congo. The total amount now owed to the UN stands at over $100 million, and the combined monthly expense for both operations is $10 million.

Considering what has been achieved, it is generally conceded that the amount of money at issue is insignificant. Yet there is a deficit, and while numerous nations are willing to sacrifice the lives of their soldiers in the service of the world body others will not even contribute their dollars.

The ground for this month's discussions was broken by a Working Group of 21 nations set up last year by the General Assembly. After nearly two months of arguments behind closed doors, the Working Group, which in a sense is a microcosm of the whole Assembly, was able to come to only one conclusion: There is no general agreement on how to finance the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations.

The United States delegate argued that the UN should concentrate only on financing the Congo and Middle East situations, and leave aside the broader question of a permanent formula for future operations. Not that Washington has rejected the peace-keeping role of the United Nations. On the contrary, the U.S. draft outline of a disarmament treaty specifies a number of measures for the development of the UN's peace-keeping role—among them, the improvement of non-judicial methods of peaceful settlement and the establishment of a peace observation corps and peace force with "sufficient armed forces and armaments so that no state could challenge it."

At the other end of the spectrum is he position of the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc. The Security Council, the Soviet delegate to the Working Group argued, has the prime responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security; it and it alone is competent to discuss questions of financing peace-keeping operations. Accordingly, to date the Russians have given fiancial support to all the peace-keeping operations undertaken by the Security Council (which, of course, were subject to their veto).

There is still a third point of view in the Working Group, represented by the voluble, smaller nations in the organization which need the security umbrella of the UN much more than the great powers or countries that are members of military alliances. This group presented a complicated, slide-rule formula of how operations should be financed, maintaining that since the permanent members of the Security Coucil bear the responsibility for the paece of the world, they should share the major part of the financial burden.

What is new in each of these arguments is not the diffrent points of view but that for the first time they have been categorically stated and put on record. Veteran UN observers have been aware for years that there never has been a common meeting point among nations on enforcement of UN "peace decisions." Such peace machinery as has been available in the past has existed either by the sufferance of a group of nations or was created on the initiative of the Secretary General. The Charter clearly provides for a UN force and a Military Staff Committee, but it has never been possible to use them fully to safeguard peace.

The time has now come for the UN to make some decision on this aspect of the Charter. And the basic question is not really a financial one, but a political one that involves issues of national sovereignty and national interests.

In other words, when the General Assembly discusses finances this month, it actually will be attempting to arrive at some consensus of what the member states want the United Nations to

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be—a conference forum, an organization with limited powers, or an organization with effective authority. Unless a positive concept is established and universally accepted by the states, irrespective of national sovereignty and national interest, the United Nations will continue to receive only *ad hoc* financial support—and the hopes the world has placed in it will inevitably suffer a severe blow.

Educating Women

Writing for the *Saturday Review* under the above caption, "P. W." discusse's the problems of women's education in the U.S.A. which should be apposite in present day Indian conditions :

The Emancipation of women was an achievement of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth. It is not yet world-wide, but today no American girl is denied educational opportunity because of her sex, and very few careers are closed to women.

With emancipation the feminist movement came to an end, and the suggragettes of a bygone day now seem more than a little ridiculous to a generation of coeds who have forgotten how recently their present status was achieved and how great was the struggle of those responsible for it. The victory was so complete that any girl who now doubts the equality of the sexes probably assumes the natural superiority of women.

Having achieved emancipation and equality of opportunity, women did a sharp about-face and during the Fifties, in the words of one of our authors, we heard "the thundering hoofs of women stampeding back to the nest." Women married at a younger age and the birth rate rose alarmingly. Once their right to careers outside the home was no longer denied, many women lost interest in such careers and settled for shorter periods of employment before, during, or after marriage.

What does it all mean? What caused the reversal? What does it portend and what are its implications for education? For three [illegible] tations we have asked two perceptive women a man who is president of a women's college give us their views.

The intellectual equality of the sexes longer is at issue. But equality of intelligence the demand for equality of opportunity require that individuals differing in [illegible] motivation, and probable future roles be identical education.

A century ago, when many men still be[lieved] women unqualified for higher education, [women] set forth to prove their equality by demanding admission to college and to the learned professions. In the East, where the men's colleges sisted the thrust, many women settled college education in schools promising "separate but equal" facilities, but west of the Alleghenies coeducation became the rule. Women soon monstrated that they can compete successfully with men at all levels of education and in the intellectually demanding professions.

But many questions remain unanswered. coeducation at all levels—elementary, secondary and higher—really the best possible solution? Does the fact that girls mature more rapidly boys mean that they should advance through school more rapidly and if so should they be in different schools during the period of adolescence?

There is little doubt that the liberal education of women should be equal to that of men, should it be identical or different? Should courses in home economics be required or elective, and at what age should they be made available? Since most women will work outside their homes for some portion of their lives, should they be trained for vocations in high school, in college, or only until they are ready to go work, which, for many, will be after their children have grown up.

These are some of the problems which should us concerned about education must face. We hope that this issue of *SR's* Education Supplement will throw new light upon them.

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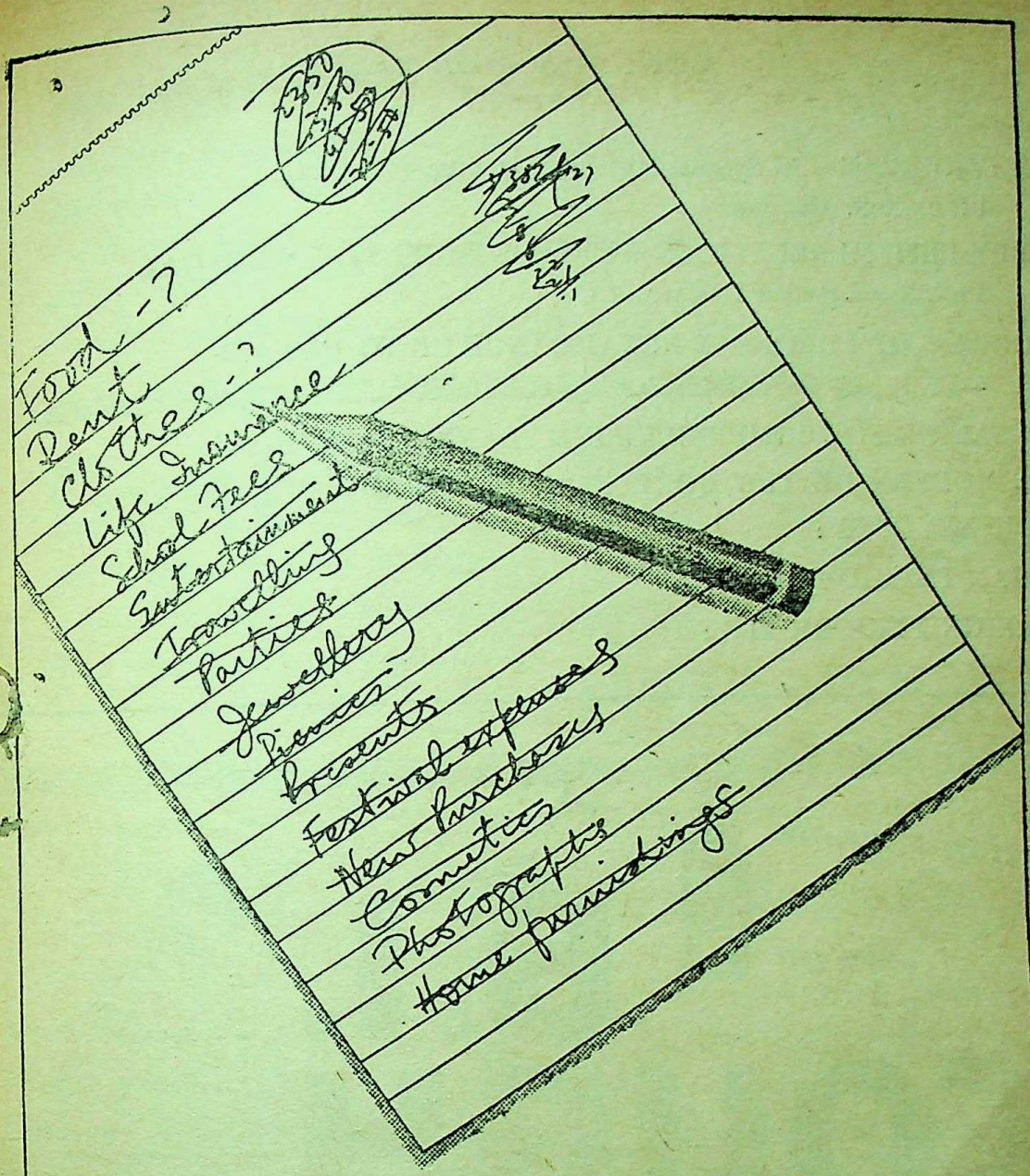

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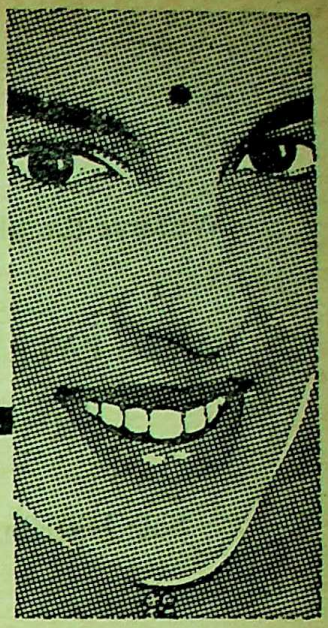

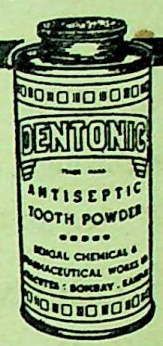

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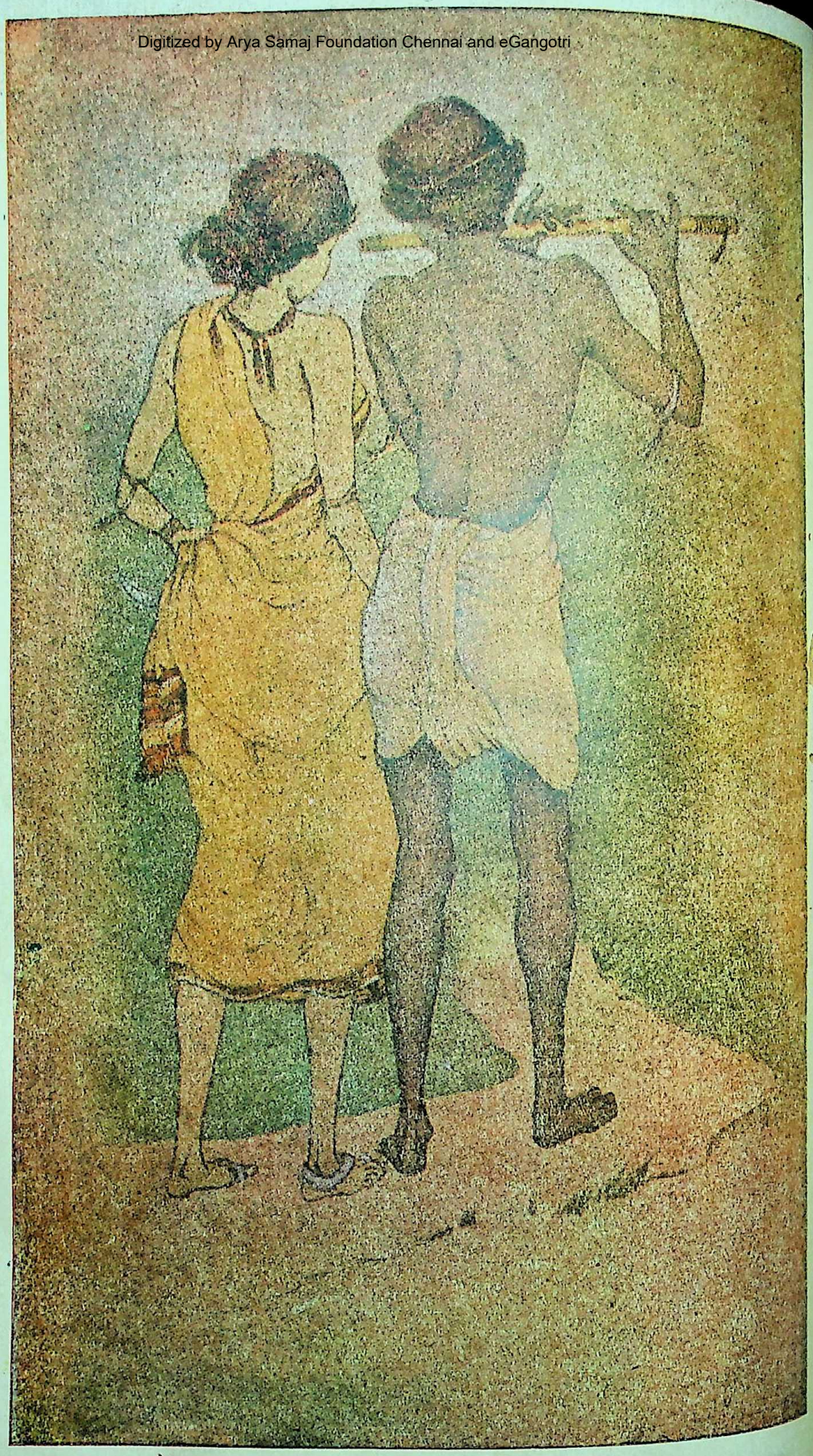

THE COMRADES

Artist—Shri Surendranath Kar

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World

The three major areas of conflict registered tension differently at the beginning of August. There was a distinct lowering of the tension as between the West and Russia following the initialling of the Test Ban Treaty at the end of last month. There were further signs of a thaw in the Cold War following the formal signing of the Treaty in Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home and Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko. Speeches that followed the ceremonial signing indicated the attitude of the nations that had formally taken the first—but highly significant—steps towards ending the tensions that had mounted over the years, threatening total destruction of the civilized world. Foreign Minister, Gromyko called the signing "a success of the peaceful policy of the U.S.S.R., a success of all the States advocating the aversion of the danger of a new war." Foreign Secretary, Lord Home said that the Treaty meant that "every human family can live, from now on, free from fear that their unborn children will be affected by man-made poison in the air." Secretary of State, Rusk was more cautious and calculating. In his opinion the Treaty was "a good first step, but only a first step." He thought it was impossible "to guarantee now, what the significance of this act will be. History will eventually record, how we deal with the unfinished business of peace."

But despite the undispelled suspicions of some politicians, the Treaty has received an almost universally enthusiastic reception from the nations of the world. Ambassadors of about 40 nations received instructions from their States to sign the copies of the Treaty in Moscow, London and Washington. It is expecteed that over a hundred of the 117 sovereign nations of the world would sign eventually. As yet direct refusals have come from China, North Vietnam, North Korea. In Europe only Albania has joined with China. France and West Germany have not made up their minds as yet.

Incidentally, this Test Ban Treaty has brought the intransigent attitude of President de Gaulle, further into prominence. West Germany had also taken a negative attitude in the beginning but the position is much better after the visit of Dean Rusk.

In the second area, the gulf between Russia and China has widened to a degree. Peking called the Treaty "a dirty fraud" and intensified her campaign of vilification against Russia. Russia is now retaliating and China seems to be getting isolated even from the major nations of the Communist world.

In Asia, there is growing tension in the areas contiguous to Red China. There have been clashes along the truce line in Korea and tension has mounted with heavy troop movements in the Ladakh area and the Chumbi Valley. But, as yet there is no definite evidence about the resumption of hostilities with India. So far China has confined her activities to warlike preparations and the creation of breaches between India and her neighbours. The latest country to be wooed by China is Ceylon and there is evidence that the

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blandishments offered by Red China have made some impressions in that locality.

In South Vietnam the agitation launched by the Buddhist monks against the minority rule of Dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, has mounted to a critical point after a series of self-immolations by four Buddhist monks and a nun. These ritualistic suicides signified the protests of the Buddhists against the persecutions of the Diem regime. President Ngo Dinh Diem, who has held absolute power over the 15,000,000 peoples of South Vietnam, has been bolstered up by U.S. economic and military aid, which latter is on a fairly large scale, costing the U.S. about a million dollars a day. There are about 14,000 U.S. "military technicians" in the field, combatting the Viet Cong rebels, who are based in Communist North Vietnam and are very substantially aided by China, with military and other supplies.

Vietnam, which was formerly known as Tonkin, Annam and (French) Cochin China, is one of the three Associated States that constituted French Indo-China. In the division that followed the expulsion of the French the southern half, with an area of 65,000 sq. miles, was declared a republic on October 26, 1955, by the then Premier, Ngo Dinh Diem. The puppet King Bao Dai, who was proclaimed Chief of State, had been ousted a few days before and Premier Diem became the President, and later, a virtual Dictator.

Diem is a Roman Catholic and it is his family which rules the republic. Although Roman Catholics constitute merely 10 per cent of the population, they are virtually the upper strata, enjoying all the privileges—provided they fall in line with the wishes and dictates of Ngo Dinh Diem and his family. The President's sister-in-law, the wife of his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, is the most active anti-Buddhist in the family, being an unbalanced fanatic with no ideas, whatsoever, about human rights. Arbitrary "reforms" and restrictions are being forced down the throats of the Buddhists at the insistence of this woman and the entire majority community is now impatient for the restitution of their birth-rights. The U.S. is in a fix, as it was in South Korea and to some extent in Turkey, where Dictators and tyrants bolstered up by the mistaken policies laid down by the U.S. experts on foreign relations, trampled on the rights of the peoples under their control, until ousted by popular movements.

The crisis in South Vietnam has been aggravated and prevented from easing up by a small group that refuses to face the charge the Buddhists whose basic complaint was they were being discriminated against, notab education and in the right to assemble. U Diem and his family can be forced to see by pressure from U.S., the consequences are to be disastrous.

Dictators have caused minor tensions many other places during last month. In the small island republic in the Caribbean there have been incidents indicative of a attempt at a revolution at the beginning of month. It was put down by force by the "P nal" police force of 20,000, employed by the tator Dr. Duvalier, who is the President of

Haiti is the only French speaking re in the Americas. It occupies a third of Caribbean island of Hispaniola, the eastern thirds being occupied by the Dominican R lic, with which Haiti is in a constant state Haiti, with an area of 10,714 sq. miles is populous of the two, having a populati about 4,350,000 as opposed to a populatio 3,250,000 persons in the Dominican Re which has an area of 19,333 sq. miles. Hait independence from France in 1804, and has over a 100 revolts since then. Illiteracy is 8 cent and poverty is universal. Its western ne bour is Cuba.

Minor tensions have developed in parts Africa. In both the Congos there have been turbances in the month of August. The Pres of the ex-French colony, Abbe Fulbert Yo had to resign in order to restore peace and malcy in Brazzaville, the capital. In the "de Congo, the ex-Belgian colony, military a has been going on to mop up the remnants of Katangese Gendarmerie, that were armed, tra and led—by European mercenaries—through machinations of International Finance, in attempt to retain absolute control over the of Katanga.

The formation of Malayasia has been de ed by the insistence of Indonesia and the Phi pines for an U.N. arranged survey of public nion in the British colonial territories of N Borneo and Sarawak regarding Federation Malaya and Singapore. The survey is proceed but it is unlikely that the merger will take as per schedule.

There is a political crisis in Burma at

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own warnings given in 1959, which were ignored by the Government according to him.

The replies to the attack based on the neglect of defences, as given by Congress Party members and later by the Prime Minister, were in the nature of apologia and excuses, without much substance in them.

The Communist Party took advantage of the debate to condemn the VOA agreement. They attacked the policies and measures promulgated by Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. S. K. Patil whom they selected out as being typically "Rightist" in their outlook. Mr. Minoo Masani of the Swatantra Party disapproved of the non-alignment policy and condemned the gold control order. Mr. Ram Manohar Lohia brought down the level of the debate by making broad aspersions which came down to personal attacks, mainly on Mr. Nehru.

But taking the speeches down to their basic components, not one speech by the opposition could be said to have had hard factual cores. In the ultimate analyses they were all attacks on the Ruling Party on the level of party politics, without the shadow of concrete alternatives being indicated. The indictments were likewise more in the nature of "politicking" without any hard factual build up of a case. The performance of Acharya Kripalani was particularly disappointing as it was expected that his challenge would substantially expose the failures and weaknesses of the existing Government and would indicate alternative policies and procedures.

The Prime Minister in his reply is reported to have expressed disappointment that the debate, although interesting in many ways, had lacked "a larger vision to which we are looking forward and to which we, as a Government, have failed to come up."

What had brought the leaders of opposition together was "negation and nothing positive" and this fact had taken away a great deal of their strength.

Mr. Nehru deplored that the debate had generally proceeded on abuse instead of matters of high State policy.

He further went on to say that :

The debate, although interesting in many ways and profitable, he thought, was a little unreal.

Personally, he had welcomed this motion and this debate as he had himself felt that it would be a good thing "if we have periodical examinations, of this kind."

He had tried to listen and understand what troubled the opposition. Some things he knew but still what had brought together in this curious array its various members, it was obvious was a negation and not a positive fact, not only dislike of our Government, but perhaps, a personal matter against him both as leader of Government and otherwise. He did not mean that everybody (in the opposition) felt that way.

This negation took away a great deal from the strength of the Opposition. What were the opposition afteer when removing this Government was not within their expectation ?

They were full of feelings of wrath, anger and dislike and wanted to express themselves in forcible language.

That was what it came to. He was sorry that leaders of opposition, including Acharya Kripalani, had not done justice to this motion or to themselves.

"I have been rather disappointed at the charges they made. I do not mean to say that all the charges they made have no substance" he said.

This was an important moment in the history of Parliament and, as a parliamentarian, apart from being Prime Minister, he had hoped that they would rise equal to that occasion on both sides of the House and deal with great matters that confronted our country and also incidentally deal with the unfortunate Government that will be in charge of many of these matters."

But, Mr. Nehru said, to concentrate rather on feelings of individuals seemed to bring the debate down to a lower level.

The three newcomers (Acharya Kripalani, Mr. Masani and Dr. Ram Monohar Lohia), Mr. Nehru said, were excited still with their victories in their by-elections and seemed to think that they could make a frontal attack on this Government and all parts of it.

While agreeing with the substance of Mr. Nehru's remarks, we would say that the debate was disappointing from whichever angle it was looked at. It had not added to the stature of anyone of our political figures. Indeed, on the contrary.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

By KARUNA K. NANDI

Taxation, Prices, Defence and Development

Food Produciton

While speaking to the Lok Sabha on the occasion of the recent no-confidence motion against the Union Government, Mr. S. K. Patil, the just resigned Union Food and Agriculture Minister, claimed that there has been a 50 per cent increase in agricultural output during the first decade of Planning and that "the stagnation during the last 2 years in farm output was part of the 5-year agricultural cycle." He gave the quantum of gross agricultural output in 1950-51 as 50.52 million tons which now stood at approximately 80 million tons. According to official statistics issued by the Planning Commission (*Towards A Self-Reliant Economy* December, 1961) food and over-all agricultural production were shown to have been 52.2 million tons and 10.7 million tons and 6.2 million bales respectively, in 1950-51, which had increased to 76 million tons and 15.1 million tons and 9.1 million bales respectively in 1960-61. During the two years since 1960-61 food production has remained more or less static at around the level of 1960-61 figure although the target put down in the Third Plan, which is to be reached by 1965-66, is 100 million tons. It would seem, therefore, that Mr. Patil's claim for a 50 per cent rise in food production during the first decade of Planning was an over-estimate by as much as 9 per cent according to the figures provided by another wing of the same Government for the identical period. As regards his contention that the current stagnation in farm output was "part of the 5-year agricultural cycle," the question might very well be posed if these 5-year cycles, according to the former Union Food Minister, were supposed to be a continuing phenomenon extending over several years ?—already this so-called cycle seems to have been continuing for well over the last two and a half years !

Statistically !

There was not very much material in Mr. Patil's address on the occasion which, though it might have been distinguished by an able [illegible] of oratory did not carry one much [illegible] towards a factual assessment of realities [illegible] prospects so far as food production was concer[illegible] It is significant, however, that he claimed during the 4 years he has been in charge of Food and Agriculture portfolio at the C[illegible] prices had been kept stable and the "increase" occured during the last 3 or 4 [illegible] Mr. Patil, in fact, was reported to have "pooh-ed" the allegation of price rises as [illegible] of no particular importance. From the Numbers of Wholesale Prices issued by Government of India for the period 1955-56 until 1962-63, the price movem[illegible] certain principal and essential articles of the country would seem to be quite de[illegible] in this context. The Price of rice, for i[illegible] appears to have moved up from the leve[illegible] 1955-56 by 24.3 per cent next year and a further 8.2 per cent in 1957-58, at which level it remained stable for the next two years, 19[illegible] showed a further rise again by another 2.8 per cent, but sagged back to the previous [illegible] level again in 1961-62, to rise steeply by a further 5.7 per cent in 1962-63. According to the [illegible] statistics, the price of rice, in April, 1962, [illegible] was 35.9 per cent higher than the [illegible] averages prevailing in 1955-56 and the pri[illegible] which it reached by April, 1963 was 17 per [illegible] higher than in the corresponding month of [illegible] previous year, which was 58.9 per cent hi[illegible] than the price prevailing in 1955-56. Even in [illegible] case of wheat, in which price movements [illegible] necessarily much slower and more inhibited [illegible] a larger measure of officail subventions [illegible] the PL 480 buffer stocks, the price had m[illegible] up over the years between 1955-56 and 19[illegible] by as much as 25 per cent. In Sugar, with [illegible] much larger measure of official control [illegible] supplies and distribution, prices were 1 per [illegible] higher in 1956-57, 17 per cent higher in [illegible] following year, 28.7 per cent higher in 19[illegible] 31.9 per cent higher in 1959-60, 35.1 per [illegible] higher in 1960-61, fell slightly by 1.6 per [illegible] in the following year, but rose by another [illegible] per cent in 1962-63. The price of Gur, a co[illegible]

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dity which enters far more vitally in the essential diet of the poor, has moved up even more steeply and unremittingly since 1955-56 until it had risen by as much as 147.7 per cent of 1955-56 prices.

Finance Minister Speaks

Speaking on the same occasion the immediate past Union Finance Minister, Morarji Desai, said, that food prices have maintained a measure of commendable stability during the first decade of Planning and had evinced only a 3.5 per cent rise since last year most of which, he insisted, was only accounted for by normal seasonal flucutations. Price rises in India, he averred, was in any case much lower than in most developed and other countries of the world. We have not the material at our disposal to either endorse or controvert Mr. Morarji Desai's statements so far as comparison with price rises elsewhere are concerned, but the statistics cited above which, as already stated, are culled from those purveyed by accredited Government agencies would be enough to repudiate Mr. Desai's assertions in their entirety. For another reason also such comparisons would be patently unfair, even untenable. As stated by the Planning Commission (*Towards A Self-Reliant Economy*, December, 1961, p. 75): "Essential consumer goods in India are largely food and cloth; these together take up nearly 70 per cent of family incomes for the vast majority of India's people (according to a recent study by a working group on family budgets of the average Indian this majority covers very nearly 80 per cent of the population) ....A rise in food prices is particularly important not only because it closely affects the living standards of hundreds of millions of people—and especially the vulnerable low income groups who are the vast majority—but tends to push up all prices."

According to a written statement submitted by the Food and Supply Directorate of the West Bengal Government recently in reply to a member's question, the price of average quality rice in the State in 1959, depite severe floods was 56 nP per kg. (approximately Rs. 21 per maund), which rose steeply to 68 nP per kg. (Rs. 26 per maund) in the following year which, on account of an unusually plentiful harvest in the following year sagged back to the 1959 level. But from about the middle of 1962 the price level rose even higher to 82 nP per kg. (Rs. 31 per maund) and during the three weeks ended on 3rd June this year, it rose by further 8 per cent and stood at approximately Rs. 33.50 per maund. During the several weeks following until the middle of August this year prices further moved steeply upwards and ordinary average quality rice was not available anywhere in the State at a retail price of lower than Rs. 37—Rs. 38 per maund.

Planning Minister

In a statement dated 3rd July this year in New Delhi ascribed to the Union Labour and Planning Minister, Mr. G. L. Nanda, it has been admitted that the 4.9 per cent rise in the price level over the year was almost entirely accounted for by rises in the prices of foodgrains alone. He made the trade responsible for the fact who, he said, created a condition of artificial scarcity by taking advantage of marginal shortages. He also deplored that the Price Vigilance Committees set up last year, some of which had shown commendable results, had mostly gone out of existence on account of Govenment having failed to accord timely sanction for the nominal expenditure that were essential to keep these Committees functioning. On the question of sugar he averred that the panicky decision to restrict cane cultivation on account of a year's overproduction has been mainly responsible for the present debacle.

In a statement ascribed to the then Union Food anr Agriculture Minister, Mr. S. K. Patil, it is admitted that the wholesale price index had moved up over the month from 131.1 to 134.4 (base: 1955-56=100),—it was 125.2 a year ago. According to him the principal reason for this steep rise in wholesale prices has been the load of heavy taxation, principally indirect taxation, imposed in the current year's Central Budget. Marginal shortages with the trade's penchant for exploiting them for creating conditions of artificial scarcity may also have played a part in the process. He apprehended that if this process of continuous price rise could not be arrested the demand for compensatory wage rises would become irresistible, especially from industrial workers. Mr. S. A. Dange, the Communist leader also apprehended that the fall in real income

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consequent upon continuously rising prices would be bound to be reflected soon in demands for compensatory wage-increase and would be bound to shatter industrial peace. What with rising taxation burdens and rising prices, the margins for national and private savings, slender enough as thev have been, have been most effectivly destroyed and it would be the height of optimism to expect that the Compulsory Savings scheme could prove a success in the circumstance.

West Bengal Food Situation

In course of his reply to the recent debate on Food in the West Bengal Assembly, Mr. P. C. Sen, the State Chief Minister said that the rigours of rising prices are being somewhat partially neutralised by the system of modified rationing introduced in the State. Essentials such as wheat, rice, sugar, etc. are being supplied through fair price shops and consumer co-operatives under this system against ration cards. At the beginning of the year 56,00,000 persons in the State were getting their supplies through this system which has now increased to 63,00,000. It would be possible to cover upto 1,00,00,000 persons under present arrangements which might, at a pinch be increased to even 1,20,00,000 persons; during the 1959 floods this was done. At 16.5 oz. per head per day, it would take 62,00,000 tons of rice to cover the needs of the State; production, however, was a gross 40,00,000 tons, leaving a deficit of 22,00,000 tons (approximately 37 per cent of the State's requirements). Of the 1,90,00,000 cultivators in the State only about 80,00,000 lakh produce enough in the year to leave them a comfortable surplus over their own requirements; the other 1,10,00,000 cultivators produced only enough to cover their 2 to 10 months' requirements in the year; if the average production of this category of cultivators is assumed to cover 6 months' requirements, roughly about 1,10,00,000 cultivators may be estimated to produce enough to cover a whole year's requiremnt. The scope for further expansion of cultivation and increase of production is severely limited because the pressure of population in the State is such that there is no further available cultivable land. There is also no scope for further deforestation for putting more land under the plough. Of the gross 40,00,000 ton output in the State, approximately 34,00,000 tons are absorbed by villages. Of the balance, roughly about 4,[illegible] tons come to Calcutta ; Government are [illegible] supplement this by procuring another 5,[illegible] tons. In the circumstances, it is madness demand that full rationing be promul immediately. That could be possible only people where to agree to accept a daily ra 8 oz. only.

According to a written statement pr to the West Bengal Assembly by the Food Supply Directorate, the net available rice duction in the State after making a 10 per allowance for seed stocks and unavoi wastes, is 39,62,200 tons. The requirement the State at 16.5 oz. per head per day fo State's 3,71,00,000 population would be 54,5 tons (Mr. P. C. Sen put this down at 62,0 tons). The deficit in the years 1960 and 196 an average 11,00,000 tons per year, it 10,00,000 tons in 1962 and the estimated of the current year would be 15,00,00 (Mr. Sen estimated this at 22,00,00 Doubts, however, have been expressed abo authenticity of these estimates. The Gover have arrivd at their figures on the basis over-all allocation of 16.5 oz. per head per But there is a limited proportion of the po tion even in this rice consuming State, wh not consume any rice at all. Some portion o population again (and they now constitute vest majority of our lower-middle and low inco groups) have a mixed diet of rice and wheat almost equal proportions. All these people w not, obviously, require a daily ration of 16.5 per head. Then, women generally consume less quantities than men, they also would need a daily ration of 16.5 oz. Then there the babies, the children, the aged, the infirm the sick, who could not possibly need or cons a full ration at 16.5 oz. per head per day. factual assessment of the actual needs of State were to be made on the basis of the gro requirements of these various categories of population, it is said, the actual deficit would bound to prove far less than estimated by Gov ment.

Rice Prices

According to the quotations published the Indian Produce Association the price

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verage quality rice on the 20th August last, ex-
mill, was Rs. 90.75 per quintal (roughly
Rs. 35.89 per md. and of very coarse quality rice
Rs. 80.38 (roughly Rs. 31.60 per maund).
According to a *Statesman* report dated 23. 7. 63.
was priced at approximately Rs. 33.75 and
Rs. 31.00 respectively. In the same report, the
tatesman's special correspondent repudiated the
hief Minister's claim that a third of the State's
opulation were now getting their supplies from
odified ration shops against ration cards so
ar, at least, as rice was concerned. The actual
upplies available at these shops, it is reported,
enough to cover the requirements of only a
hird of the ration card holders who crowd these
hops when the weekly supplies arrive, but the
hole of the rice arriving is usually found to
ave become exhausted before more than a third
f the card holders have had their supplies.
he rest have to wait until the next week, in the
eanwhile covering their essential requirements
y purchases in the open market at much higher
rices. This is evidently why modified rationing
otwithstanding, there has not been the sligh-
st dents so far on the open market prices of
e commodity. According to a *Statesman* report
ated 9th July last, the retail price of the coarsest
ailable rice in the open market on that day
as 99 nP per kg. (roughly Rs. 37 per maund)
d the average of medium quality rices was
04 nP per kg. (or Rs. 38.50 per maund).

We do not claim that the statistical material
esented above, mostly culled from official
urces and estimates, really reflect a true state
affairs. We have never been sure of the authen-
city of Government statistics which, generally,
an on the side of understatement where their
ilures are concerned and gross overstatements
here successes have to be boosted. But even as
ey are, they are damning enough to prove
ow far removed our Union Ministers have
een from reality when repudiating their several
esponsibilities for the present critical price
tuation in the country. This demonstrates a
llous complacency on the part of Government
ich would seem to be an obvious reflection of
e corresponding official complacency vis-a-vis
e present national emergency arising out of the
hinese and Pakistani menace. Even in more
ormal times, the price trends that have been
n evidence over the last few years should have
een disturbing enough, especially in the context of development planning, the achievements of which would thus be correspondingly neutralized. But in the context of a national emergency, such as has been facing the country over the last ten months, the present accelerating price spurts must be regarded as being dangerously loaded with the contents of a national crisis. We do not object to higher taxation as such and fiscal measures for restriction and attenuation of conspicuous consumption ; on the contrary we, in these columns, have again and again, been pleading for vigorous mobilization of resources as the very price of our national existence. But we have also been warning the Government again and again of the dangers on the price front which apparently, for the lone exception of the Union Planning Minister who appeared to have a somewhat realistic assessment of the possibilities of the situation, went completely unheeded. We have warned that the traditional taxation measures which seem to be the favourite modus of revenue-gathering of our Finance Minister and which would appear to have been even far more heavily exploited in the current Central Budget than ever before, were loaded with dangerous inflationary potentials and may defeat the very ends of taxation for defence and development.

Taxation Trends

It might be pertinent in this context to review the progress of taxation trends over the years of developmnt planning. In 1950-51, for instance, the average per capita burden of taxation in the country was estimated at Rs. 8 per annum. It is significant, that at this level, the proportion of direct to indirect taxation was estimated to have been of the order of 93 per cent as to only about 7 per cent. Gross per capita taxation rose to Rs. 12.70 in 1955-56, Rs. 20.75 in 1960-61 and is estimated at approximately Rs. 31.00 in the current year. This is the incidence of Central taxation only, to which the additional burden of States's taxation is loaded by an average Rs. 6 per capita. What is significant in this context is that the proportion of direct to indirect taxation has also significantly shifted from about 93:7 in 1950-51 to approximately 26:74 in the current year. Even more significant is the fact that of the indirect taxes even in the Central Budget,

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an overwhelming proportion is comprised by excise or other indirect imposts upon essentials of consumption; State taxes are mostly in the shape of similar indirect imposts. Here is the obvious inflationary pressure which does not seem to have disturbed the imagination or the conscience of the framers of our taxation budgets. The results have been inevitably reflected in our price structure. According to official statistics again, while over the 12 years since 1950-51 the incidence of per capita taxation has gone up by approximately 400 per cent the over-all wholesale price index has also gone up by as much as 34.4 per cent over the identical period. It has also been officially admitted that in the retail sector, especially in the sector of essential consumables, price levels have moved up even more steeply and during the last 12 months since June, 1962, prices in this sector have moved up by further average 25 per cent. Even such a stubborn upholder of the official line as the former Union Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr. Patil, was led to admit, as we have demonstrated in the present discussion, that for a substantial part of the recent price increase, the extraordinary heavy load of taxation, especially indirect taxation, must be held primarily responsible.

Over-all Inflationary Pressures

But foodgrains and sugar or gur are not the only commodities that have suffered in the process. Prices have moved up correspondingly over the entire food front. During the two weeks ended on 28th July last, for instance, the prices of potatoes had moved up by 25 per cent, with a further 10 per cent increase since, Eggs have gone up by more than 35 per cent, the price of fish had moved up to almost astronomical heights but have fallen somewhat over the last two weeks due to certain administrative measures having been promulgated, but are still at a level of approximately 25 to 30 per cent above the prices prevailing during the corresponding period of the previous yar. Even apart from food other essentials have also followed suit. Thus the cost of medicines, groceries, cloth, other essential consumables have also considerably moved up. If it were possible to compel the vendors to display daily price lists it might have proved somewhat restricting, but it has not been done, merly proposed. There does n to be either any attempt or even intentio anything in the matter. On the other ha result of additional taxation and in prices, demands are arising in other direc further loading the cost of living. In C for instance, the State Transport Corp have demanded a 2.8 nP increase per st the fare structure. The transport system the STC, inadequate as it is, is neverthe very lifeline of the city's trade and a tration. To an average family with a m income of Rs. 250 and with three sch college going children, transportation c carrying the earning member to his w back and the children to their classes absorbs very nearly 15 per cent of the income. If the present demand is conced it is very likely that it may be, this cost up by a further 2 per cent or so. The have also recently decided to revise tui upwards. Already with the load of the e heavy cost of text books and essential st the cost of education is one of the h burdens of the lower middle classes. In a with the process of education being what been for many years past, it is never that children attend their schools, it has supplemented by further expensive coach enable the pupil to at all get on with his s

Full Rationing ?

There have been persistent demands the country for the repromulgation o procurement and rationing. The P Minister seemed to be in favour of some measure. But in a recent statement an spokesman of the Commission, has sh hopes in this direction. He said that impossible to promulgate full rationing measures are being devised to deal w menace of price rises by formulating and ing certain regulations which would licensing of dealers, creation of adequate stocks, establishing widespread Governm curement machinery and to correspo reduce food imports under PL 480 fr U.S.A. It should be possible, he said, w certed action of the Central and State ments to build up a buffer stock of rice extent of 2 milion tons which should be

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mostly from within the country. The surplus rice would be distributed through fair price shops and co-operatives, but procurement will be made not from mills alone, but also directly from the producers in the villages. It has been estimated that procurements in this way during the current year should aggregate 1.5 million tons. The feasibility and also the effectiveness of the measures envisaged would seem, obviously, to be in grave doubt. On the face of it the deficits of West Bengal alone would absorb the whole quantity that may be in the buffer stock.

The Low Income Groups

In this connection family income and expenditure budgets of 2 separate categories of low income families that we have been able to gather should be revealing. In one of the families, the members consist of the earning member, his wife and two children. The gross earning is just Rs. 167.20 nP per mensem. Expenses are : rent—Rs. 35, tea (1 lb) Re. 3.50 Rice (1 md.) Rs. 36, Pulses etc. Rs. 3.20 nP, Edible oils etc. Rs. 10, Sugar (5 kg.) Rs. 6.25 nP, Wheat-flour Rs. 4, Soaps, detergents etc. Rs. 5, Spices etc. Rs. 3, expenses for the children (a little milk, essential medicines etc.) Rs. 10, School fees and bus fares Rs. 20; total: Rs. 135.95 nP., leaving a gross balance of Rs. 31.35 nP from which such other essential expenses as the earning member's transportation cost to his place of work, wearing apparel, green-grocery, children's books and other inescapable items of expenditure have to be met. It is certainly far below subsistence level; from where would the person pay his dues under the Compulsory Deposit Scheme ?

The other family has an income of Rs. 250 and consists of the earning member, his wife, 3 children (1 college and 2 school going) and a widowed aunt. Two brothers with separate establishments and with similar income have shared out responsibilities for keeping the widowed mother and the aunt. In the desparate need to supplement the family income, the wife has been attending a sewing school, which made it necessary to keep a domestic help against food only. Expenses : rent Rs. 40 (consists of a small room, a little cooking place and a narrow varandah which had to be covered with bamboo matting for making a place for the aunt), rice (1.5 mds.) Rs. 51, Wheat-flour Rs. 7.50 nP., Oil, etc. Rs. 7.50 nP, pulses, spices etc. Rs. 8, Electric Bill Rs. 5, Bread, butter, ghee etc. Rs. 10, tea (1.5 lb) Rs. 4, Milk Rs. 15, School & College tuition fees Rs. 32, Soaps, tooth pastes, detergents, medicines etc. Rs. 10, transportation cost for the earning member, wife and children Rs. 38; total: Rs. 228, leaving a balance of only Rs. 22 per mensem for covering all other essential expenses. Earlier the man had taken out a small life insurance policy, but he had been compelled to allow it to lapse. But the demand for compulsory savings would not be denied. The employer will deduct the amount from his earnings at source. Thus the impact of price rise on the one hand and of compulsory savings on the other on the lower middle class intellgentsia has now well nigh pushed him to the verge of complete extinction. The implications of the situation should be obvious to even the least discerning, but do not seem to have created even the least awareness upon our policy makers and tax devisers. Even lately Mr. Morarji Desai reiterated that conspicuous consumption must be severely restricted for defence and development and compulsory savings must be made for the purpose. He has not, however, cared to explain where, under the impact of high prices, higher rents and even higher taxes, is there any scope left for even full subsistence-consumption, let alone restrictible conspicuous consumption ?

Agricultural Self-Sufficiency

The basic postulate of industrial take-off in the process of development planning, it is universally acknowledged by all schools of economists all over the world, is a surplus agriculture. The Prime Minister had declared on the eve of the First Plan that one of the first priorities in development planning must be agricultural self-sufficiency, at least self-sufficiency in food and that this must be attained even within the First Plan period. It has been proved abjectly futile. The Third Plan had planned for a 100 million ton food target which would have somewhat covered the country's minimum requirements if attained. But two and a half years have gone by with agriculture at a level of complete stagnation and all that Mr. Patil would concede is that it might be be possible to attain the target within the next decade or so.

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Revision of Taxation Structure

We have said in the past and we would again reiterate that the only way out of the sorry mess which has now been threatening our very existence and endangering our sovereignity is to courageously admit our mistakes and rectify the taxation structure to divest it of its manifest inflationary potential. Full rationing and controls are, of course, a needed measure for meeting the immediate crisis, but a long term view of realities would seem to dictate a complete reversal and rationalization of the taxation structure. Emergency finance—needs dictate that the people's living standards, below subsistence as it is, must not be allowed under any circumstances to be depressed any further by opening up scope for profiteering as obviously has been done in our taxation processing. Only then will it be possible to mobilize total national resources in the measure in which alone it may be effective. We have long been used to looking upto outside gifts and subventions to tide us though our basic financial requirements and in an emergency as the present one we seem to be depending even more so on these sources. Recent signs have been quite obviously indicative of the fact that the channels of foreign aid are fast running dry. The time does not seem to be far distant when we would be left to meet our own crises from our own national resources entirely. The critical situation we have developed by our shortsighted handling of financial and fiscal measures is already too complex and complicated. Unless measures are immediately taken to extricate the nation from the mess by both immediate short-term and long-terms measurs, it will be difficult to survive.

India's Poor

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the Socialist leader, appears to have stirred official susceptibilities to an extreme point by his comments on the income level of India's poor. He was reported to have stated, in course of his maiden address to Parliament on the occasion of the recent no-confidence motion against the Government, that while sixty per cent of India's people had to subsist on only 3 annas a day, the cost of the food that the Prime Minister's dog consumed was estimated at approximately Rs. 3 per day. The Prime Minister was reported to have described this as absurd and averred that it was five times 3 annas instead. It is conceded that possibly Dr. Lohia had been confusing himself by equating per capita income with the income of a family assuming the average unit of a family and arrived at his absurdly low figure. Dr. Lohia then was reported to have challenged that the matter should be factually investigated and whoever was proved wrong should resign, he his membership of Parliament or the Prime Minister his leadership of the Government.

No one blames the Prime Minister for quoting figures in Parliament which may be open to question as regards their accuracy for, obviously, he has to depend on materials supplied to him in this behalf by his secretariate. It must, however, be regarded as criminally negligent on the part of the administration to have provided him with materials the accuracy of which is likely to be impounded in the high national forum of government. That this was so is proved by the fresh statistics presented to Parliament since on the question by the Minister of Planning which, even if they may not prove Dr. Lohia to have been wholly right, certainly does prove the Prime Minister wrong. Below is the statistical material presented to Parliament by Mr. Nanda relating to the consumption expenditure of the people of India at different income levels :

Per cent of the population	Monthly Average Expenditure Urban (Rs.)	Rural (Rs.)	Per day Average Expenditure Urban (nP)	Rural (nP)
0-5	8.53	7.09	28	24
5-10	10.4	7.09	33	27
10-20	13.88	10.67	40	31
20-30	16.61	12.82	45	35
30-40	19.56	14.62	50	39
40-50	21.94	16.47	55	42
50-60	25.50	18.79	60	45
60-70	27.68	21.25	64	49
70-80	35.65	24.70	71	53
80-90	43.86	29.95	80	58
90-100	88.76	51.16	101	70

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The above figures are stated to relate to the period between September, 1961 and July, 1962. The average per day consumption expenditure for the poorest 60 per cent of the population would, on the basis of the above figures, seem to work out approximately at nP 46.75 for the urban and nP. 36.25 for the rural sectors of the population respectively. The average, per day, for the urban and rural sectors together would, accordingly, work out at nP. 41.5 per day which is just above 6½ annas a day; Mr. Nanda is said to have worked it out at 7½ annas a day. This, clearly, would be an over-estimate since approximately a third of the country's population inhabit the rural sector. The average of the rural sector and the urban sector taken together would seem, therefore, to work out at nP. 36.375 per day or just under 6 annas a day! The average for the whole population on the above basis would work out at nP. 52.2 per day, which is poor enough in all conscience!

But even then these figures would still seem to be misleading and would not be likely to present a factually correct picture of the actual state of the situation. In the first instance, the figures relate to the people's consumption expenditure and not to their incomes. It is true that on the whole the rates of consumption expenditure would be bound to materially reflect the related incomes of the pertinent income-groups, but the latter may not be exactly coincidental with the former. In fact, since the entire low-income level population of the country are known to be in debt in more or less degree, it may only be logical to assume that consumption expenditure would, in some measure exceed actual income. This may be so because the consumption expenditure reflects a level of subsistence at which one may just exist and no more. Presumably consumption expenditure is not likely to exceed the income level by any very substantial margins for at these extremely low level of incomes the credit of the income-earner is not likely to be very much.

Then, again, there is the qestion of how much of the gross national income the highest income-groups appropriate which will, in its turn correspondingly depress the averages worked out in the above figures. The Mahalanobis Committee's findings on the deployment of the national income, contending that approximately 50 per cent of the national income is appropriated by the top income-earning 1 per cent of the population, relates to a period now a few years old. The trends may have changed materially since, possibly even for the worse. But since that is not yet accurately known, it is not possible to contend to what extent the above average would be vitiated by the appropriations off the national income of the top income-earning groups. It is possible that these groups no longer appropriate as much as 50 per cent of the national income as found earlier by the Mahalanobis Committee. It may be somewhat less, but even so it is not likely to be very much less. All that can be contended in the absence of accurate and uptodate figures in this behalf, is that such appropriations, whatever their extent, would be bound to correspondingly depress the average per capta daily incomes of the lowest income groups.

The matter is now scheduled to be debated in the Lok Sabha on a later date and if, then, the Planning Minister's figures are found to be even remotely indicative of the true state of affairs in this behalf, it would not merely be tantamount to a severe indictment of the processes of development planning under Government aegis, it would also wholly demolish Mr. Morarji Desai's claims for compulsory savings as an instrument of restricting conspicuous consumption. If Mr. Nanda's present statistics can be relied upon to present a factual picture of the consumption level of 60 per cent of our people (even at higher levels except perhaps the top 10 per cent it could not, obviously, be very different!), it is obvious that it is far below legitimate subsistence mark for nP. 36.375 would not procure even a fully filling meal of mere wheat and salt, or gramme and salt or rice and salt, without any of the garnishings of necessary fats, proteins and vegetables. Where, in the circumstances, is there any scope of conspicuous consumption that it has to be restricted?

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It would be interesting in this connection to review the process of growth of the national income during the first decade of Planning. According to the **Economic Survey,** Government of India, 1962-63, the following are a resume of the growth of the national and per capita incomes at 1948-49 prices :

Year	National Income (Rs. crores)	Per-Capita Income (Rs.)	Index Numbers Per National Income	Per Capita Income
1951-52	9,100	250.3	105.2	100.3
1952-53	9,460	255.7	109.4	102.4
1953-54	10,030	266.2	116.0	106.7
1954-55	10,280	267.8	118.8	107.3
1955-56	10,480	267.8	121.2	107.1
1957-58	10,890	267.3	125.9	107.1
1958-59	11,650	280.1	134.7	112.2
1959-60	11,860	279.2	137.1	111.9
1960-61	12,750	293.7	147.4	117.7
1961-62	13,020	293.4	150.5	117.5

The figures are claimed to have been adjusted for population increases and can, therefore, be taken to more or less correctly represent the state of per capita income progress (at 1948-49 prices) in relation to the growth of the national income.

Elsewhere in this feature we have already discussed at some length the trend of price increases over the periods of development planning and, especially over the one year. We have also taken into account in that connection the progression of taxation, both direct and indirect and their possible impact upon prices and living levels. Viewed in the context of the poor Indian income levels, the total picture would present a most dismal facet. It is true that economic growth would be bound to call for a large masure of abstemeousness on the part of the people to enable investment rates to be accelerated to keep pace with the needs of growth. The burden of defence in the context of a subsisting enemy invasion would be bound to impose further additional loads upon the people. Immediate sacrifices are, obviously, against the need of current existence in the country. But all these needs can only be contributed to by the people from out of margins beyond actual subsistence needs. No one has the right to ask the people to starve themselves to death so that the sinews of development and defence may eventuate. Further impoverishment would seem to be wholly unnecessary.

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CO-OPERATIVE BANKING

By VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA

A review of co-operative banking in India during 1962, should be based on statistical data for that calendar year. Unfortunately, these are not available from one single authoritative service. Hence this review has to be based on material culled from different sources, with some statistics being for 1961, some for the co-operative year 1961-62, ending 30th June 1962, and a few others till the end of the year 1962.

In the "Statistical Tables relating to Banks in India for 1961". There is some information given about co-operative banks. The term 'co-operative banks' is applied to "State and Central Co-operative Banks and Urban Co-operative Banks (including banking unions and industrial co-operative banks) with capital and reserves of Rs. 1 lakh and over registered under the laws of the State where they are situated". The position of banks conforming to this description as on 30 June, 1961 was as under :

Types	Year	No. of banks	Deposits	Total Liabilities (Rs. in crores)	Loans outstanding
State Co-operative Banks	1958-59	22	58.44	152.02	101.22
	1959-60	22	60.15	160.75	129.86
	1960-61	21	72.33	225.11	166.69
Central Co-operative Banks	1958-59	369	75.97	190.68	126.46
	1959-60	368	92.71	247.60	170.94
	1960-61	361	109.10	305.39	214.39
Urban Co-operative Banks (excluding banks in Jammu & Kashmir)	1958-59	264	32.44	46.69	27.41
	1959-60	312	38.99	54.36	32.41
	1960-61	304	41.58	57.72	34.99
Banking Unions and Industrial Co-operative Banks	1958-59	33	2.01	7.11	4.37
	1959-60	32	2.70	8.43	5.17
	1960-61	29	2.91	9.13	5.40

Later, in the article more recent figures will be given wherever available. Here it is necessary to set these figures against the background of scheduled as well as non-scheduled banks and in the context of the co-operative movement as a whole. Below are the relevant figures as on 27th April, 1962.

Type	No. of banks	Deposit liabilities (Rs. crores)	Bank credit
Scheduled banks	83	2,107.34	1,433.56
Non-scheduled banks	212	37.46	24.82
3			

The number of agricultural credit societies, to serve which the State and central co-operative banks are primarily intended, numbered 2.21 lakhs in June 1962 with a membership of 21 million persons. As on 30th June, 1961, they had total liabilities of Rs. 274.93 crores of which Rs. 14.59 crores represented deposits. Loans outstanding from members amounted to Rs. 218.00 crores. The bulk of these societies depend on borrowings from Central Banks for their funds and are small in size. It is interesting, however, to note that in several States there are quite a number of agricultural credit societies which have capital and reserves of Rs. 1 lakh and over. The number of these as on 30th June, 1961

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was 230, Maharashtra having the largest number, namely, 81. Only a few of these institutions can fall within the category of banks.

Attracting deposits to these societies is one of the tasks before those connected with the co-operative credit movement, the importance of which is not unfortunately fully appreciated. It is true that conditions of our agrarian economy are different from those in other countries. All the same, one may well draw attention to the fact that in Japan where the agricultural credit movement is, comparatively, of recent origin the deposits in primary societies amounting to 793 billion yen are almost double the loans outstanding from members amounting to 378 billion yen. It is this feature of working which, in Japan, has lent strength to the entire agricultural co-operative credit structure from the primary unit to the national organisation. In order to attract deposits, a primary unit should be viable. It is regretable that, in the controversy over the size of societies the need for viability, which is the essence of a credit institution, was apt to be ignored. A viable unit would have a small office and a full-time secretary to attend to customers. The institution should be in a position to supplement the cash it holds by building up fluid resources with its central bank. Only then can it induce its members to entrust their savings to it.

The second broad division of the co-operative credit system comprises non-agricultural credit societies. As on 30th June, 1961, these numbered 11,995, with a membership of 45.73 lakhs. Their aggregate resources were Rs. 150 crores, of which Rs. 95.05 crores represented deposits. Outstanding loans stood at Rs. 115.55 crores. This group is composed of urban banks, employees' credit societies and artisans' societies. Their borrowings from outside by way of loans are not large, the bulk of the funds being derived from share capital, reserves and deposits of members and non-members. Hitherto, there has been a continuous rise in deposits in this group of societies; for instance, the increase during the year was of the order of Rs. 11.78 crores. With the introduction of the deposit insurance scheme for scheduled and non-scheduled banks whether the societies will be in a position to attract deposits to the same extent as heretofore is, however, problematical.

There are quite a large number of non-agricultural credit societies in almost all ... with capital of over Rs. 1 lakh each. The number of such institutions as on 30th June, ... was 792, of which as many as 330 were in M... rashtra. More even than the smaller socie... these depended largely on share capital rese... and deposits for their resources.

At the outset figures have been given a... the number of urban co-operative banks and ... operations. These figures are culled f... "Statistical Tables Relating to Banks in In... which contain information only about ... with owned resources of over 1 lakh. In addi... however, there are several non-agricultural co... societies which carry on what may be ter... banking operations but whose owned reso... are below the figure of Rs. 1 lakh. A survey ... such banks was conducted by the agricul... department of the Reserve Bank of India ... 1957-58. The following features were consid... essential for a non-agricultural credit society ... be included in the category of banks: (1) ... mum paid up share capital, Rs. 20,0... (2) provision of important banking facili... such as withdrawal of deposits by cheq... remittance of funds, etc.; and (3) maintena... of fluid resources according to the standa... prescribed. On the basis of eligibility the numb... of urban co-operative banks as on 30th June, 19... was 826, their membership 11.81 lakhs and th... working capital, Rs. 56.96 crores. The owned fu... amounted to Rs. 7.93 crores and the depo... Rs. 27.25. The outstanding loans due fr... members were Rs. 24.17 crores of which 2... crores were shown as overdue. Various sugg... tions were made in the report about furt... development of this branch of the co-operati... credit system, particularly by way of provid... for their members, in the restricted sph... covered by them, banking facilities such as ... available from joint stock banks. They w... continue however, to have success in mobiliz... the savings of their members only if they ... vigilant about maintaining a high standard ... business efficiency and some arrangements ... devised to have deposits in these banks cover... by a scheme of deposit insurance.

In the three tiered co-operative structu... central co-operative banks, usually one for ev... district, play an important part in functioni... as balancing centres and credit agencies for ... primary units within their jurisdiction. Acco...

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ing to the latest figures available the position of these banks as on 30th June, 1962 is as under :

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BANKS

	1960-61	1961-62
Number of banks	390	386
Number of offices	1445	N.A.
Paid up capital—	(Rs. in crores)	
Total	38.92	10.30
Government	47.53	11.91
Reserves—		
Statutory	5.66	6.55
Other	6.27	7.46
Deposits	112.01	123.40
Other borrowings	141.16	167.69
Working capital	304.94	352.65
Loans issued	354.38	370.98
Loans outstanding	220.03	258.54
Overdue	27.42	40.40

The main facts which emerge from a study of these figures is that while the working capital increased by Rs. 48 crores the rise in deposits was only Rs. 11 crores, the bulk of the increased resources having been derived from the Reserve Bank through the apex Co-operative or state banks. It is also noticed that both the volume of overdue loans and their proportion to the outstanding loans increased during the year. It is also a matter worth notice that the outstanding loans were nearly twice the amount of deposits held by the banks.

At the apex are State Co-operative Banks, which are the bodies that are accorded statutory recognition under the Reserve Bank of India Act. The comparative position of these institutions for the last two years for which statistics are available is as under :

	1960-61	1961-62
Number of banks	21	21
Number of offices	119	N.A.
Paid up capital—	(Rs. in crores)	
Total	18.24	21.26
Government	6.45	7.68
Reserves—		
Statutory	2.55	3.01
Others	3.20	4.60
Deposit	72.33	81.31
Other borrowings	125.31	145.79
Working capital	821.65	255.99
Loans issued	258.20	256.28
Loans outstanding	166.79	196.51
Overdue	6.97	7.93

For these apex institutions too it will be noticed that the increase in deposits is much less than in their working capital, the main contribution to the growth of which is by way of larger borrowings from the Reserve Bank. Advances were much in excess of twice the deposits. Despite the substantial increase in the amount of loans outstanding, there was only a small rise in overdue loans.

Between them, the State and Central Banks had 1,564 offices. In spite of a very definite recommendation of the Co-operative Credit Committee (1960) it is still not the practice in several States for district central banks to open branches in tehsil towns or bazar centres. From the points of view of maintaining intimate touch with primary societies which draw the bulk of their funds from the banks, and raising larger deposits throughout a district and of enabling the affiliated institutions to draw loans at short intervals as and when required, the need for the pursuit of a vigorous branch expansion programme for district banks cannot be overemphasised. In some States, however, the position is by no means unsatisfactory. In Maharashtra, for instance, the number of offices of co-operative banks (including urban banks) is nearly as large as that of offices of scheduled banks, the figures being 528 and 585. The position is almost equally satisfactory in Gujarat. In Madhya Pradesh, again, there are more offices of co-operative banks than of scheduled and non-scheduled banks put together. Taking India as a whole, co-operative banks have 1,940 offices out of a total of 6,942 offices for all types of banks. It is noteworthy, however, that in the smaller centres of population there are more offices of co-operative banks than of other banks as the following set of figures will show :

Population	No. of places	No. of offices of cooperative banks	No. of offices of other banks
5,000 to 10,000	471	343	301
Below 5,000	183	133	76

Institutions specializing in the provision of long-term credit for agriculturists are designated land mortgage banks, primary at the district or tehsil level and central at the state level. They are, however, not banks in the strict sense of

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the term. They are aided by Government both directly and indirectly and the mortgage debentures issued by the Central Land Mortgage Banks are guaranteed by the State Governments concerned, both in respect of principal and interest. Both the Reserve Bank of India and the State Bank of India purchase these debentures and recognize them as security for lendings. The position of co-operative land mortgage banks is shown in the following table :

	Central	Primary
Number of banks	18	463
Paid up capital—	(Rs. in crores)	
Total	4.33	1.96
Govt. contribution	2.09	—
Reserves—		
Statutory	.64	.33
Others	.46	.16
Debentures	36.52	24.13
Working capital	47.60	26.98
Sinking fund	6.90	—
Loans outstanding amount	36.61	24.66
Amount overdue	1.21	.64
Membership (in lakhs)	—	6.69

Various problems connected with the development of co-operative central and state banks were dealt with, in its report, by the Co-operative Credit Committee (1960). Without going into details, a few of these may be referred to briefly : (i) Although with the grant of extensive credit facilities to State Co-operative banks by the Reserve Bank of India, there was a considerable and continuous increase in the amount of loans advanced to members of primary agricultural societies, surveys of progress indicated that the benefit of these facilities had reached small-sized owner cultivators and tenants only in small measure. The recommendation was made that there should be a definite programme for inducing co-operative societies and banks to provide crop loans to agricultural producers on the basis of their crop requirements. A scheme was formulated which was later accepted by the Central Government for the grant of special incentives to primary societies and to central banks to promote such expansion of crop finance. From the reports published so far it is not known to what extent these incentives have been availed of and what the effect of these has been on making available productive credit for the weaker sec of the agricultural community.

(ii) While the Committee recomm raising of the scale of lendings by the Re Bank of India for purposes of both short and medium term requirements of co-oper banks, it made such increase to a certain de linked to the growth of deposits in these ba From some of the figures set forth earlier will be clear that an increase of the c necessary has not taken place in the inflow deposits in Central and State Co-oper Banks. Along with the opening of branches offices of central banks, among the steps sugge was the provision for depositors of ban services, particularly in the matter of colle of cheques and remittance of funds, safe cus arrangements, such as are available thr joint stock banks. The rates of interest sh it was also suggested, be more or less regul according to the prevailing rate offered good scheduled banks. If an increase in the of borrowings necessitated the raising of rate of interest on lendings that situation should be faced.

(iii) Initially, all accommodation from Reserve Bank of India was on a short-term ba In pursuance of the recommendations of Rural Credit Survey Committee, provision made in the Reserve Bank of India Act for grant of medium-term credit on a limited s out of a special fund created for the purp The Committee found that the volume of cr allowed could appropriately be enhanced recommended an increase in the annual con bution made by the Reserve Bank of India to fund. Both these recommendations have be accepted in principle. The published all In statistical statements, however, do not separate figures for short term and med term loans. Another of the Committee's commendations related to the increased ass tance that both the State Bank of India and Reserve Bank of India might well render in raising of debenture capital by central mortgage banks which has already been imp mented in practice.

No survey of co-operative banking wo be deemed complete without a reference to part played in its development by the S Bank of India and the Reserve Bank of In One of the reasons for the conversion of

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Imperial Bank of India which was a joint stock concern into a nationalised institution was the need for enabling the large resources the institution commanded—mainly because of the special status and prestige it enjoyed—for the financing of agriculture, especially through the co-operative agency. Almost since the time of its nationalisation, the State Bank of India has followed a policy of extending to co-operative banking credit, remittance and other facilities, safeguarding at the same time the mutual relations that should subsist between federating and federal Credit agencies. The extent of the finance made availably by the State Bank of India may be seen from the following figures :

	1960-61	1961-62
Remittance of facilities :	Rs.	Rs.
Reserve Bank of India Scheme	123.6 crores	131.7 crores
State Bank of India Scheme	92.1 crores	102.7 crores
Collective purchase of bills etc.	231.2 lakhs	310.1 lakhs
Advances to Co-operative Banks		
Credit limits	15.8 crores	22.0 crores
Outstandings	2.6 crores	3.8 crores
Land mortgage banks		
Investment in debentures	113.9 lakhs	203.5 lakhs
Advances		
Limits	91.8 lakhs	343.2 lakhs
Outstandings	19.1 lakhs	151.4 lakhs
Advance to Sugar Factories		
Numbers	14	17
Credit limits	509.5 lakhs	647.9 lakhs
Outstandings	331.9 lakhs	279.6 lakhs
Advances to Processing & Marketing Societies :		
No.	168	125
Credit limits	254.9 lakhs	111.9 lakhs
Outstandings	39.3 lakhs	29.9 lakhs

The role of the Reserve Bank of India in the development of co-operative banking (other than in the field of urban banking) is much more specific and direct than that of the State Bank of India. It stretches back to the time when the agricultural credit department was created. Into the details of the manner in which this relationship has developed and in what form it has been extended it is not necessary to enter for the purposes of this review. The enactment governing the Reserve Bank of India has been amended from time to time to give effect to the changes in State policy in respect of agricultural credit and credit for cottage industries policies in the formulation of which the Reserve Bank of India itself has had a considerable share. While the bulk of the financial accommodation which the Reserve Bank of India provides is channeled through State Co-operative Banks, there are certain funds placed at the disposal of Government and of the Central Machinery and Co-operative Development Board (now reconstituted into two separate bodies). The latest statistical material avaibable has been presented in the following form in the Report on Currency and Finance, 1962-62.

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STATE AID AND RESERVE BANK CREDIT TO CO-OPERATIVES, 1961-62.

(Amount in lakhs of Rupees)

Purpose	Amount outstanding at the end of March 1961	Amount advanced during the year April 1961 to March 1962	Amount outstanding at the end of March 1962
RESERVE BANK CREDIT			
A. Loans to State co-operate banks—			
Short term :—			
I. Seasonal agricultural operations and marketing of crops (at 2 per cent below Bank rate)	79,14.42	151,69.42	107,51.22
II. Production and marketing of hand-loom products (at 1½ per cent below Bank rate)	2,40.70	3,54.30	3,35.63
III. Purchase and sale of yarn (at Bank rate)	12.50	1,73.90	65.00
IV. Meeting working capital requirements of co-operative sugar factories (at Bank rate)	—	20,32.00	18.00
V. General banking purposes (at Bank rate)	9.00	9,83.00	18.50
Medium term :—			
I. Agricultural purposes (at 1½ per cent below Bank rate)	7,63.10	7,11.33	10,81.50
II. Financing agriculturists for purchase of shares in co-operative sugar factories (at Bank rate)	—	10.00	10.00
B. Loans to State Governments for contribution to the share capital of co-operative credit institutions*	19,95.17	5,42.65	24,36.80
C. Investments in debentures			
I. Rural debentures	1,07.15	70.81**	1,77.96
II. Ordinary debentures	66.81	72.20**	1,39.02
STATE AID (National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board—Loan Assistance)			
A. National Co-operative Development Fund.			
I. Loans for share capital contribution of co-operative institutions II. Loans for other purposes	5,04.64	2,66.84	7,26.50
B. National Warehousing Development Fund			
I. Loans to Central Warehousing Corporation	2,87.95	2.20	4,36.66
II. Loans for share capital contribution of State Warehousing Corporations		14.75	
III. Loans for other purposes		1,49.40	

* Rate of interest charged to State Governments in respect of these loans is *nil* per cent for the first two years, 2 per cent during the next 2½ years, 2½ per cent for the next 4 years and 3 per cent during the next 3 years.

** Purchased during the year.

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According to still later statistics in Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, Vol. XVII, No. 4, April 1963, the position at the end of March 1963, in respect of State Corporations, may be summarised as under :

	1961-62	1962-63
	(Rupees in crores)	
	192.92	220.28
Total advances	122.80	134.32
Outstandings		
Sec. 17 2(b)—	—	—
a	—	—
b		
Sec. 17 4(a)—	32.33	50.39
a	4.90	6.71
b		
Sec. 17 4(c)—	153.39	166.31
a	106.99	118.26
b		
Sec. 17 4(A)—	7.21	3.58
a	10.92	9.35
b		

Of the special development which took place during the year, mention may be made of the special arrangements made in consultation with the Reserve Bank of India for the production and development credit required to be provided under the Intensive Agricultural District Programme, popularly known us Package Plan. In regard to medium term and long term credits whereas action was initiated on the lines recommended by the Co-operative Credit Committee, both the Reserve Bank of India and the Central Government came to the conclusion that the arrangements made might not be adequate considering the magnitude of the financial requirements of a comprehensive programme of land development. To supplement the facilities available under the Reserve Bank of India Act, the decision was taken by the Bank and the Central Government during 1962 to establish an Agricultural Refinance Corporation for the financing of special schemes of land improvement which would work in close collaboration with the Reserve Bank of India and whose resources would be at the disposal of all banks engaged in the financing of the agricultural industry.

The large extent to which co-operative banking is dependent for its resources on the central bank of the country will be evident from the fact that increasingly their advances are financed by funds derived from the Reserve Bank of India. The contrasts with the position of scheduled banks will be clear from the following table :

Outstanding borrowings		Aggregate deposits	
	(Rs. in crores)		
1951-52	1962-63	1951-52	1962-63
Scheduled banks			
154.13	71.28	822.05	2042.30
State Co-operative banks			
7.81	134.22	16.84	42.65

In State co-operative banks advances constitute 428.83 per cent of the deposits while the corresponding figure for scheduled banks is 77.75 per cent and for non-scheduled banks is 35.9 per cent. Because of the provisions of the Reserve Bank of India Act and the Banking Companies' Act, the operations of these banks are subject to supervision by and regulation on the part of the Reserve Bank of India. During the year 1961-62, 54 scheduled banks and 168 non-scheduled banks were inspected by the Reserve Bank of India. After such inspection is carried out, vigorous measures are taken to get the defects pointed out at the inspections and rectified. The principal defects noticed are classified and tabulated and an analysis presented in the annual report on "the Trend and Progress of Banking in India." The provisions in virtue of which such inspections are carried out, do not apply to Co-operative Banks. However, the affairs of State Co-operative Banks and their affiliated institutions also come in for inspection; so far, 1,804 inspections have been carried out, of which 93 were of State Co-operative Banks, 1325 of Central Co-operative Banks, 20 of Industrial Co-operative Banks, 11 of Central Land-mortgage Banks and 355 of miscellaneous societies.

No publications of the Reserve Bank of India contain any record of the defects pointed out or of the action taken in pursuance of the inspections. Considering the responsibility assumed by the Reserve Bank of India for providing the resources needed by the Co-operative banking system for production credit and for developmental finance, as well as in the light of the demand voiced for the extension of the deposit insurance scheme to the co-operative banking system, the question of making co-operative banks subject statutorily to inspection by the Reserve Bank of India, merits early and serious consideration.

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TAX REFORM: MAJOR TASK AHEAD

By : I. BHATNAGAR

Emergence of New Pattern

It is the accent on economic progress that has led to the formulation of three successive Five-Year Plans and, again, it is the vital need to secure resources to fulfil these that has been instrumental in the emergence of a new pattern of Taxation. Faced with an almost insatiable demand for an increase in its developmental activities and expenditure and, now, with defence needs due to Emergency, the Government of India seems to be hard-pressed and in its constant search for more revenue. Among the many problems arising from the implementation of the Second and Third Five-Year Plans, the role of taxation has received increasing emphasis. Even during the First Plan, although the budget proposals of the Central Government were mainly related to the successful implementation of it, every year these proposals were also greatly influenced by the exigencies of the situation. Recently, the marks of the recommendation given by the Taxation Enquiry Commission and the Report on Indian Tax Reform by Prof. Kaldor have paved the way for changes in the pattern of taxation.

A sound policy of taxation not only helps the Government in raising the necessary resources for its manifold functions, but also serves the end of social justice and economic stability. In so far as personal and business taxes are concerned, there are three dominant features which determine the tax policy —to levy taxes on the higher income groups not only to raise revenue but also as a part of the programme to reduce inequalities ; to give relief to lower income groups by way of family allowances, etc ; to treat the business incomes more favourably and to encourage their ploughing back. With regard to indirect taxes, these are welcome in under-developed countries because they reach people with incomes low enough to exempt from income tax as well as th persons with high incomes who manage evade the income tax. Apart from rai funds for development outlays, indi taxes can help to maintain or restore ec mic stability. They are expected to re the ability to spend by taking money a from consumers. They lessen, to some tent at least, the incentive to spend, bec tax liability can be reduced by saving m and spending less. If, however, the dem for certain consumption goods is inela indirect taxation of the outlay on such c modities may not have the desired effec reducing the incentive to spend on th particular goods. Nevertheless, the co quent 'income-effect' on the demand other goods with more elastic demand likely to restrict their consumption.

It can be said that the new tax patte was mainly guided by the following cons tions :

(i) to increase revenues to meet requirements of the Plan;
(ii) to promote savings and check flationary pressures ;
(iii) to minimise evasion; and
(iv) to make taxes "broad-base progressive and equitable.

Its actual Working

But as regards incentives to cap formation and investment, the present pattern is not encouraging. The progr report on the Third Plan makes dole reading. The average annual increase 4 per cent achieved during the Second Pl was meagre enough. Many unplanned e nomies whose governments rarely m claim to social purposes have been achi ing this average in the last few years. F our record is that from the Second Plan's per cent annual increase we have drop

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to a mere 2.1 per cent in the Third. The progress of national savings is none too good. During the decade 1950-51 to 1960-61, it showed an increase of only 11%, from 6.7% in 1950-51 to 7.51% in 1960-61. Squeezing the water of inflation from it, the rate is closer to 7 or even less. The total savings in 1961-62 from the combined revenues of the Centre and the States amounting to over Rs. 2,000 crores, were only Rs. 48 crores.

According to a study entitled 'Taxation and Private Investment' made by the National Council of Applied Economic Research "the rate of saving in the economy does not seem to have kept pace with the rate of investment in recent years. Even the savings of public and private limited companies do not show an upward trend in the years for which data is available. What is more disquieting is the trend in savings in the Government sector. If the capacity to save of individuals is curtailed, but the savings by Government correspondingly increase, then at least it could be maintained that public savings have taken the place of private savings. The real position, however, is quite the contrary. Net savings by the public sector have really declined since 1951-52. The ratio of net Government savings to net Government investment has steadily fallen from 94% in 1951-52 to 18% in 1957-58." It can also be said that despite some new measures and increase in the level of taxation, the ratio of public revenues to national income has not improved. Currently, it is around 11.7% only. During the decade 1950-51 to 1961-62, despite an expansion of 81% in industrial production income-tax receipts from individuals rose by 7.0 per cent, from Rs. 133 crores to Rs. 142 crores.

Besides the new pattern has not removed some inherent defects in the tax system to any sufficient extent. The regressive character of the tax structure, for example, still remains. The problems of arrears and evasion are stupendous. The tax payer has a vital stake in these problems because to the extent the Income Tax Department is unable to garner the arrears and evasions, the burden on the honest citizens tends to increase through additional taxation. The total arrears as on March 31, 1959, in case of Income-tax alone amounted to Rs. 271.56 crores. The heavy tax evasion and tax avoidence is reflected by the figures given above that an expansion of 81% in industrial production brought an increase of 7% only in income tax receipts. Mr. N. Kaldor placed tax dodging at an annual order of Rs. 200 to 300 crores in 1956. Since then the indications are that this has gone up substantially.

While there is considerable difference of opinion whether or not the wealthy have been really hit by the existing tax pattern (even "The London Economist" sums up the Budget thus: "Though Mr. Desai hoped that he was distributing burdens equitably but the only group who may feel they have got off lightly are the millionaires. No fresh attach of significance has been made on India's wealthy minority"), there is no difference of opinion that the poor and the middle classes are heavily burdened.

The present pattern is considered integrated and comprehensive. Only recently the pattern was like this: Income tax on what we earn, Expenditure tax on what we spend, Wealth tax on what one saves, Gift tax on what one gives and an Estate Duty on what one has left after death. Wealth Tax and Expenditure Tax have since been abolished but substituted with a number of other measures which this time affect the lower incomes. There is also a compulsory deposit scheme. Theoratically it may seem to be a good pattern, but doubts can be raised as to whether it is not a complicated structure. One may grumble and groan merely because he does not know how many taxes he has to pay, how many forms to fill or how many legal formalities to face, apart from the actual burden of taxation itself. The complicated structure, besides causing inconvenience to the tax-payer, makes tax-collection costly and conseqently necessitates still higher rates of taxes, which in turn make evasion profitable. The vicious cicrle can be broken only by making the tax structure simple.

Another serious defect of the tax system is that it is difficult to reconcile with the sweeping changes it undergoes. There is

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instability and uncertainty, and any calculations made in the previous year will be upset by the time the new budget is prepared; such changes are introduced even in the middle of the financial year. Frequent and short-sighted experimentation in the tax system eliminates stability essential for the healthy growth of our economy. Instead of a "coherent, continuous, planned policy" the aim is always just to adjust budgetary needs. Over the last decade or two, persons belonging to the middle income groups (i.e. those with an annual income of between Rs. 6,000 and Rs. 20,000) have been the victims of both a high personal taxation and the inflationary price spiral. Accustomed as they are to a standard of living slightly higher than that of the industrial workers, they spend quite a sizable portion of their earnings on articles other than the bare necessities of life, articles they cannot do without on account of habit, tradition and custom. Unfortunatly, it is the price of some of these very articles which have rocketed sky-high, much higher than the items which enter into the family budget of the industrial worker. As a result, white-collared persons have suffered much more than their blue-collared brethren.

The most significant fact in the lives of persons belonging to the middle class is that, during the past quarter of a century, their cost of living has increased much more than that of any other class, while their real earnings have progressively gone down. To enjoy today the necessities and comforts which they had on the eve of World War II, membres of this class would require at least four times their pre-war money income, but as everyone knows, their money income has not even doubled.

It is generally overlooked that in the middle income group more than in any other, the salaried person predominates. As the tax of the salaried person is always deducted at the source, it is he who will bear the brunt of the increase. For the others, there will always be scope for evasion : the higher tax, if at all paid, will fall as usual on a smaller income than actually earned. The very rich and also persons in the professions (doctors, lawyers, shopkeepers and traders) can arrange matters so neatly that they do not always have to pay taxes on the total income earned. The tax-payers in the middle income bracket do not, however, have this advantage, with the result that they are left with meagre assets despite their apparently high money incomes.

It will, perhaps, be argued that the defence of the country requires sacrifice from all sections of the community and people in the middle income groups must also make their contribution. But should the sacrifice be disproportionate to their ability? Despite the bait that a part of the additional liability may be discharged by making a deposit under the Compulsory Deposit Scheme, the fact remains that the additional surcharge that has been proposed is very steep indeed, particularly in the context of the burden that persons in this category already carry; the compulsory savings for which persons in this group may be asked to opt will merely replace the voluntary savings that some of them would have made by, say, taking out additional life insurance policies, by making extra-contributions to provident funds or by buying defence savings certificates or bonds. The theory that further lopping off of income is necessary to curb "conspicuous consumption" does not apply to persons in the middle income groups. Such consumption exists only in the upper income brackets and among persons who are able to so arrange their affairs that, whatever the rate to tax, they do not have to declare their entire income, and certainly not among the members of the unfortunate, hard pressed middle class.

Emergency apart, there is a heart-burning among the poor and the middle class because there is a strong feeling in a section that while wealthy men only have got off with a little (new excise duties have not been thought of, direct taxes on wealth such as the Wealth Tax and Estate duty and on improper expenditure in which disincentive for effort will be felt less, have been ignored), middle and lower incomes continue to bear the brunt of taxation and price increase. On the top of all is wasteful expenditure of Government while the people

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large already groaning under a heavy burden are made to carry the cross to feed it as well as the country's development. The non-Plan and administrative expenditure of Government of India amounted to Rs. 1,739 crores out of the total expenditure of Rs. 2,639 crores in 1962-63. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao had estimated in 1959 that a little economy in the Administration could save about Rs. 750 crores for the Third Plan without affecting efficiency or targets.

Individual Taxes Examined

After these general considerations, we may now examine some of the taxes themselves that affect the general public.

Taxation of individual incomes falls heavily on all but particularly on the lower reaches. There is a serious thing to note that in the lowering of the limit of non-taxable income (it is now Rs. 3,000), which was defended on the ground that tax should be broad-based and that even in countries with higher standards of living, the limit is still lower. But this measure severely hits lower middle class people, who have suffered most by inflation, by the rising costs of education, medical facilities, etc., and who have also to bear the burden of almost all indirect taxes.

Besides, the comparison with other countries is misleading. These countries, to which the comparison has been made, enjoy many free or cheap facilities and also social security benefits, while those advantages are absent in India. A married individual with more than one child (a case representative of the majority) with a salary income of Rs. 5,000 per year (Rs. 416.6 per month) will pay a tax of Rs. 241 as against the current liability of Rs. 42. An annual salary income of Rs. 40,000 will attract a tax of Rs. 12,979 as against Rs. 11,065 now. Then again the surcharge on income tax, which is a direct tax, will fall heavily on the middle income group. For those getting an income of Rs. 5,000/- a year the increase proposed is from Rs. 42 to Rs. 241. The tax for those with an annual income of Rs. 10,000 has almost been doubled.

Similarly this compulsory saving scheme applied on all with an annual income of Rs. 1,500 is iniquitous. Rs. 125 has been accepted as the minimum subsistence wage for an average family by the Tripartite Naini Tal Conference. While the urban people with an income of less than Rs. 125 per month have been exempted from compulsory saving scheme, in the rural areas each and every peasant was formerly made liable to the scheme. Thanks to the welcome concessions announced by Mr. Desai on April 16, 1963, whereby exemption of all landholders whose land revenue liability is less than Rs. 5/- per annum will straightway exclue 56 per cent of all farm households which will also incidentally introduce a major element of administrative simplification. "With the coming into force of the Compulsory Saving Scheme many poor people will be compelled to pay more in the form of penalties than savings" wrote an urbanite in a New Delhi paper.

Excise duties, it is true, have a prominent place in the Union tax structure ; but here the guiding consideration is merely to get additional revenue not industrial development. The common man's quarrel with the Budget as presented by Mr. Morarji Desai is that it has thrown a very inequitable burden on the poor sections of the community. The new proposals of indirect taxes total nearly Rs. 195 crores and include all items of daily and conventional necessaries of the common man like kerosene, tobacco, paper, yarn, soap, etc. These new taxes must be viewed against the background of rising indirect taxes during the last 10 years. Today indirect taxes come upto Rs. 1,000 crores or 74 per cent of the total tax and 54 per cent of the total revenue. If it is remembered that 10 per cent of our people live on an average of 22 nP. a day and 60 per cent of our people earn less than Rs. 25 per month, it will be clear that the new indirect imposts are very harsh, indeed. Also whatever the Government may say, it is a fact that in our economy of today there is no guarantee, whatsoever that additional excise or import duties shall act as a squeese on consumption. The result is bound to be a rocketing of prices. The rule is that, when taxes go

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up in Arithmatic Progression, the prices go up in Geometrical Progression. Since every indirect tax leads also to the imposition of a private tax by the traders, more and more people might be found willing to pay a direct tax to the Government and be done with it.

The Sales Tax structure is also yet to be rationalised. Apart from the controversy regarding single-point and multi-point Sales Tax, which we may not enter into, one cannot deny that sales tax is even imposed on necessities, which affect the common man who is already ill-fed and ill-clothed. If we cannot lift these taxes, they should at least be fairly light. However, taxes on luxuries need not be light.

If the States levy uniform rates of sales tax, it will help to bring about a much needed measure of rationalisation throughout the country. It is because of the varying rates of sales tax levied by the States that there have been endless disputes between the traders and the authorities. Reform has long been overdue. The State Finance Ministers have made a good beginning in the simplification of sales tax but the process must be carried further. There is no reason why the Centre should not draft a model sales tax Act for the guidance of the States for it would help to bring about uniformity in this field. Even States like Kerala, Mysore and Maharashtra which have enacted new sales tax Acts might benefit from such a model. As the Taxation Enquiry Commission urged some years ago, there should be uniformity between the different States in the matter of sales tax law, regulation, procedure and forms. The Augean stables of sales tax must be thoroughly cleansed now that a lead has been given by the State Finance Ministers.

The burden of direct taxation in India is the heaviest in the world. There is a tendency to introduce a number of different taxes to camouflage the total burden of taxation. With regard to indirect taxation the aim with which it was imposed was one thing and the result is another. It has only helped inflationery pressures. The increase in prices has only belied the Government's claim to have given the against inflation the highest priority. pany taxation inflicts no less a strain o firms. It has been reported that the paid up capital of existing companies creased from Rs. 1,077.6 crores in 19 to Rs. 1,724 crores in 1960-61 but the ber of companies went down from 2 to 26,108 in the same period.

The effects of the aforesaid tax measures carry an adverse characte on the rate of domestic capital forma There has been a decline also in Co tion savings. India's taxation of fo companies' investment is in general highest in the world. "It is very r higher than that of other countries, developed and underdeveloped, which actively seeking to attract foreign in ment." (Taxation and Foreign Inves —National Council of Applied Eco Research).

The twin ends of social justice economic stability are more impo than the immediate need of raising mo in any sound policy of taxation. Als fact remains that economic growth is surer source of revenue than an incre in tax rates (the tax concessions accou by Mr. Morarji Desai on 16th April, 1 are a recognition of this fact).

It is also to be recognised that one within the error of totals when he thi that by merely augmenting the Ce finances there will be **pro rata** econo growth. In a developing economy one study and stimulate economic and so motivation best only at State and l levels of welfare activities. A tax sy cannot but be evaluated in terms of out by all levels of public authorities benefits flowing therefrom. Failure to note of this and concentration on spen power at the Union level would be practice tantamount to frittering away fruits of taxation (Alvin Hansen — loff: State and Local Finance in National Economy).

The idea that plurality of taxes together, prevent tax evasion is a m theoretical fallacy. Besides it makes a system involved and leads to increas

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harrassment, evasion and dishonesty. The tax resources now open to the Government are by no means too many and many of them are already showing signs of strain. It also needs to be adequately recognised that the deciding factor in the promotion of honest tax-paying is the conviction of the public that the tax is justified and this conviction can only be secured if there is a reasonable lowering of rates. This is not to suggest that a man who deliberately falsifies his return would suddenly become honest if the rates were less.

As regards the incidence of the tax structure, the level of urban taxation is higher as compared to the rural, and urban indirect taxation is also more progressive than rural taxation. There is greater room for increased taxation on higher rural income. One has to admit that the total burden of taxation has increased much more in the urban than in the rural sector. It is unfair, in view of the fact, that due to our development programmes a greater part of the national income must have gone to the rural sector ; therefore there is no equality in the tax pattern and it can even be said that the new pattern does not mobilise resources from where they can be obtained with much less harm.

The iniquity of the prevailing land taxation is not confined to the farming sector alone but goes far beyond it. The internal value of money has declined phenomenally since the beginning of the World War II, so that the real value of each rupee of tax received by the Government may well be less than one-fourth of its pre-war value. The average land revenue paid today in India is somewhat less than three rupees per acre. If a standard acre is defined as one which pays Rs. 3 as land revenue it is possible to have a simple three-tier system in which all holdings of less than 5 standard acres pay what they are paying now or pay Rs. 3 per acre, i.e., the current average rate of land revenue ; all holdings of five standard acres and above but less than 10 standard acres pay Rs. 5 per acre ; and all holdings of 10 standard acres and above pay Rs. 10 per acre. It is estimated that the aggregate land revenue collected could thus increase roughly from the present figure of Rs. 100 crores or so to more than Rs. 200 crores. The addition amounting to Rs. 1,000 crores over a Five-Year Plan period is obviously most welcome from the angle of resources for development and defence.

Suggestions for Tax Reform

Thus we have to admit that a thorough rationalisation of the tax pattern is our primary need which has never been so imperrative as today. We are now facing critical problems and cannot afford sentimental or purely idealistic considerations to have sway us, so several defects pointed out above have got to be removed.

Among other things, the following measures can also be undertaken, so that the Government may get revenues for the Plan without affecting development :—

(1) Minimising state expenditure on items not vital for the Plan and our defence. Even as saving more and spending less represent the two sides of the same coin, the coin whose obverse is 'produce more' is marked 'avoid waste'. This may sound like a truism but for all that it deserves closer attention than it seems to be getting.

(2) Evasion should be met with ruthless punishment. One should have thought that the Government had adequate powers under the Defence of India Rules to deal with tax evaders. Such anti-national elements deserve no mercy particularly during an emergency.

(3) The entire tax structure should be rationalised. Simplification is also essential.

(4) Heavier taxes should be imposed on industries producing purely luxury items and having a meagre employment potential. Similarly in the interest of equity and economic growth it will be better to tax the spending of profits. In order to encourage companies to lay aside more funds for expansion we might have 2 rates of taxation. The existing rate of 50% may be made applicable to that proportion of profits which is not distributed and 55% on that distributed. None can dispute the fact that capital has to be diverted to fruitful avenues and for doing this it becomes the primary

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responsibility of the State to ensure that the fruits of investments are allowed to be enjoyed and capital is not scared away.

(5) The proportion of resources raised by taxes, foreign aid and deficit financing should be so balanced as to maximise national wealth and human welfare and strengthen our defence. The essential purpose that everybody has in mind is to coordinate defence with development and not at the cost of development. Our friends abroad are no doubt appreciative of the immense efforts this country is making to mobilise its own resources. But even they would be gravely concerned were this to be an empty effort that might win a battle but lose the war.

(6) By and large the States have shown indefensible hesitation to broaden and deepen the base of tax-revenue. They are operating on the periphery and fighting shy of taking the plunge with which they are charged on a lenient basis. A novel defence is being set up for them for their short performance in 1963-64. It is that the Centre's steep taxation has been a handicap to them. But two facts must be recognised. First, the centre is finalizing the entire defence outlay. Second, as against the Centre's Third Plan target of taxation of Rs. 1,100 crores, the States' target is fixed at Rs. 610 crores. Knowing full well that the Centre has a heavy liability for defence outlay in coming years, they insist on full-sized plans of their own.

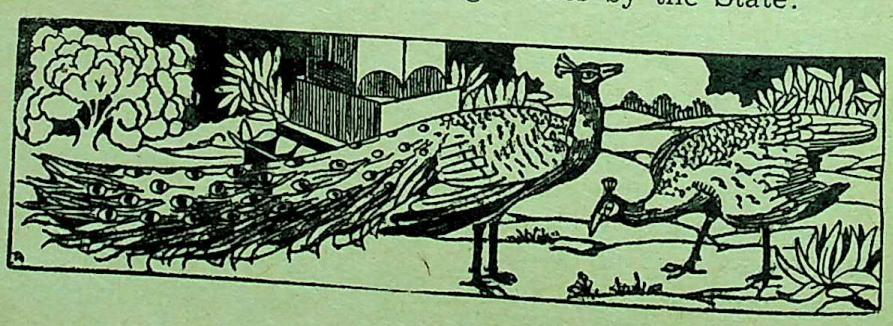
A majority of the States have failed substantially to discharge this crucial responsibility. This failure is to be interpreted in conjunction with the significant fact that about 50 per cent of the physical targets of the Plan are left over by them for fulfilment in the last two years.

(7) Indirect taxes can, to a certain extent, be progressive such as moderate taxation of basic commodities while goods of higher quality, larger size, de luxe and semi-luxury articles can be more heavily taxed. The charging of discriminating rates of indirect tax seems to be more faesible because of rather clear-cut differences in consumption expenditure pattern of the bulk of the population and the highest income groups in an underdeveloped country.

(8) In the context of the difficult fiscal problems the Government faces today it would be a pity if it failed to take bold and even unorthodox decisions. For instance, the Government has to be clear in its mind whether it still wants to pursue prohibition at such a heavy cost to the exchequer and with so little benefit to the vast majority of the people. The Government is still undecided on this issue. That even in an emergency we cannot be realistic in our tax policies is further clear from the prevailing attitude to salt duty. Sentiment sill stands in the way of imposing it though commodities no less essential than salt are being taxed. If salt is regarded as a symbol of our battle for attaining freedom, there is no reason why it should not be taxed for defending it. Nevertheless, if for any reason, the Government is still opposed the imposition of salt duty, it is open to it to bring salt under a fiscal monopoly which will enable the Government to build a certain element of tax into its price structure.

(9) Rural savings are to be tapped more systematically and intensively. Heavy taxes can be imposed on higher slabs of agricultural income in all the States.

(10) More reliance should be placed on mobilising savings and borrowing programmes by the State.



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THE GENESIS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

By B. L. GROVER, M.A., Ph.D.,
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Why was the Indian National Congress founded in the year 1885? Why was it left to an ex-Secretary to the Government of India and a national of the white ruling race to organise a political forum for the well-being of the Indians? What were Hume's real motives? Did the idea of the Indian National Congress originate with Lord Dufferin? Was the Indian National Congress a product of Dufferin's machiavellianism or Hume's liberalism or a by-product of their conspiracy? Was Russophobia the compelling motive? These questions have so far defied satisfactory answers.

It was W. C. Bonnerjee[2] who first propounded the thesis that the Indian National Congress as an all-India political organisation owed its origin to the scheming brain of Dufferin of Alva. The Viceroy sent for Mr. A. O. Hume and convinced him that the latter's proposal to set up an all-India organisation to reform social evils of Indian society would not be of much avail and instead suggested the need for an all-India political organisation which could point out to the Government the defects of the administration and also how these could be removed. The great proconsul's idea was that the proposed organisation should perform the same functions in India which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England. Hume discussed the Viceroy's plan with the Indian politicians and all decided to work out the project. Bonnerjee's view is vouched for by Mr. Wedderburn, the biographer of Hume. This contention is also supported by Lala Lajpat Rai[3] who has further developed the theme that Dufferin-Hume worked out the plan of an 'innocuous and loyal' political organisation to serve as a 'safety-valve' for the escape of the mounting dangers that beset the British Empire. Pattabhi Sitaramayya[4] also subscribes to the general view that Dufferin and Hume worked in unison and evolved out the plan of a political organisation. The official records of the Government of India and the Private Correspondence of Lord Dufferin give an insight into the developments connected with the inception of the Indian National Congress and negates Bonnerjee's view. A broad perspective of the developments suggests that the egg of Indian nationalism had been incubated decades earlier and this national consciousness was a product of the Indian renaissance and contemporary Western influences; Russophobia worked the part of the incubator and brought the egg to a ripening point while Mr. Hume only struck the shell of the ripe egg and thus played the part of the *nurse* rather than of the *father* of the Indian National Congress.

Russophobia and Indian Fermentation

The fear of Russian advancement in Central Asia and the apprehendd invasion of Herat in the spring of 1885 kept the Indian Government on tenterhooks. As was the case with the Irish people during the American and French Revolutions, the people of India gave demonstration of their loyalty to the Crown by offering themselves as volunteers for the defence of their country. The Indian press and western educated Indians demanded the organisation of volunteer corps. A similar demand came from the European residents in India also. The Indian citizens wanted arms for self-defence and for performance of police duties should all the resources of the Government be deployed at the frontier to meet Russian advancing armies. The 'Volunteer Movement', as Government officials called it, considerably puzzled the Government which read sinister motives in the 'volunteering craze' and an imitation of Irish methods with the ulterior objective of profiting from England's difficulties. During the Viceroy's visit to Lahore in April 1885, the Indian Association of Lahore considerably embarrased the Viceroy by confronting him with a representation for the formation of an Indian Volunteer Corps and repeal of the Arms Act. The petitioners expressed great fear and horror at the prospect of India's being invaded and the resultant ravages of war. The Viceroy replied to the

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petitioners in a very cautious and diplomatic language : "The normal forces of the Empire are more than sufficient to maintain the inviolability of our territory and among the forces there is none more invincible than the consciousness that behind the organised and disciplined Anglo-Indian armies is stored up the unexhaustible fund of popular loyalty and courageous enthusiasm to which you have so opportunately referred"[5], while to the Secretary of State he wrote that "if the military enthusiasm of the authors of the agitation were genuine, it would be easy enough to manage it, but the thought of some of them are of different complexion"[6]. In a subsequent communication to the Secretary of State, Dufferin wrote that the Volunteer Movement was "stimulated by designing people with a view to the creation of a Citizen Army to be hereafter used for political purposes"[7]. The Military Department of the Indian Government drew up a memorandum on the volunteer movement which the Viceroy forwarded to high officials in India for opinion. Sir Lepel Griffin, Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, described the Volunteer Scheme as 'impolitic and dangerous' and the idea in its genesis 'insincere and fictitious' and cautioned the Government that the Indian Volunteers would prove a source of anxiety in time of peace and danger in time of war. Referring to the professed loyalty of the Indians, Griffin wrote : "Indians will be loyal in the sense that a mastiff is loyal to his master, not in the sense a son is loyal to his father. A mastiff well-fed and contented will defend his master's property, as the Indians have done and will do ; but there are limits to his fidelity and under circumstances when his animal instincts are aroused or opposed he will turn on his master"[8]. He likened the relation of the English and Indian people "to those mediaeval marriages in which the bride and the bridegroom are separated by a naked force". Mr. J. D. Cordery, Resident at Hyderabad opined that "the widespread permission to possess arms would lead to an increase in serious crime affecting the less warlike and inoffensive portion of the population"[9].

How could popular sentiment and enthusiasm for defending the empire be refused ?—this was the Government's dilemma. A straight refusal would mean laying down in unmistakable terms the policy of distrust and exclusion of the Indians. As a way out, Grant Duff, the Governor of Madras, advocated "a Machiavellian policy of giving the desire of those who wanted to join Volunteer Corps and then taking care that playthings should soon have its spring broken" Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, wanted confine the Volunteer franchise to owners land or occupiers of a considerable area and who possessed educational qualifications. further limit the number of volunteers, Lord Re suggested that the examination of officers conditions of drill to be made more stringe Other experts suggested the side-tracking of 'Volunteer' agitation by offering some conc sions to the Indian like the raising of the limit for civil service examinations, relaxation the provisions of the Arms Act or even of gra ing commissions to the Indians in the regu army. Dufferin summed up his views to L Randolph Churchill, the Secretary of State thu "I certainly should consider it safer to admit certain portion of Natives to responsible com mands in the regular army than to put rifles a ammunition into the hands of a parcel of u trained, undisciplined and exciteable Indi university graduates"[11]. The Indian Governme cold-shouldered the issue and the 'volunteer move ment' petered out as the Russian danger receded

Russophobia and the 'Volunteer Movement worked as a lever to political activity in Indi In the ferment of political ideas, the project an all-India political organisation which was a ready in the air found an atmosphere very con ducive to birth and growth. It was in March 1885, when the Russian danger was at its opti mum point, that A. O. Hume met the Viceroy explained to him his proposal to organise th Indian National Congress and succeeded in se uring the Viceroy's neutrality, if not active su port for his plan. Taken in this light, Russoph bia did yield some dividends to the Indians.

Hume's Role

Much controversy has centred round Hume real motives in bringing about the inception the Indian National Congress. Why was it neces sary for Hume, it is argued, to by-pass the Indian National Conference sponsored by Surendra Nath Banerjee (which was scheduled to hold its second all-India session at Calcutta in Dec. 1883) and launch a parallel organisation of his own ? That Hume was a liberal and 'deadly earnest

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about the project, no one has ever denied. When Hume, like Lord Durham, urged for broad-basing the colonial administration and making it more representative or responsive to public opinion, he was acting like an enlightened imperialist. Like Durham, again, Hume believed that the interests of the empire, would be better served by providing it with a 'safety-valve' for the escape of dangerous agitation rather than hermetically sealing the chimney-outlet and exposing the empire to the risk of a dangerous explosion. Hume thus advocated early introduction of constitutional reforms as a cure of the political unrest. Dufferin differed with Hume's methods and conclusions. He did not share Hume's alarmist view of the political situation in the country and considered Hume's fears of a general insurrection as 'foolish'. He considered Hume to be an 'idealist', a man of 'unpracticable nature' who had 'a bee in his bonnet'. A mature statesman that Lord Dufferin was, he adopted an attitude of outward civility towards Hume and his other colleagues although he disagreed with their projects and policies.

Allan Octavian Hume had inherited liberal tendencies from his father Joseph Hume (a Radical leader of England) and his sentimental and soft heart a beat for the general good of humanity. In the contemporaneous ideological context, however, the good of the Indian people was not necessarily bound up with the grant of Home Rule or independence to them. It was an age of rising imperialism in Europe and even Gladstone, who virtually personified Liberalism in Europe, was led into the occupation of Egypt and Sudan. Hume's liberalism was limited, as far as India was concerned, to the provision of a clean and sympathetic administration coupled with some sort of independent representation for Indians in the Legislative Councils.

Hume launched a frontal attack on the ways of the oppressive, heartless and race-conscious bureaucracy. He brought to the notice of the Viceroy cases of official excesses against the people. He cited the case of the Ambala Magistrate victimizing paceful processionists. Furthr, he forwarded to the Viceroy a cutting from *the Mirror* respecting high-handedness on the part of Mr. Laidman, Magistrate of Mussorie, towards three petty Zamindars. To indicate the general temper of the Anglo-Indian community, Hume wrote the details of the Lucknow case which was tried in the time of Lord Ripon. An English lady, resident at Lucknow woke up in screams one night and reported to the police that an Indian had tried to ravish her. *The Englishman* took up the cause of the European community and demanded the resignation of Lord Ripon. Fortunately for Ripon and the Indians, Justice Norris who tried the case decided, after getting the medical report of the lady, that the case was false and the lady had a nightmare and probably her mind had been inflamed by the wild talk she heard and the violent writings in the Anglo-Indian newspapers. When the Viceroy insisted that Hume should not indulge in generalities but should bring to his notice concrete cases of misgovernment, injustice and outrage, Hume was irked and wrote back : "You do not get the truth—that virtually when it is alleged that the cat stole the cream, you blandly say—"Pussy, you surely did not steal the cream ?" I say that (unless when thieves fall out) the service and the race bias is so strong that you never get the truth. The race bias makes the ordinary magistrate let off the ravisher or the murderer ; the service bias makes the whole official series, more or less, uphold the erring magistrate. The whole tone of the administration is rotten . . . . the bureaucracy is demoralized"[12].

For some inexplicable reasons Hume had great faith in the good sense of Lord Dufferin and urged him from time to time to play the hero and become the benefactor of India. In a letter of 28 June 1886, Hume urged the Viceroy "to act directly and energetically on our behalf, leaving Lord Kimberley (Secretary of State) and anyone else to like it or lump it". He further wrote, "You are big enough to do—that is what cuts me to the heart—that God should, as it were, have brought the one man who could do it—into the one position in which it can be done and yet you won't act."[13] Hume wanted the Viceroy to forthwith appoint a commission to consider and report on a definite scheme for introduction of a representative element into the Legislative Councils. Anticipating the Viceroy's objection that the Secretary of State would not approve of such a step, Hume referred to Mayo's approach in a similar predicament : "Well, I think it is right and I mean to do it and I shall leave the Secretary of State to veto it if he likes". Hume exhorted the Viceroy to take a bold stand : "Your first duty is to the people of India whom

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God has committeed to your charge ; that ranks, talents, reputation have been conferred on you by the Almighty to enable you to perform that duty effectively, unfettered by official traditions and party policy".[14] But the Viceroy would not act. Dufferin had no desire to become a hero in the sense and the way Ripon had become. Rather Dufferin was a great critic of Ripon's policy in India which, according to Dufferin, consisted in 'extensive speechyfying' and 'Midlothianizing' of India. Dufferin stated his policy thus : "Now that our holiday is over we must go to school again and my sole ambition is to become *as commonplace and humdrum as possible.*"[15]

Hume's altruism was not incompatible with his imperial instincts. He was a true well-wisher of British imperialism and wished its continuation in India. Fully aware of the mounting discontent in the country against the stiff and unimaginative attitude of the bureaucracy and static policy of the Government, Hume urged the Viceroy to mend matters by grant of political concessions before it was too late. In a spirited letter to the Viceroy he wrote : "I only want you, dear Lord Dufferin, to understand—to think for yourself—you who have read and realized history—what all this means—what it *must* come to, unless you and someone bestir themselves to disinfect the insalubrious streams of the administration by turning into them the purer element of *independent indigenous representation*".[16] "Perhaps" wrote further Mr. Hume, "you feel the whole thing as fully as myself, but you seem to me not to realize the danger—the absolute neiessity of opening early, before the great pressure comes on, new and greatly improved safety valves"[17].

If the Viceroy would not take an early action to open a safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, Hume would not see such things lying down. Hume could devise "no more efficacious safety-valve than the Congress move ment"[18]. Since a thoroughly loyal political organisation alone could subserve the imperial interests that were so dear to Hume's heart, Hume would not associate himself with the Indian National Conference organised by Surendra Nath Banerjee, a disgruntled Indian of 'advanced' political views. Hume took the steam out of Bonnerjee's ship by launching a parallel political organisation and took care to associate with it only moderate and loyalist elements. When the Governor of Bombay refused to accept the presidentship of the Congress it was offered to W. C. Bonnerjee ridiculed all sorts of political agitation and the model of a loyal Indian. With the emer of the Indian National Congress on the I political firmament, the Indian National C ence paled into insignificance and became tinct.

Hume's loyalty to the British crown unquestionable. In fact, his active associa with the Congress had a steadying influence that body towards loyalty to the British cr At the Calcutta session of the Congress, Dada Naoroji dwelt at length on the 'Blessings of British Rule' and his remarks were cheered the audience. Mr. Hume moved a resolution three times three cheers for Her Most Gra Majesty, the Queen Empress and a further re lution for the long life of the Queen.

Hume always advised his party colleagues the Indian National Congress to look upon L Dufferin not as an enemy but a friend and w wisher. "If in action a neutral" Hume maintai "Dufferin was at least a passive friend desir of the welfare of the people and enlargment their liberties". He, however, cautioned friends not to expect immediate practical re sults. How cleverly Hume used his liaison wi the Viceroy will be clear from an example. Wh the 'Volunteer Movement' had become a popu craze, Hume sent round a circular propagating t the Viceroy was 'a consistent and earnest' m at the same time 'a wise and prudent' friend a asking the people to have faith in him. At t same time, Hume wrote to the Viceroy : "T (circular) has so far kept our children quiet a contented, but it is desirable that, if possib you should yourself say something to keep their spirits. They are grumbling about matter, of course unreasonably, but childr will be children and our grown up men are f and far between"[19]. It was Hume's misfortune rather an inconsistency in his twin objectives loyalty towards the Crown and welfare of Indians—that the spirit of loyalty he injec into the Congress organisation gradually fad out.

It was perhaps due to Hume's moderat and extra-Indian loyalties that made him a se pect with an extreme section of the Indi National Congress. His prestige showed signs waning. In a letter of August 1886 to

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Viceroy, Hume tried to dispel the widespread impression about his unique position in the Congress party and wrote: "If you think I am at all a Dictator, you are quite mistaken. There is no doubt that in certain matters, if I secured the assent of the higher powers, in fact, if my view chanced to coincide with theirs, I could apparently do great things and exercise extraordinary influence. But, on the other hand, I am wholly powerless."[20] He compared his position in the Congress party to that of a "fly on the wheel." In a letter to the Viceroy, Hume summed up the assessment of his political colleagues about him (Hume). The Congress party co-workers were reported having told Hume: "We really think it is partly your (Hume's) vanity. You want to do something superhuman and because you cannot, being only, as you told Dufferin, a medium second class man and genius. You have to be driven before you will do anything . . . You don't know it, but are really vain; it has often prevented and will in the future, prevent your doing, much good that you have done . . ."[21] About Hume's dealings with the Viceroy, the nationalist colleagues accused Hume of overrating Lord Dufferin in these words: "He (Dufferin) is not the true man . . . You (Hume) behave to him like a child and just say what you think and feel and he gives you a glimpse of one side of his mind, that side which is most in harmony with our views and you come away with a conception of him and his character, which taking the man as a whole is not correct . . ."[22]. Still the nationalist leaders advised Hume to remain friendly with the Viceroy lest he should maliciously thwart their organisation.

Dufferin's Attitude

Lord Dufferin could not possibly sponsor the idea of the Indian National Congress when he had considerable misgivings about the aims and objects of any political organisation of that type in India. In a personal note to Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, dated 17th May, 1885, Dufferin referred to his March 1885 meeting with Hume (in which the latter broached his plan to organise a political convention of delegates from different parts of India) and wrote that, as far as he believed, the proposed Indian National Congress was going to be organised on 'the same lines as adopted by O'Connel previous to Catholic Emancipation.' "The functions of such an assembly" further wrote Dufferin in the same letter, "must of necessity consist in criticising the acts or policy of the Government and in formulating demands which probably it would be impossible to grant."[23] Referring to Hume's proposal to offer the presidential chair of the first Congress to Lord Reay, the Viceroy advised Lord Reay that the very idea of the head of the executive Government of a province associating himself with such a movement was 'absurd'. Dufferin touched the basic question when he wrote to Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State: "I cannot help asking myself how an autocratic government like that of India which everyone will admit for many a long years to come must in its main features remain autocratic, will be able to stand the strain implied by the importation *en bloc* from England or rather from Ireland, of the perfected machinery of modern democratic agitation."[24] Differin was unhappy that the Indian National Congress should dabble in politics and would have very much liked it to concentrate its attention more on social and economic problems. "It is a great pity" wrote Lord Dufferin to the Secretary of State, "that these Congresses should have only occupied themselves with political questions, most of which they are incompetent to examine with any advantage. If instead of adopting that line they had discussed the great social and economic problems which are pressing for solution in India, they might have been of great assistance to the Government."[25] Dufferin cynically referred to the 'Babu Congresses' and found the level of discussions of the Calcutta Congress (1886) as 'very childish' and reminiscent of the atmosphere of an Eton or Harrow Debating Society than even of the Oxford or Cambridge Union.

Appreciating the 'loyal and friendly' tone of the Indian National Congress and apprehending no immediate danger, Dufferin outlined the policy of non-interference with the working of the Congress movement. Dufferin described himself as 'a liberal by instincts'[26] and disfavoured a repressive policy. However, to steal the thunder out of the Indian National Congress, Dufferin indicated his inclination to examine carefully the demands of the Indian National Congress or what he called 'the Indian Bill of

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Rights' and grant of some timely concessions coupled with the announcement that the concessions offered must be accepted as providing a final settlement of the Indian system for a period of ten or fifteen years. He actually recommended to the Home authorities a limited expansion of Indian provincial legislative councils and grant of a greater share to Indians in the administration without 'unduly compromising British Imperial Supremacy'. Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State, also disfavoured a repressive policy 'on practical considerations,' but cautioned the Viceroy not to be swayed away by popular applause and not to do anything which might "tend to fan the flame" and "not to go an inch beyond the necessity of the case."[27]

It Dufferin found some writings of the nationalist press derogatory and exceeding the rules of propriety, he felt equally embarrassed at the writings of ultra-royalist bureaucrats like Lepel Griffin. Referring to Griffin's two articles entitled 'Native India' and 'Princes and People' which appeared in the *Asiatic Review* and were more in the nature of a reply to Hume's writings, Dufferin sent a rather tough note to Griffin : "I confess that there are passages in them which I think are calculated to cause more irritation in the uinds of our native subjects than is either politic or desirable . . . In dealing with subject and inferior races the rulers, above all things, are bound to be careful not to shock their susceptibilities or wound their vanity. Half our difficulties in Ireland have arisen from the bitter resentment occasioned by the slighting and supercilious tone in which *The Times* and all the English newspapers and our public writers generally have referred to the faults and less commendable characteristics of the Irish and we are now paying the penalty in the threatened dismemberment of the Empire."

From the above discussion it is abundantly clear that Hume's motives were an amalgam of liberalism and imperialism, that he found in the plan of the proposed Indian National Congress an efficacious 'safety-valve' for the escape of great danger that faced the British Empire, that he set up the 'loyal' Indian National Congress in 1885 to stunt the Indian National Conference of 'Bengali baboos' of 'advanced' views. Lord Dufferin did not sponsor the project of the Indian National Congress for even before the inception of the Congress he had expressed considerable misgivings about the aims and objectives of any such political organisation. Nevertheless apprehending no immediate danger from the Indian National Congress, Dufferin maintained an attitude of 'indifference' towards the movement. Russophobia worked more in the nature of a catalytic agent.

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1. Allan Octavian Hume joined the I... Civil Service in 1849. He worked in various ... cities like a District Officer, Secretary to ... Government in the Home Department and ... Secretary in the newly created Departm... Revenue, Agricultural and Commerce. In ... he resigned his service and settled at Simla.
2. W. C. Bonnerjee : *Indian Politics* (1... pp. vii-viii.
3. Lajpat Rai : *Young India*, pp. 135-...
4. Pattabhi Sitaramayya : *History o... Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, pp. 22-2...
5. Enclosure to Dufferin's letter to the ... retary of State, dated 19 April, 1885.
6. Dufferin's letter to the Secretary ... State, dated 19 April, 1885.
7. Viceroy's letter to the Secretary of ... dated 1 July, 1885.
8. Griffin's letter to the Viceroy, date... June, 1885.
9. Cordery's letter to the Viceroy, date... July, 1885.
10. Grant Duff's letter to the Viceroy, d... 24, June, 1885.
11. Dufferin's private letter to the Secre... of State, dated 1, July 1885.
12. Hume's letter to Dufferin, dated ... August, 1886.
13. Hume's letter to Dufferin, dated ... June, 1886.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Dufferin's letter to Arthur Hard... Commander-in-Chief, Bombay, dated 29 Dec. 1...
16. Hume's letter to Dufferin, dated ... August, 1886.
17. *Ibid.*
18. W. Wedderburn : *Hume*, p. 101.
19. Hume's private letter to the Vice... dated 12th June, 1885.
20. Hume's letter to the Viceroy, dated ... August, 1886.
21. Enclosure to Hume's letter to the V... roy, dated 31st August, 1886.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Dufferin's letter to Lord Reay, d... 17th May, 1885.
24. Dufferin's letter to the Secretary ... State, 21st March, 1886.
25. Dufferin's letter to the Secretary ... State, 17th August, 1888.
26. Dufferin's letter to Viscount Cross, ... Secretary of State, dated 17th August, 1888.
27. Lord Kimberley's letter to Lord D... rin, dated 22nd April, 1886.

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SNAGS IN FOREIGN AID

By Prof. C. L. KHANNA
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The purpose, pattern and philosophy of foreign aid given by the industrially developed to the less-developed nations has undergone fundamental changes since the days of Lend-lease programmes and the Marshall Plan sponsored by the United States. The initial objective of the aiding countries was to help the recipient nations to wage a successful victory over their enemies during the Second World War. In the post-war years aid was directed at rehabilitating war-devastated and war-torn Europe. Later, it was extended to raise the living standards of the people in the developing regions of the world. Foreign assistance has now ceased to be conceived as a facility ; it has become a necessity. For the developed countries, it is no longer discretionary but almost compulsory.

The objective of foreign aid now is not merely to usher in an economic millennium in the aid-receiving countries, nor to stave off communist imperialism but to foster a humanitarian outlook. It needs no apologia to quote, **in extenso,** what the U.S. 10-member Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World, commonly known as the Clay Committee, said in this connection :

> "The need for development assistance and the U.S. interest in providing it would continue even if the cold war and all our oustanding political differences with the Communists were to be resolved tomorrow. This is so not because it is a part of the American tradition to be concerned with the plight of those less fortunate than ourselves. This is so not merely because it is in our national self-interest to assure expanding markets for our production and reliable sources of supply of necessary raw materials. It is because the people of the United States hope to see a world, which is prosperous and at peace that we believe that those who are to promote their own development should be helped by us and by our partners to create and maintain the conditions conducive to steady economic progress and improved social well-being within the framework of political freedom."

The United States alone has made an estimated 62-billion dollar loan to all the countries in the world since 1945. India has claimed the largest share. Can we, then, have aid for the asking ? Are the aiding nations capable of advancing unlimited amount of resources ? The answer to these vital questions is in the negative.

The Clay Committee has recommended reduction in loans. Mr. George Meany, a member of the Committee, has, however, observed in his minute of dissent that the majority view of restricting aid might weaken the security of the free world for "Moscow, Peking and various other centres of international Communism are arrogantly attempting to intone the funeral oration of democracy in the free world."

Does it not mean that political strategy, or economic uplift or enlightened self-interest of the aid-givers is not in itself deemed adequate for the outflow or inflow of foreign investments ?

Since the attack of Red China on India in an ostensible effort to establish her hegemony in Asia, the concern of the free world to show continued and unmitigated patronage has understandably increased. The Clay Committee has categorically affirmed its conviction that "in the interest of our own and free world's security, economic and military assistance to India, as well as Pakistan, must continue under the present circumstances." In so far as military aid is concerned the Comittee goes on to add : "Only in extraordinary circumstances should the United States provide MAP (Military Assistance Programme) aid, including mili-

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tary equipment of a small arms nature, where the principal quarrel of the recipient country is with a non-communist neighbour with which the United States also maintains friendly relations."

This aspect of foreign aid in the present context of Sino-Indian conflict deserves more consideration here. India has had a "prolonged quarrel" with Pakistan, an ally of the United States. India is also proclaimed to the world as America's friend. But the U.S.A. has been giving aid to Pakistan without a demur, while she has been doing so with great "hesitation" in our case. What are the "extra-ordinary circumstances" that compelled her to make this individious discrimination against India?

In the recent past Pakistan entered into a politico-imilitary alliance with Communist China in order to build up a bulwark against India. In terms of the above observations of the Clay Committee, the United States should have stopped forthwith M.A.P. aid to Pakistan. But it has not. Why have the U.S. authorities not raised their eye-brows against ally Pakistan which had concluded an unholy treaty with China? One might legitimately look askance at the avowed political integrity of the U.S. the latter's "political bias" against India is indubitable and illogical.

India has been banking upon foreign aid from many countries and institutional organisations, since the launching of the five-year plans in 1951-52. Our demand has been mounting ever since. It might swell still further. Both the foreign sources and resources have multiplied as the following table shows:

TABLE I: SHOWING AUTHORIZATION AND UTILIZATION OF FOREIGN AID

(Rs. Crores)

Period	Amount of loan sanctioned	Amount utilized upto 30.6.62	Unspent balance as on 1.7.62	Percentage of 4 on 2
1	2	3	4	5
First Plan (1951-52 to 1955-56)	233.77	126.42	107.35	45.0
Second Plan (1956-57 to 1960-61)	1295.81	737.69	558.12	43.0
Third Plan (1961-62 to 1965-66)	661.81*	288.37	373.44	56.4

*N.B. This amount is for the first year of the Plan. This is much below the plan target of Rs. 2600 crore.

The over-all unutilized loan has been in the neighbourhood of 45 per cent of authorization. The contributory factors to this are many and varied. The official red-tapism involved in actually making the sources available for use; the time-lag between the conclusion of the loan agreements and the preliminaries for the execution of the projects to be financed through the aforesaid loans; the non-availability in the country concerned of the commodities required for the projects; the unsuitability of the purchase-price of the goods dictated and determined by the lending country—these are some of the outstanding reasons.

In order to bridge the gap between authorization and utilization of foreign exchange resources and to avoid spasmodic progress of the plan schemes, it is imperative to have long-term loans much in advance of the actual requirement, say, 5 years ahead of time. Thus, the loans for the projects which are likely to be embarked upon during the fourth five-year plan period should be negotiated now. This will also save the time-consuming schemes (such as steel mills) from becoming obsolete by the time the loan agreements mature. For instance, it takes India 10 years to finalise an iron and steel project, while the plant and machinery required for the purpose become obsolete in 8 years in U.S.A.

India has, so far, been having short-term loans. These exert tremendous pressure by way of debt-servicing expenditure.

Yet another snag in foreign aid is the giving of tied or project-linked loans. These have certain merits from the viewpoints of the lending country. It has, for instance

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been estimated that 80 per cent of the U.S. loans go back to that country in the form of payments for the United States exports. Virtually, it means, that that country's loan agreements give boost to her exports. Such loans sometimes put the borrowing country in a tight corner, because it is not at liberty to utilize them in any manner she likes to. For fuller growth, it is inevitable to have untied and free loans. In realisation of this, the United Kingdom is understood to be willing to give 75 per cent and the United States 50 per cent of the total loans pledged by each country to India for 1963-64 as "non-project" loans.

It is gratifying to note that the 10-nation Aid India Club has, at its Paris meeting held on June 5, pledged to advance $915 million for the third year of the current Plan as against $1070 million for the second and $1295 million for the first year of the Plan. The break-up of the contributions is as detailed below :

TABLE II : AID INDIA CLUB CONTRIBUTIONS

(In million dollars)

Country	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64
1. Austria	..	5.0	3.85
2. Belgium	..	10.0	10.00
3. Canada	28.0	33.0	30.50
4. France	15.0	45.0	20.00
5. Germany	225.0	139.0	65.35
6. Italy	..	53.0	35.00
7. Japan	50.0	55.0	60.00
8. Netherlands	..	11.0	11.10
9. United Kingdom	182.0	84.0	84.00
10. United States of America	545.0	435.0	375.00
11. World Bank and IDA	150.0	200.0	220.00
Total	1295.0	1070.0	914.80

The consortium countries' economic assistance shows a down-trend. The aggregate quantum has dwindled from $1295 million in 1961-62 to about $915 million, that is, by nearly 30 per cent. The most prominent fall is noticeable in the case of France, Germany, Italy and U. K. The U.S.A. has expressed its willingness to raise its commitment from $375 million to a maximum of $450 million, which would be 18 per cent below its contribution of $545 million made two years ago. The U.S. Government believes that the other members of the Club must share a greater burden of the aid than they have been doing before.

In addition to loans, India has been receiving grants—amounting to Rs. 286.04 crores upto the end of July 1962—and external assistance in other forms, such as P.L. 480 aid—amounting to Rs. 1241.47 crores. Out of these sources, only Rs. 539.29 crores have been actually utilized during the period.

Foreign aid is the sheet-anchor of our national plans. If this process of increasing demand and shrinking supply of foreign exchange resources perpetuates in the coming years, as the present indications are, it requires no prophet to predict that the ship of the economic plans will stand wrecked on the sands of foreign aid.

The aids being uncertain and precarious as is revealed by the fluctuating contributions shown in Table II above, the execution of our plan schemes, which have a greater foreign exchange content, will be correspondingly unsure.

To fill up the gap two vital steps are essential : first, the available aid should be utilized for giving an export-orientation to our expanding industrial base ; secondly, the export promotion measures should be intensified so as to step up export earnings.

The net result of our efforts will be contingent on the selection of a suitable and well-integrated industrial pattern, increased and low-cost production, judicious fiscal and financial policies and austere consumption standards.

The foreign exchange problem, which had at one stage, run into a "crisis" has now deepened into a 'malady'. It is an arduous, circuitous and prolonged issue. The increased military build-up needed by our country to hold the balance of power in Asia and to offset the Red Chinese Colossus has aggravated the situation. We are harnessing more manpower to double the present strength of our army to one million. We

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shall require more arms and modern equipment, more food, clothing, iron and steel and many other things to meet the rising demand. Greater sacrifices in men, money and material are involved both at home and abroad to have a contented civilian and military populace. It is a big challenge to India and no less to the industrially advanced countries which, as the bastions of freedom of mankind, have taken upon themselves the responsibility to strengthen the security, political as well as economic—and integrity of the free world and also to keep off the Communist Wolf, the Asian Procrustean.

LIFE WITH AN ARTIST

By Mrs. DEVIPROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY

XIV

As the wheels of time roll on and the life span moves further away from the starting point, it amuses me sometimes to ruminate on my past and live with my thoughts. Here at Chromepet I have ample opportunities to indulge this sort of recreation. I remember when I first entered into the life of the artist of our discussion, or rather when he came into the life of an ignorant and unspecting woman—a man full of vigour and energy united to a woman frail but firm in her mental attitudes. Little did she imagine then what a chequered but unpredictable life awaited her future.

Slowly but steadily she realized that the only way to keep her man in good form was to keep him active. Deviprosad without some serious work to keep him engaged physically and mentally, can indeed be a manace to those around him. He would have a sudden inspiration to create something original—a table for instance whose top will have the effect of a marble piece without actually being so. "Come quick with cement, colour, water tools and what not," comes the command. "Mix this powder with that, pour water here." For the moment he ceases to be a full grown man and behaves like a child experimenting with his new toy. The whole place is put into disorder within a few minutes in order to carry out his behests. Who cares ? He finishes his job and is pleased with the result. To clean the place is not his affair and he is not bothered.

He wakes up from his slumber at night with some thought weighing on his mind, and he wants it to be recorded immediately lest it forgets. He calls for his wife who perhaps was just ready for her night's rest. "Bring some paper quick and take the dictation please. It wont take a long time." Thoughts develop and the time taken is longer than expected. She yawns, he takes pity perhaps and lets her go saying, "keep that under the book. I can finish it in the morning." But she is at a loss to know which book she is to select. The place is strewen with books of all descriptions. They are not all meant to be read. No, they were needed to widen the space of the bed, at least that was what the artist imagined.

While travelling he will never occupy the upper berth if he can avoid it. It is too narrow, "what if I fell down?" If it was at all necessary it was the wife who had to climb up. I wonder what would have happened if I had as corpulent a body as some of our women have at an advanced age !

Deviprosad was an all-round athlete. He was an expert footballer, a keen wrestler, a trick cyclist in a circus company, loved to meet a tiger in the jungle with a rifle in his hand; for hours together he would wait patiently to encounter the king of the beasts in his natural environment. He would go without food, brave mosquitoes and malaria and suffer all sorts of privations without a murmer when he is inspired. But what happens to this same man when he flesh is heir to the ills that all mortals have

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bear on occasions? Deviprosad is one of the most impatient of patients that I have come across. He will never keep still nor give respite to those who have to look after him. The person who has to bear the brunt of his whims during these periods in most cases is his wife, who plays the part of the chief nurse. He does not like to be attended by professional nurses. But will he listen to his nurse or nurses? No, not unless his ailment is of a serious nature the consequence of which would be for his work to suffers.

According to the opinion of the medical men our food contains less vitamins than is necessary for our system. We are, therefore, advised to take all sorts of vitamin pills to keep ourselves fit and healthy, specially at an age when our vitality is on the ebbing side. Deviprosad can compete with young men in the labour necessary to make statues of colosal sizes. He can stand on his feet for hour after hour or ascend or descend from a ladder for umpteen times when the work necessitates such a feat. At such moments he becomes like a man possessed and forgets his age. He acts like a man in the prime of youth instead of one in his declining years. No one dares remind him of this though they feel anxious for his safety, for fear of being snubbed.

To such a man swallowing all sorts of vitamin pills is most distasteful. But since his medical advisers insist, he has to obey the command, though very reluctantly. Trouble starts if the tablets are big in size. He complains his throat is not accustomed to swallow such huge stuff. If these are dissolved in water and given, he makes a wry face and says it is horrible to taste. How can one expect medicines to be tasty is beyond my comprehension. But artists, I am told, are not to be treated as ordinary human beings. More so I presume, if one falls in the category of a genius. I often contemplate whether their brains grow in two different compartments. One develops and functions abnormally and the other remains immature like that of an untutored child.

If a near and dear one of Sri Deviprosad is taken seriously ill the house becomes a regular pandemonium. A tug of war begins between his love and his work. He is in a fix being under the pull of two strings. He rushes from one to the other. He forgets his regular hours for meals and sleep about which he is very particular when everything is in order. All the inmates of the house are expected to stand in attention and answer at his beck and call. He would not trust anybody with the patient's diet but in preparing it he would make a mess of the whole place. Half a dozen servants must be waiting to clean it, as soon as he finishes the job. A person who is almost selfish to a degree, is prepared to go through any tribulation in order to give some relief to the suffering one. If anything was wrong with the child, the artist though greatly worried, in most cases would trust him to his mother's care. Only one occasion I remember when he interfered and the result was disastrous. The baby, when he was a few months old, had a boil on his head which was operated on by an eminent surgeon of the place. Somehow the bandage gave way. The mother was preparing to make a fresh bandage when the father appeared on the scene. He advised touching the wound with some iodine before redoing the bandage. The mother proposed to dilute the medicine with boiled water and then apply. The artist cut her short by saying curtly "do as you are bid and dont use your own discretion." She was an inexperienced mother and thought he knew better and followed his instruction without further contradiction. The result can be well imagined. The child became restless and cried incessently. Since this was most unusual, she discerned raw iodine to be the cause of his discomfort. She undid the bandage, washed away the iodine and made a fresh bandage with the help of the ayah. Immediately the baby became quiet and went to sleep without further trouble.

The artist could never give his assent easily where there was a question of surgical operation, be it in the case of his wife or his child. After a protracted illness, the son could not recover his former health. A minor throat operation probably would put him right. But Deviprosad was most hesitant to take the risk. The decision had to be made by the child's frail mother.

Once when the wife had to undergo a serious operation in order to save her life the artist was so upset that he could neither attend to his work nor go to see her till the doctor declared the patient to be out of danger.

I was not born mentally strong, I mean the sight of blood or a surgical instrument did unnerve me but after I came to live with my

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artist husband I had to wear a brave face even when my heart palpitated in order to give courage to the strong man.

Deviprosad could never accept a defeat from any quarter, less so perhaps from his wife. Within the first few years of our sojourn at the School of Arts he had a sudden impetus to learn driving a car and started to take lessons in right earnest. On my way somewhere the driver suggested why not I also learn to drive. I said I was quite willing to do so if he kept his mouth shut till I was ready for my licence. The driver agreed and I started taking regular lessons. Every morning I used to go to the Marina (Madras beach) and practise driving. Within a short time I became fairly proficient in the art and my instructor was pleased with my progress. One day as we were passing through a crowded thoroughfare, my husband told me very proudly, "you know I often drive along these roads." I said not a word in answer but forthwith put a question to the driver, "kaun achcha chalata, shab nehi memshab" ? (who drives better, madam or master ?). The driver was a muslim and therefore spoke to us in Hindi. He struggled hard to suppress a smile and then replied "memshab achcha chalata" (madam can drive better). At this the artist looked at me and smiled quizzically. That was the end of his driving lessons, whereas I continued and finished what I took up. A few months later I procured my driving licence after going through the usual tests. Since then I used to drive the car every day and fetch our son after school hours. One day it so happened that I met with a small accident in trying to save a dog. My upper lip was slightly cut and started bleeding. When I reached home and my husband saw me in that state he was much perturbed. Straightaway he phoned to a friend to send a doctor immediately His voice sounded so unnatural that the friend took it to be something very serious and forthwith arrived with a doctor. But the cleft was so simple that it did not even require a stitch. He would have surely put an end to my driving after this incident had not his friend advised that I should start driving as soon as I felt better otherwise I would never be able to drive again.

One who knows Deviprosad intimately discovered many very uncommon traits in his character. There was a time when he did not believe in keeping things, even those which he valued greatly, under lock and key. He ha firm conviction that if a person is trusted, would learn to respect the trust. As a result this people went on robbing him whenever got such opportunities, which were not r without the least squeamishness.

A few years after Deviprosad had acce the post at the School of Arts, when he ente his room at an unexpected hour, he found on the menials meddling with the things wh were kept there for his own personal use. was so astounded at the sight that he could ha believe his eyes. Neither could he find words reproach the miscreant. He remained stand there staring hard at the culprit. While the la having been caught red handed began to s tears and looked very remorseful. This soft the heart of the artist and instead of using ha words to rebuke him, he said quite mildly "I not expect this from you. Why did you not for it ? Why did you misuse my trust ? never let this happen again." The fellow m have been a very good actor to make the vict of his misdeed believe that he was really sor for his bad action. When the artist related t story to me he added with much fervour "I c tell you for certain the fellow will never be a to commit such acts again. It must have been d on a momentary impulse." The artist is not judge of human character, and had to p bitterly to learn that a person's nature can be changed overnight. The man in question wa on robbing his master but henceforth so guar edly and in such a surreptitious manner th none could even suspect him. When the reform discovered that he was wrong in his calculati the mischief was far too advanced to be mende

Years ago we engaged a chokra boy w we noticed loved to don his head with a cap. fact he was never seen without it. We ascrib it to his vanity and did not suspect any moti behind it. My cook gave several hints saying should not be allowed to wear a cap since hides things under its cover. The cook and boy were not on good terms, I therefore thoug it was said just to spite him and took no notic of the warning. A particular evening when were sitting on the open terrace as our wont, husband ordered the boy to fetch something fro upstairs. Within a few minutes after his depa ture, the cook came running to me much flustere and said in Tamil "I saw the boy c

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master's room and open his bag, please see if anything is missing." The room had access from the varandah outside as well as from within through the dining room and the doors were always left ajar. That very evening my husband kept a large quantity of currency notes in the bag pinned in separate bundles. The whole sum had disappeared from their receptacle. Since no amount of coaxing or coercing could make the boy confess, the artist had to resort to other methods. He made him feel the wrestlers' grip, "one twist and your hand will break. If you do not want that to happen, hurry up and show the place where you have hidden the money," he said. Out came the truth at this juncture. The whole amount was shown scattered under the heaped up sand in the back varandah reserved to be used for some modelling purpose. Evidently his intention was to take his daily quota only and then return the rest to their former place. I suppose he was too tardy in giving a share to the cook in lieu of which she took her revenge by reporting him to us, with the result that he was caught before he could finish the job to his satisfaction.

Deviprosad has a formidable appearance on account of which people who are not well acquainted with him like to keep him at a distance. But this rough exterior is all a make believe. Actually he has a very soft heart, which yearns to help those who are in distress. He is full of pity for the unfortunate ones who are handicapped by any kind of deformity. Once while sitting at the window of his studio he perceived a man so badly crippled that he was unable to stand upright and had to drag himself on the road in order to beg for alms. Deviprosad was much affected at the sight. He at once ordered one of his men to call the beggar back and paid him handsomely. The cripple not being familiar with such treatment, was so astonished that he was unable to find his speech for some time. When he came back to his senses he thanked the artist profusely and went on his way. A little later the artist had a rude shock when he found the cripple standing firmly on both his legs and counting the money he had collected, believing himself to be at a safe distance from his beguiled benefactor.

A rather curious incident took place recently at Chromepet. One morning a man in cleanly attired garb, was found lying under the full sun just opposite our bungalow. This attracted the attention of our artist. He immediately made enquiries and was given to understand that the man had fainted due to hunger and fatigue. Just the right chord was touched. The artist became terribly agitated and shouted for his men to remove the fainted person to a shady place. A jug full of cold water was sent to him and a bearer went with a cycle to procure food for the famished one. Having his fill without having to pay for it, the fellow soon felt sufficiently strong and refreshed to be able to sit up. He then declared in a faltering tone that he had come there in search of work but having found none desired to go back to his village home. Unfortunately he had no money in his pocket to pay the train fare. He was immediately provided for and thereafter left our vicinity offering grateful thanks to the artist.

A few day later I received a phone call from a lady whom I knew and whose office was in our neighbourhood. She told me she had heard how my husband had been cheated by that "rogue." She also fell into his trap, she said. Actually that is the profession he has assumed in order to earn his livelihood. He used the same tactics in front of the houses of all well-to-do people who he thought would pay him lavishly. If a small dole was given he would throw it away with contempt in the very presence of the giver. She was very much annoyed with his behaviour and said "such a rascal should never be encouraged. I have reported him to the police." I repeated this to my husband expecting him to be angry for having been deceived in that fashion, but no, he replied quite coolly, "Well, I helped him in good faith. If he has cheated me it is his fault not mine." I have learnt after years of trial that men may change and become wiser through their experience but artists never. In spite of so many adverse experiences Deviprosad remains as careless as ever.

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THE ACHIEVEMENT OF JOHN XXIII

By J. TARAVAS

Of few men it can be said that they have changed the whole course of history. But, as a rule, it has only been many years after their death that their impact was fully realised.

In the last six months of Pope John XXIII's life, it suddenly dawned on men that in his four short years as Pope, he had given a new turn to the Catholic Church, and had started men of various creeds asking whether religion does not, after all, have a place in modern life.

The election of Cardinal Roncalli as Pope in October 1958, at the age of 77, came as a surprise. His name had not been mentioned among the probable choices, and it was concluded that the Cardinals had chosen a mere 'fill-in'—someone who would be a good man, but who would not make any great changes. He was thought a 'safe' choice, but his short reign has proved how wrong this idea was.

From the very beginning he showed that he was ready to cut through formalities and preferred to go straight to the point. Even his choice of the title, John XXIII, showed him to be an individual in the fullest sense. There had been another John XXIII—or rather someone who went by that name in the fifteenth century. He was a doubtful character and never constitutionally elected. The name had been shunned by Popes for centuries—even though John is a favoured name among Christians.

Religion and Relevance

If a single word can be used to sum up the main concern of John's four years as Pope, it is *relevance*. He wanted to show that religion is relevant in the world of jet travel, space exploration and nuclear terror.

Christianity has been rather on the defensive for the last four hundred years. The Protestant Reformation and the strife that went before and after it was a tremendous shock for Christendom. The result was division, argument and complete separation among different groups of Christians.

Added to this has been another problem common to all religions: the impact of modern scientific discoveries and attitudes on religious beliefs. Science seemed to answer all the questions, and technology promised to make "the in the sky" a reality in the here-and-now.

The Communist world has outlawed gion; and the West has, to a large extent recent years, allowed spiritual values and to be crushed in its race for wealth and pleas

It was to be Pope in this kind of world the Cardinals in Rome chose Cardinal Ron in October 1958.

Recent decades had seen, in the Cath Church, growing movements for effecting among divided Christians. While also much was done by hidden scholars and professors relate science and religion. It was Pope John came and blessed their efforts giving immed recognition and approval to their work.

From then on, things changed rapidly: attitudes spread like wildfire which, natur enough, has resulted in a minor upheaval. ways there are many who find difficulty in fol ing new paths.

Vatican Council

Three months after his election, Pope J showed he was no 'stop-gap' Pope by calling Council of the whole Church—the 21st only 2000 years of Christianity and the first for nea 100 years.

At once he made clear its aims: renew within the Catholic Church, greater adaptat to the needs of the modern world and u among Christians.

The first session was held between Octo and December last year, and the second is follow later this year. This Council has seen confrontation of old and new ideas, and th still the outcome is far from decided. It shown that Catholic Bishops throughout the w have responded wholeheartedly to the direc given by John XXIII. A tremendous amount depend on the successor elected to follow John

The Vatican Council has taken into rea account that Christians who are divided a themselves only add to the confusion in the w today. It has followed John's lead in its desire go to meet those holding different beliefs frank and close discussion in preference to old way of firing broadsides from a distance

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It is not that the Catholic believes that truth changes, but rather that the style of language in which it is expressed has to take into account ways of thought current among men of this age.

Religion and Science

Pope John was an optimist. He said of himself: "I have always remained an optimist, because that is my nature, even when I hear near me deep concern over the fate of mankind."

Opening the Vatican Council in October, he gave further evidence of this when he said: "In the daily exercise of our pastoral office, we sometimes have to listen, much to our regret, to voices of persons who, though buring with zeal, are not endowed with too much sense of discretion or measure. In these modern times they can see nothing but prevarication and ruin. They say that our era, in comparison with past eras, is getting worse and they behave as though they had learned nothing from history, which is none the less, the teacher of life. They behave as though at the time of former councils everything was a full triumph for the Christian idea and life, and for proper religious liberty.

We feel, we must disagree with those prophets of gloom, who are always forcasting disaster, as though the end of the world was at hand.

In the present order of things, Divine Providence is leading us to a new order of human relations which, by men's own efforts and even beyond their very expectations, are directed toward the fulfilment of God's superior and inscrutable designs. And everything, even human differences, leads to the greater good of the Church."

But John did not remain at the level of lofty generalities. Among his many writings and talks were the now famous '*Mater et Magistra*' (Mother and Teacher) which was a courageous application of Catholic teaching on the spiritual dignity of man to concrete problems facing the world today; private initiative and state intervention, just wages, the dignity of workers, rural workers, aid to under-developed areas, population increase, international co-operation, etc.

In another place, through one of his cardinals, the late Pope showed the human concern of religion for the individual, so often lost in technical verbiage: (for workers) "Hygiene must be practised, accidents and occupational diseases averted, working hours kept within reasonable limits, women and particularly married women and mothers treated with due regard, young people employed only when sufficiently mature and never for work that might compromise their natural development, and every danger to good morals or to religious feeling avoided."

His recent letter to the whole world on peace was widely acclaimed—by the U.S. Government, by Khrushchev and by U. Thant. John XXIII had a horror of war and showed that modern warfare involves weighty moral considerations. He said, "It is hardly possible to imagine that in the atomic era war could be used as an instrument of justice."

Pope John the, Man

But there is no understanding Pope John's achievement without seeing something of the man that lay beneath the title; for it was precisely his personality that effected so much.

He was, above all else, an individual in the sense that he was never the slave to tradition and conformity. Soon after his election he said that he did not believe that simple things should be made complicated.

Nor was he afraid to laugh at himself—such a healthy characteristic for any man. An old Vatican custom kept visitors off the dome of St. Peter's Basilica when the Pope was walking in his garden, but John changed that: "Why shouldn't they look? I'm not doing anything scandalous."

One of the secrets behind his impact was his deep human feeling for others, especially for those who suffered. He broke another age-old protocol with his regular visits to children sick in hospitals, to orphanges, to prisoners in goal—and for each he had a word of encouragement.

Even in the last week of his life when he knew that his death was close at hand, in his moments of consciousness he repeatedly prayed for the unity among Christians that he had worked for so tirelessly. From his death-bed he sent his blessings to the sick everywhere and to children throughout the world.

All these personal glimpses of John the man are not just details to fill out these lines. Rather they give the secret of perhaps the gratest Pope of our age.

For it was his deep love and concern for all

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men that gave him the vision of a happier and more secure world for which he worked with such effect and such confidence.

In our day, when every field of human activity gets more highly organised, it is often felt that the individual is crowded out, that the more impersonal commission or committee leaves little room for personal initiative and vision.

The achievement of Pope John XXIII in just over four years, gives eloquent witness to what a large-hearted, courageous and far-sig individual can still do.

Pope John gave himself fully to his viction that man must take into account the ritual depths that lie within him. He was full optimism that all the wonders of our scien and technological age would be the real serv of man, once he realised his own spiritual gr ness—for John XXIII believed, above all that religion is relevant in the world today.

ARE STANDARDS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS FALLING?

By PREM KIRPAL

The standard of education in our Secondary schools has been a subject of controversy during the past few months. In this article, Shri P. N. Kripal, Education Secretary to the Union Government puts the case in its proper perspective so that the people may have a clearer picture of the problem, and suggests a possible line of action.

Complaints about falling standards in our Secondary Schools are often heard; such criticism is, indeed, included in almost every speech delivered at important school functions when the guest of honour is expected to encourage the teachers and to hearten the students. Since when the standards began to fall, no one knows. People who express opinions on this subject are quite certain of one fact: the standards in **their** time were better than what they are today. No attempt has been made to study the subject in a scientific manner with the result that a good deal of confused thinking prevails.

Definition of Standards

It may be worthwhile to understand what is meant by 'standards' in this context. Do we judge the 'standards' of school pupils by their performance in public examinations for their proficiency in individual subjects such as English, Mathematics and Science. Or do we judge them by their physical fitness or by their conduct and character? Does our evaluation tak into account the qualities of citizenship a vocational efficiency? A study conducte in Delhi indicated that there was litt clarity in the minds of persons who we interviewed on this subject. While ma complained about the defective grasp the English grammar, erratic spelling an confused expression, others were worri about the students' ignorance of bas religious and moral tenets. Quite a fe thought largely in terms of examinati results.

Analysis of Results

To take the examination results firs Poor results at the High School examina tion is not a recent phenomenon in thi country. It has been recorded that all th candidates who took the first matricula tion examination of the Bombay Universit failed to pass. The result of this examina tion varied from 28 to 34% in the years be tween 1882 to 1902. In subsequent year the percentage fell in one year to 26 an

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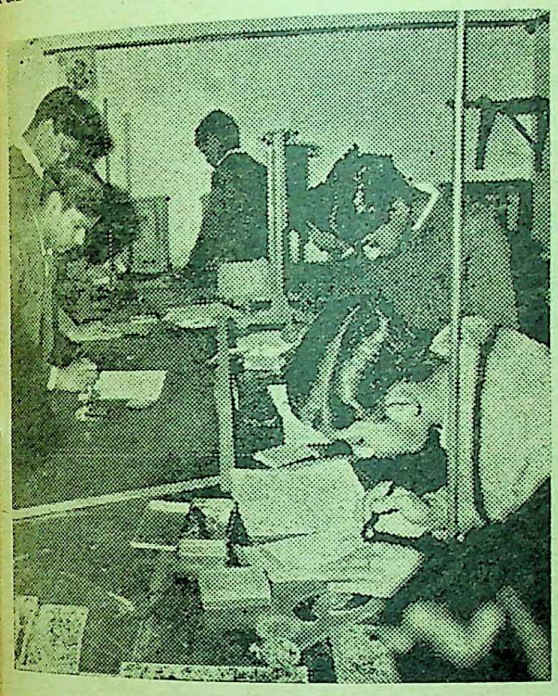
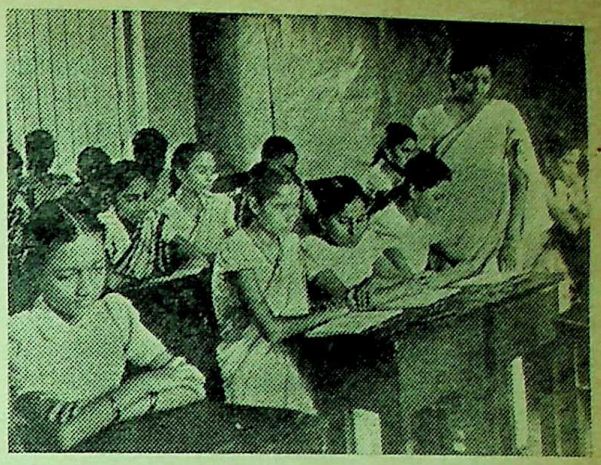
rose in another to 54. In the case of Madras University it was stated that, over sixty years ago, when the present Governor of Punjab, Shri P. Thanu Pillai, appeared at the Matriculation examination, the pass percentage was about 21. Another recent study made by the Directorate of Extention Programmes in Secondary Education reveals that the results of most Boards of Secondary Education varied only slightly from year to year. It will thus appear that examination results do not furnish any reliable evidence of the standards in Secondary Schools.



Students working in the science laboratory of a secondary school.

As indicated in the Delhi study, the public is generally concerned about the deterioration in the teaching of English. But the standard of English of an average Secondary School student in this country has never been high. It has been observed that failures in matriculation examination from the earliest years were largely due to poor results in English. Although one-third of the time was devoted to the teaching of English, many teachers in Indian Universities were complaining at the close of the last century about the lack of their students' ability to follow college lectures.



A class in a secondary school for girls. Personal attention of trained teachers is the first essential to promote better standards.

Good Versus Bad Schools

There is one other point to consider. There have always been schools which are good and schools which are not so good and also schools which rank rather low in public estimation. Again in the same school, there are usually boys and girls with different scholastic attainments. Now, the general standards would seem to fall if there was any marked deterioration in the standards maintained by good schools or the attainments of the top ten per cent or so of the secondary school students. There is no objective assessment made so far but competent observers feel that there has been no deterioration at that level. This is also evident from the fact that large numbers of students who join every year the Defence Services Engineering Colleges, etc., seem to be doing as well in their studies as their predecessors.

Real Cause

The complaint about low achievement seems to be valid in respect of vast numbers of students who come from socially and culfurally backward sections of the population which never sent their children to school in the past. To cope with this flood of new enrolment ill-equipped and ill-staffed secondary schools had to spring up hurriedly in every

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nook and corner of the country. The terrific rate at which expansion is taking place at the secondary stage will be evident from the fact that both the enrolment and the number of secondary schools have been trebled since the year 1950-51.

Unfortunately owing to paucity of funds there has not been a correspondingly large provision of money for effecting improvements for raising the quality of education. It has not been possible to spare adequate funds for improving school accommodation and library and laboratory facilities. Nor have the teachers' salaries kept pace with the rising prices. The average monthly salary of a secondary school teacher works out at about Rs. 110 for the year 1960. The poor salaries do not attract suitable persons to the teaching profession. Moreover, the brighter students at the higher secondary or intermediate stage, some of whom joined the teaching profession in the past, are now being drawn away by the expectation of higher rewards in the professional and technical courses which have been expanding fast. The average intake in the B.Sc. class today is of poorer quality than in the past when professional and technological courses did not provide an opening to large numbers. The staffing and curriculum of the Teacher Training institutions have not improved appreciably and private managements which control the larger number of high schools in the country do not always offer attractive conditions of service. The result is that our poorly-paid and inadequately trained teachers of secondary schools suffer from a sense of frustration and the over-crowded classes prevent that measure of personal contact between the teacher and the taught which, more than anything else, imparts quality to education and makes the educational process meaningful.

While it is not true that standards of education in our Secondary Schools have fallen from a higher achievement in the past, serious problems resulting from mounting enrolment and paucity of resources require urgent attention, and unless these are solved satisfactorily and speedly, a process of grave deterioration may ... and sap the very foundations of the ... tional system. We cannot remain co... with the educational standards of the ... When intelligent people talk about ... standards, what they have really in mi... the level of high attainments elsewhe... advanced countries, the need of a mo... society for a new type of schooling, an... unfortunate gap between our plans ... qualitative improvement and their i... mentation.

Larger Funds Needed

If the facilities for Secondary Ed... tion are to be afforded to all who wis... study at this level—and it is both right ... expedient that this should be done—co... derably larger resources for this neglec... sector of education must be made avail... in order to ensure at least moderately ... standards. If we want good education, ... must pay for it ; there is no short cut to ... quality of education. The proportion ... National income which the Indian soc... spends on education is about the lowes... the world, and within this meagre amo... the share of the secondary level of educa... tends to be reduced by bigger pressures ... the top and the bottom of the educati... ladder.

Can we afford to find the funds nec... for good secondary education ? In the l... run this should be possible. The prosp... for the immediate future, and especially ... remaining period of the current Five-Y... Plan, however, appear to be bleak. In ... present situation it is necessary to m... and mobilise voluntary effort to the ma... mum possible extent in addition to a v... and more effective use of existing resour... The United Nations have launched a D... lopment Decade for the raising of stand... of living in the economically backw... countries. Cannot we launch on a nati... scale a School Improvement Programme ... which governmental authorities, volunt... agencies, universities, parents and the p... lic could make significant contributions ... the overcoming of the present deficien... of teaching, accommodation and rea... materials ?

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BLACK PREPARATIONS OF THE WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA

By SURESH RAM

Democracy is defined all over the world as a "government of the people, for the people, and by the people." But in the "Republic" of South Africa it is qualified by the word "white" and is an exclusive preserve of the whites. Little wonder that this democracy of the white people, for the white people and by the white people has turned into a brutal autocracy where the jungle law reigns supreme. Inhabited by about 16 million people (of whom no less than 11 millions are the native Africans), South Africa has three million Whites who, enjoying as they do vast and arbitrary powers, have set up a monolithic State before which the worst despotisms of the cruelest tyrants and dictators known to history, pale into insignificance. The indigenous people, the children of the soil, have become aliens in their own country and live or die at the mercy of their white despots. A denial of all republican traditions and democratic values, this state of affairs can neither be tolerated by the people of South Africa nor viewed with equanimity by anybody else—be he or she in Africa or any other part of the globe.

At the historic conference of all independent African States held at Addis Ababa in May last, it was decided to "eliminate colonialism in all its forms from the continent of Africa." This Summit Conference of Africa's leaders also agreed unanimously to put pressure on South Africa, Portuguese Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and if necessary, to wrest power from the Whites by assisting African liberation movements with arms, finance, volunteers and training facilities. Also on that occasion, Mr. Ahmad Ben Bella, the energetic Prime Minister of Algeria, remarked that they, the free people of Africa, did not have the "right to think of eating so long as the people were dying in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa." And then he added, "We agree to die a little and even altogether, so that African unity shall not be any empty phrase."

When the echoes of this conference resounded over the South African sky, there was a stir. One of her Ministers remarked, "Let them come—We are ready for them!" Her Foreign Minister, Mr. Eric Louw, told the 'Parliament' that there was no half-way measure for South Africa between racial separation and racial equality. "Either we must abdicate," said he, "or we must stand shoulder to shoulder and fight for survival. Otherwise there is nothing for us." And her Minister for Defence, Mr. Jim Fouche, observed, "We will stand armed against the outside world. It has been decided at Addis Ababa to launch a military attack against South Africa in the future, but we give them the assurance that if they attempt such an attack we will hit back tremendously hard."

South Africa's Armed Forces

It is thus easy to see that the Whites of South Africa are trying their best to equip themselves militarily and do all they can to stay in power and deny its birthright to the indigenous population. Her black preparations go on feverishly and none can definitely state what her military strength exactly is. But those who are in touch with the subject hold that South Africa's permanent White force consists of more than 15,000 officers and men. Then there is the Citizens' force of 70,000 with nine months' compulsory training. Also there are 80,000 strong men in the **Commandos** with a week-end course. In the Police, there are 12,200 Whites. Plans are ahead to build up a women's force. It is broadly estimated that South Africa could mobilize two hundred to two hundred and fifty thousand Whites in an emergency.

As regards military equipment, South Africa is amassing it furiously. A new muni-

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tion factory for manufacturing 92 different items of arms and ammunitions has been recently set up. Besides, she imports arms from abroad :

From Belgium : Rifles and automatic weapons.
France : Air-craft.
Britain : Air-craft, war-ships, tear-gas and technical skill.
USA : Air-craft and special equipment.

Sound Economy

South Africa's economy too is very sound. Thanks to her diamond and gold mines, she produces tremendous wealth by the labour of the native Africans whose wages bear no comparison with the salaries and emoluments of the Whites lording over them. British and American capital feeds this economy. About £900 millions have been invested by UK and $500 millions by the USA in South Africa. About half of her trade is carried on with these two countries :

Country	Import from	Export to
UK	35%	34%
USA	20%	10%

Her prosperity is growing fast. In 1962, her exports were more than doubled in comparison with the average of the ten years preceding 1962. An idea of her economic health can be gathered from a speech of Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, her noted millionaire and industrialist. He said :

"Economically our position is enviable. The outflow of capital has been halted and a persistently favourable balance in current accounts (in spite of the boycott) has raised our gold and foreign exchange reserves to record levels. Although we are not obtaining the foreign capital needed to develop our potential as rapidly as we would like, we are able from our own reserves to maintain a stable economy and even to move gradually forward."

Black Laws and Arrests Galore

This economic climate is bound to encourage the Whites of South Africa to go ahead with their **apartheid.** In 1962, they passed a law which, in the words of the International Commission of Jurists, ... duced the liberty of a citizen to a d... not surpassed by extreme dictatorsh... the left or the right." On May 2, ... another black Act, surpassing all pre... legislations in its drastic and all-embr... nature, called as the General Law Am... ment Act, commonly known as 'NO TR... BILL', became law. This Act gives ... Minister of Justice the power and a... rity to detain a political prisoner indef... ly even after the expiry of his term of ... prisonment. It also enables the Poli... hold suspects without warrant in sol... confinement for 90 days and introduces ... death penalty for South Africans wh... out of the country for "receiving tra... in sabotage" and for those who adv... the forceful overthrow of the regime ... abroad. As "Manchester Guardian" p... out, this bill marks "the death of the ... cial system" in South Africa.

All sorts of liberties have been cru... and the people are being locked up at ... whims of the ruling few. A report f... Johannesburg, dated June 24 last, sa... that a total of 67,637 people were be... the bars at the most recent count ... months ago, which "does represent an ... time record," according to the Commissi... of Prisons, Mr. Victor Verster. Furt... more than 10,000 people were then aw... ing trial and more than 5,000 had been ... rested for security crimes. On Fri... June 21, 1963, eight young Africans w... sentenced to a total of 98 years' impri... ment. Passing sentence on them, ... Judge remarked that the "Bantu (the na... African) has no freedom of movement ... is generally the victim of oppressi... Besides, in the ten years between 1951 ... 1961, according to official statistics, a... 3,500,000 Africans were convicted for ... offences. In 1961, the figure was 378 ... i.e., more than a thousand convictions ... day : all these figures speak for themse... and need no comment.

"Stop This Bloody Traffic"

At this horrible situation in So... Africa, the entire civilised world has re...

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its voice of protest. At the ILO conference held in Geneva last month, delegates of all the thirty free African States refused to participate in its deliberations because of the presence of the white representative of South Africa. Ultimately, South Africa had to quit ILO. Attempts are also being made to boycott South Africa and disband all trade and diplomatic relations with her. But this has so far not moved South Africa at all. For, she has nothing to fear so long as she commands the support and backing of UK and USA, both of whom have heavy economic commitments therein.

But public opinion in both of these countries is now realising the need of change of attitude towards South Africa. Mr. Harold Wilson, British Labour Leader, has asked the UK Government to cease sending arms to South Africa and "to stop this bloody traffic in the weapons of oppression." This has really unnerved the South African Government which has threatened UK with retaliatory trade measures, which, in its turn, has rather perturbed the Conservative Government of UK. Perhaps soon will come its testing time when it will have to choose between its interests in South Africa and the maintenance of the Commonwealth.

Grim Struggle Ahead

In South Africa herself, the people are preparing for a grim struggle for freedom. Though most of their leaders are either in jail or under restrictions, others are working underground. Sometime ago, Mr. Walter Sisulu, leader of the banned African National Congress, issued a broadcast from the "Freedom Radio" from the African National Congress' underground headquarters "somewhere in South Africa," and appealed to face the future with courage and resolve.

South Africa's most prominent public figure, Chief Albert Luthuli, the distinguishedd President of the African National Congress and Nobel Peace laureate, has called upon British workers to support a ban of weapons to South Africa. He has asked them to make sure that their labour is not used to produce or transport the "weapons which will deal death to the people of my country." Says he:

"Do not think we will be deceived by your pious protestations as long as you are prepared to condone, assist, and actively support the tyranny in our land. The test is your stand on the principle: **No arms for South Africa.**"

The Chief has given the warning that if freedom is refused to the people of South Africa and all avenues of protests and demontrations closed before them, they will have no option but to resort to violence. "Is it any wonder," asks Chief Albert Luthuli, "that among the people of our country suffering from intense oppressions—deprivation of hope and family, of livelihood and hope—there are some who, goaded beyond human endurance to the point of desperation, see no way out but to engage in desparate forms of reckless violence? Nor is it, humanly speaking, to be wondered at that there are thsoe who are embarking on calculated acts of violence because they have been forced to abandon all hope of reaching a just solution by consultation and negotiation."

This is, in brief, the situation in South Africa. The battle for its freedom has begun already and will soon take a more serious form. Her White rulers have made all black preparations and will count no cost too great for further ones. On the other hand, Africa is equally determined to make every sacrifice for the cherished goal. The people of India too cannot remain passive spectators of the scene. We are sure that they will contribute their mite and offer their full support and co-operation in this great task. There are about five lakhs of Indians in South Africa and they are blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh. They have to bear all sorts of indignities and sufferings. But they are bravely facing it all and standing shoulder to shoulder with their African brethren. We all have a duty towards South Africa. For, freedom is one and indivisible. If it is denied to a part of the world community, it is as well denied to the whole. The struggle for liberation of South Africa is a veritable part of our own struggle for Swaraj.

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BEHAVIOURISM

By Sri Syamlal Mistri, m.a., m.litt. (Doublin), dip-in-edn. (Glasgow)

Behaviourism or theory of behaviour in psychology is a step towards the scientific process of psychological achievement. Before the birth of behaviourism, psychology was the science of conscious experience. Though observation of behaviour had, at that time, found a place in psychology, the general view was that psychology was concerned primarily with the mind ; and the objective study of behaviour was but of secondary importance, and there was a tendency to interpret objective observations in terms of consciousness, as if such observations were insufficient. There was a complete dependence on the classical method of introspection till the end of the nineteenth century.

During the opening years of the present century there was an outburst of strong dissatisfaction against the whole hypothesis of introspective psychology. Moreover, an idea developed in Germany and the U.S.A. that psychology was much more a science like physics and closer to life problem. As a result, a good number of new shools of thought came into being to voice their protest against the traditional view of psychology. As a matter of fact, psychologists belonging to those new schools started their crusade against the old idea, and it was heralded not only in Germany and the U.S.A. but in many parts of Europe.

Behaviourism is one of those new schools, and most probably the extreme one. J. B. Watson was practically the founder of this school. Even McDoughall, in his early age, defined psychology as 'the positive science of conduct of living creatures', although he changed his view later on. In 1911, Pillsbury, in his 'The Essentials of Psychology' defined, 'Psychology is the science of behaviour', and added that it should be studied through consciousness of the individual and by external observation. Animal psychology developed a good deal at that time. Thorndike, Sonall, Yerkes and M. Washburn were the pioneers of this school of animal psychology. A tendency to link-up animal psychology with human psychology was also one of the essential features of behaviourism.

Among the behaviourists Watson was the extreme. As a psychologist he decided either make psychology a natural science or to give up. He was really disgusted with the traditional idea of psychology. He defined psychology as a purely objective experimental branch of natural science, its goal being to predict and control behaviour. According to him the difference between functional and structural psychology was unintelligible. He said that 'psychology is the science of behaviour' and strongly opposed the inclusion of the terms—consciousness, mental state, mind, content, will, etc., etc., in psychology. To him the whole conception of consciousness was nothing but a dualism of body and mind. He threw away the whole conception of mind, and established behaviourism to be studied in terms of stimulus-response situations. With Watson behaviourism began a new system which had no place for receptor function, effector function and learning. In his 'An Introduction to Comparative Psychology' it is clear that not only the animal psychology, but also all psychology can achieve the status of science by objective study of all its aspects.

According to this school of psychology the definition of psychology stands as 'Psychology is a science of behaviour of both animal and man. It is also an objective experimental science. Actually if we scrutinise the opinions of all the behaviourists, we can find that all of them fall in one of three groups : (a) Watsonian Behaviourists, (b) some other early Behaviourists, (c) the later Behaviourists.

Watson was the first person who tried to make psychology a natural science. He attacked the traditional view of introspection and threw overboard the entire concept of introspection as direct experience. He was very suspicious of the accuracy of the theory of introspetion. Against this suspicion it was put forward by Titchener that suspicion might be wiped out by trusting only well-trained introspective observers. In answer to this Watson pointed out that when even the best observers could not agree among themselves it could hardly be relied on.

In the field of psychology Watson wanted

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include those which could be objectively observable, *i.e.*, tangible, audible, visible things, or happenings. According to him even internal motions and secretions of various glands belong to the head of behaviour, he termed them as implicit behaviour, which is observable by physical means.

Watson's overemphasis on muscular and glandular action in behaviour psychology was nothing but simple physiology, and his methodological behaviourism is of minor importance in the world of psychology. But his conceptual behaviourism—'Behaviour of organism in relation to environment' was a good framework and more important.

Behaviourism is a complex problem, which Watson tried to analyse. But his real interest was not to analyse behaviour from elementary stimuli to elementary muscular responses, but in what way the individual would behave in a given situation. According to his school of behaviourism the goal of behaviour psychology is to predict what response would be found on a given stimulus, and what stimulus would be applied for a given response. They also classified responses as learned and unlearned, explicit and implicit behaviour. Watson put emphasis also on motor behaviour, but never did he make any attempt to analyse the complex movement of different organs of the body. Sometimes he was found to accept verbal report which was nothing but a defeat of his methodological behaviourism since it was not a behaviouristic method. But he replaced the word verbal report by his new word verbal response.

Regarding memory images Watson attempted to say that these so-called images were semi-motor affairs. The visual image is partly due to after-images from the eyes, partly to kinesthetic impulses from the eye muscles and partly to speech movement. According to him behaviour is a peripheral affair. Behaviour is activated by the whole organism in which the brain connects the sensory nerves with motor nerves, and sense organ with muscles. He also said that pleasantness or unpleasantness was also a sensory motor affair, although many behaviourists were of opinion that it was of central affair. According to behaviourists, including Watson, nothing can happen in an organism without sensory motor process. Watson said that Emotion was also a form of implicit behaviour, and different emotions could be distinguished through situation and overt response. Each emotion has its own separate visceral pattern. But physiological experiments have shown that fear and anger have the same visceral pattern, and emphasis has been put generally on thamulus and frontal lobes in this respect, but not on the viscera.

There are three emotions in early life : 'fear,' 'rege' and 'love.' Each of these are aroused in a definite situation. All other emotions are considered to be in the nature of habit induced by conditioning. Watson exerted strong influence on this factor of conditioning and was very hopeful of its scientific application to education of children. This theory of Watson was of much importance.

These behaviourists tried to replace the law of effect by the law of exercise in the field of learning, although Watson relied on conditioned response. But ultimately Watson's theory of learning was identical with the theory of association.

In the field of mental process the behaviourists gave stress on the relation between thought and language as an internal form of behaviour. According to Watson all phenomena of inner life are objective even if they are not observable. So imagination and thought have been termed as implicit muscular behaviour. He also made a distinction between active language habit and passive language habit. Active language problem is a big problem. On this problem Watson's view is that the language of the child develops through trial and variation method as the learning process of the cat to escape from the puzzle box.

The relation of language to thought has been emphasised by the behaviourists. According to them thinking consists of speech movement on a very small scale, and is substituted for overt act. Each word or phrase in the thinking process serves as a substitute for some act.

Children sometimes think aloud, and step by step, a stage is reached when they think silently. They also learn to talk to themselves what they have done, or what they intend to do or what they are doing, and lastly reach the matured form of thinking. This theory of thinking is really sound and its validity can be easily proved. We notice that most of us talk to ourselves while thinking. As regards the experimental evidence for the behaviouristic theory of

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thinking many investigations have revealed a relation between the movement of the tongue and the thinking process. In this case this school has replaced the classical theory of association by an ordered series of responses.

One thing strikes us that Watson probably acquired this type of thinking process through his own introspection, though he does not propose to test it by introspection.

Watson challenged heredity and strongly advocated the influence of environment. He totally rejected instinct and all hereditary mental traits of human beings. He said that with a free hand in controlling environment any normal infant could be made any type of specialist with least regard for the heredity of the infant. In later years he recognisd, of course, a number of of human instincts, and stressed importance on the unlearned activity as the basis of learning and habit formation. Some behaviourists rejected this view of heredity and environmentalism of Watson, although a good number of nonbehaviourists accepted it. This extreme environmentalism has, however, nothing to do with the objective method and rejection of introspection.

Pavlop and Bekhterev, the two Russian physiologists, added, in the history of behaviourism, strong impetus in its early stage with the discovery of Reflexology or Conditioned Reflex. Bekhterev, while working on brain physiology, reported the experiment on an artificially associated reflex. His book on objective psychology may be regarded as the first systematic exposition of behaviourism. Before the discovery of associated reflex Pavlop had already discovered a new phenomenon, the conditioned reflex, the reflex being conditioned upon the fact that a given stimulus had been presented together with one which was originally adequate to elicit it. Pavlop found that a dog would secrete saliva, not only when the food would be given to him, but even when presented with a stimulus associated with the food. Being equipped with this Pavlop solved a great many problems. It means that any stimulus can act as a conditioning stimulus provided it was given beforehand along with the natural stimulus. There is a difficulty in it that any unintended movement of the experimenter may act as a conditioning stimulus without his knowledge. This difficulty may, of course, be avoided in the laboratory, and a differential threshold may also be found by the subject in this method. But conditioned reflex cann... had during sleep and extirpation of the p... areas of the cortex.

In this way conditioned reflex becam... by step one of the principal methods of ... haviourism. Even with its pitfalls, if any, ... method brought about valuable results ... various kinds of reflexes. On the basis of ... method Watson established conditioned ... reaction to a number of stimuli, e.g., when ... animal along with a loud sound is presented b... a child, fear reaction occurs in the child. S... sequently only the appearance of the animal ... create fear reaction in the child. Thus conditi... reflex was regarded by many behaviourists a... pattern with which all modifications of co... might be possible.

Karl S. Lashley a pupil of Watson, attem... to show that all findings of introspection m... be expressed in objctive terms and might find ... place in the range of behaviourism. It cle... signifies that fundamentally Lashley had ... objection against introspection.

Lashley started on the line of Franz ... showed that the loss of frontal lobe on an ani... might cause the loss of knowledge previou... learned, but the ability to learn the same thi... again could not be lost. After several years ... hard labour he came to the conclusion that a... part of the cortex is potentially the same as a... other part with an exception to the occipital are... and more the cortex is left the better would ... the learning. According to him brain is t... most important organ to perform all these wo... in the body. This view seems to support the old ... doctrine of imagery. Lashley also tried to bri... behaviourism and Gestalt psychology clo... together.

Hunter was a behaviourist. According ... him response to the absent world could also ... studied objectively. He also used muscular acti... in the inner world, including the verbal activi... which is due to conditioned stimuli for ov... conduct.

The Later Behaviourists : Tolman, H... Skinner and many other fall in this group.

The new birth of behaviourism dates fro... 1930 by this group, Tolman being the pioneer ... He called himself a purposive behaviourist ... There was, of course, a great deal of doubt amo... the psychologists as to whether this purposi... behaviourism could be called behaviourism ...

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all. But by his work in the field of behaviour Tolman obtained general recognition for his theory of purposive behaviourism, though with a difference from the theory of behaviourism of Watson.

A critical survey of the work of Watson on behaviourism led Tolman to the conclusion that behaviouristically an emotion is a tendency to a particular type of behaviour result. 'It is not a response, as such, nor a stimulus situation, that constitutes the behaviour definition of an emotion rather the response as affecting . . . . the stimulus situation.' (Tolman 1923.)

Refering to the trial and error behaviour method of the animal, Tolman said that this behaviour is purposive or goal directed. He said that the animal as well as the human has some private matters, such as a raw feeling of sensation and emotion, feeling of pleasantness and unpleasantness. He tried to reject all those private matters from the scope of scientific psychology as science is a social affair. Only when reported, those private matters may have a place in science. This idea brings forth a clear difference between mentalism and behaviourism. But verbal report has got a place in his theory showing that when the data of the structuralists was made public, the behaviourist could accept it. It shows that there was a clear difference between the structuralist and the behaviourist.

Tolman was liberal and less negativist than other behaviourists, especially far from Watson. He formulated the concept of intervening variables which means that the experimenter must observe the behaviour under different experimental conditions, i.e., to find out the relation between the behaviour variable and the experimental variable. In this method he included the importance of heredity, age or experience along with the environment of the subject. In doing so Tolman showed that demand variables and cognitive variables are also useful in determining animal behaviour. If these two variables are tied up with experimental and behavour variables, they can form a sound theory of behaviour. As a liberal behaviourist Tolman attacked the explanation of learning in conditioning method.

Then comes Hull who made the full utilisation of Pavlop's principles, but with differences in many points. According to him there is a slight difference between conditioned response and unconditioned response whereas Pavlop was of opinion that conditioned stimulus must begin before unconditioned stimulus.

Regarding intervaning variables and molar behaviour, Hull was of the same opinion with Tolman. He devised a machine to work out syllosisms and said that the learning process could be electrically imitated. According to him nobody should predict the actual behaviour of animal or man with conscious process, but should work out on a logical system. He did never reject consciousness entirly.

Then came B. F. Skinner who made a valuable contribution to Behaviourism. He took it from an experimenter's point of view and described behaviour in terms of stimulus and response. According to him all behaviour is composed of reflexes. He was concerned with neither reflex arc nor nervous system, but with the molar point of view. To him the laws of behavour is the variation of stimuli and other conditions. He used reflex to cover all varieties of stimulus—response units. He also introduced a puzzle box—the Skinner box—which bridged the gap between Pavlop's conditioning and Thorndike's trial and error method. He divided reflexes into two classes—the responded reflex and the operant reflex. In the former, known stimulus creates a response; in the latter, there is no known stimulus but a spontaneous response will be emitted by the organism. Behaviour consists mostly of operant reflexes.

Like Watson, Skinner is one of the extreme behaviourists and tried to reject any reference to inner state of the organism and to deal with observables. Obviously his theory was quite different from those of Tolman and Hull. He was never in favour of taking help of any kind of hypothesis in his method, although he was not very clear about the principles to be adopted for selecting experimental variables. However, he went far away from introspection, and guided himself by the current state of science to establish psychology on the basis of science.

It is, therefore, evident from the above study that the theory of behaviour is diverse in appearance and disposition, though it is a great more scientific method. Theorists belonging to different groups hold more or less different views, one group being very extreme, the other rather liberal. The extremists, as has been shown earlier, are ready to tolerate even the idea of introspection or consciousness in psychology, and

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hold that introspection is closely associated with philosophical bias. There is another group, headed by Pavlop and Bekhterev, which went along with physiology and tried to show the importance of physiology in the field of psychology.

Thanks to the theorists of behaviourism, in spite of their differences, they have established psychology as a natural science. They f established that psychology is to be studie experimental methods with a particular obje control man's behaviour most scientific Some consider it to be a challenge against et religion, psychoanalysis, i.e., against moral mental science. But according to many it is epoch in the history of psycholgy and man.

EARLY BRITISH RELATIONS WITH SOUTH-WESTERN BENGAL

By Prof. BINOD SANKAR DAS, M.A., L.L.B.,
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The forest and salt tracts within and out of Midnapur produced much anxiety on the part of the rulers but got scanty attention from the historians. Some of the historians, ignorant of the spirit of the soil, have advanced their pet theories about the thinking process of the people and their peculiar way of working them out. The misunderstanding about their way of life is no less focussed in ancient Sanskrit, Jaina and Bengali literature. Literary works like *Dharmamangal* of Ghanaram and *Kabikankan Chandi*, etc., have often mentioned these peoples in a contemptuous language. But for the right understanding of their political and cultural history one has to review two fundamental forces at work. The impact of the foreign forces face to face with the potentiality of the non-Aryan elements had played a great part in the history of the land. This point may be illustrated from some notable facts.

First, the people in the jungle mahals belonged mostly to non-Aryan group of peoples. They were the inheritors of a culture which originated in the soil and stimulated its growth. The illustration of the impact of the native culture is reflected in the names of the region. The place-names ending in 'Bhum' suffix suggest that the mahals were predominantly inhabited by the *Bhumij* people or children of the soil and those were the '*Bhum*' or the birth-place of their chiefs. Second, the dominant role of foreign impact may be illustrated by dividing the cultural history of the region into three distinct phases ; Hindu, Islamic and British. From the 6th to 4th century B.C. probably Radha came into contact with Hinduised Indo-Aryan force of the north part of India. In the second phase the challe of Islam dominating central Asia and India w its new creed and political set-up, dominated soc political life of this region. In the last phase new foreign force accompanying a warrior-cu merchant class of Europe gradually revolutio ised socio-economic foundation of the maha It is to be noted, lastly, that in each phase th cycles of foreign impact have widened in exte and quality changing the socio-political pattern the region.

In the first phase, Buddhism and Jainis began to infiltrate into this region from Ce 5th century B.C. and onwards.[1] But it was duri the rule of the Palas probably that the ma currents of development of Hinduism began invade Radha leading to a cultural rapproc ment. Thus, the worship of the cult of *Dhar* originally emanating from the soil was stimulat by Buddhist and Hindu impacts. Secondly, fr the traditions regarding the origin of the *Bh* countries a pattern may be studied of the ea Aryan settlements. These '*Bhum*' countries so times have been subdued by military adventur who were either aboriginals themselves or Ary immigrants. The royal families like the Tung immigrated from Orissa, some came from nort ern India like the chiefs of Dhalbhum or Sing bhum and some of the chiefs emanated from th proto-Australoid group of people, the origina inhabitants of the soil. They, after being stim lated by foreign impact, rose to the warri

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caste.[2] Thirdly, Mahamohopadhya H. P. Shastri proved the Buddhist impact on the culture of this people and showed how in the popular literature and religious festivals the influence of Buddhism penetrated.[3] But Dr. A. Bhattacharya is of opinion that Jainism gave more stimulus to the culture of Radha than Buddhism.[4] A new class of people, the Sravakas, came in Nagbhum and Singhbhum and were elected by the children of the soil as their new rulers and chiefs.[5] They brought about a political and cultural synthesis and adopted the racial festival of the *Bhumij* class.

But besides the stimulus given by the foreign impact in these salt and forest tracts the undoubted domination of the culture emanating from the soil could not escape one's notice. The traditions regarding the origin of the Bhum countries show how the chiefs, *i.e.*, majhis or Singhs were raised to a high status by the primitive community and how the people in Samantabhum and Dhalbhum rose against their rulers and placed new chiefs in their midst after a coup de palais—with the blessings of their tribal goddesses like *Vasuli, Pauri or Rankini.*[6] Secondly, in the political as well as in the battle fields this aboriginal element maintained its ascendancy. Our literary works bear ample testimony on this point. Kalaketu obtained a kingdom by defeating the king of Orissa by the blessings of goddess *Chandi.* Kalu Dom was the famous general of Lausen, the hero of Dharma Mangal. These Bengali-speaking Doms and Bagdis, predominantly Austriolid in origin, dominated the cultural field of Radha. Thirdly, this frontier region had to confront foreign invasions for generations after. The wardens of these marsh-lands, with the help of the local militia consisting of this aboriginal element, had maintained successfully the security and independence of Radha.[7] In the British period also we find fresh recruits were obtained from this class of people to fight against the Indian powers and the French in the Carnatic.[8] Fourthly, in the cultural field also these Doms and Begdis dominated. They were the shevaits and Bhaktas or devotees of the cult of *Dharma* in the festival of Gajan held in Chaitra Sankranti. They even superseded the Brahmin class in the worship of the deities like *Dharma* or Shiva.[9] But the life and culture of Radha was a synthesis between aboriginal and foreign elements. The racial festivals and worships illustrate this point. First, the festival of hoisting umbrella of Indra was inseparably connected with their national and political life. It was a common festival to all the *Bhum* countries and possibly the one manifestation of the sun-worship of the aboriginal tribes. It was justly regarded as "an imitation of surging of the sun at the beginning of spring or at the solistices—a piece of magic to help the sun move."[10] Secondly, in this region very often we find the offering of the clay toy-horses in the site of worship which is supposed to have stood for the rays of sun. Thirdly, in the bathing festival of *Jagannath* or that of the cult of *Dharma*, we find the curious worship of the sun of a primitive agricultural community. '*Snan-Jatra*' is nothing but a human device to satisfy the regulator of rain.[11] Fourthly, in the proper names of the region, we also find the same illustration. The name Radha or Rala in the Jaina scriptures may be derived from the Sanskrit word Rakta Tulla Ratul Raul Rala.[12] The suffix 'Aditya' signifies the existence of a sun-worshipping community in this region which got stimulus perhaps from the Indo-Aryan idea of sun-worship from northern India since the time of the later Guptas who had again alternative names with 'Aditya' suffix.

A second series of blows came to them in the second phase of their political and cultural transition. It was the blow of Islam. The Afghans and the Mughals placed a new type of warrior-class over the peoples of the frontier regions. The agrarian system remained intact with only minor modifications in the existing rent-rolls and boundaries of political units. Todarmall made little change in the land revenue system found in the *Madla Panji,*[13] which remained almost unchanged in the *Jamma Tumari* of Murshid Quli.[14] In the Khalsa portion of lands the system of tribute (peskash) from the chiefs like Vishnupur and Panchet remained unaltered. Under the Muslim impact the general economic condition of Bengal largely deteriorated due to absence of strong central government, constant drain of wealth from Bengal to Delhi and tyranny of the local officers.[15] A new type of force emanated from the soil and stimulated the life of Radha. It was the Vaisnavism inaugurated by Sri Chaitanya. It was the period of political ascendancy of Mallabhum and Bhanjabhum. They embraced Vaisnavism. The great Vaisnava conference of Khetri influenced the political

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horizon of Bengal as well as of Orissa. The impact of Vaisnavism in the life of the children of the soil may be inferred as an answer to the spread of Islam in the region. It revaluated the existence of individual man in the society because "God became the child of man" and "man became the ultimate truth of the world." Purusottam Khetra of Jagannath Deva became a great centre of Vaisnavism. This new thought movement had another cenre in Sripat Gopiballavpur to which the Bhanja Rajas were attached.[16] Thus in the Muslim period Vaisnavism emanating from the soil itself gave a sort of socio-political unity in the jungle mahals and Midnapur. And the people following their chiefs embraced Vaisnavism illustrating the "cujus regio ejus religio" principle though not in its actual connotation.

And lastly in the third phase the challenge of British domination produced tremendous waves of reaction from the native elements of the soil. Even in 1767 the zamindar of Ghatsila refused to "admit a fryngo" in his domain without bloodshed and posted paiks in all avenues and inlets of his pargana.[17] Bhanja Rajas of Mayurbhanja also resisted the British pretentions in Nayabasan and Amardachaur. Jadu Singh, the old zamindar of Bagri fought to the last against the Company's government. The early British rule in the jungle mahals witnessed a revolutionary change in the life of the children of the soil. These people, content with their culture and political life, were looked down upon by the officers as criminals and turbulent jungle chiefs in a hostile manner by demolishing their strongholds and disbanding their local militia and over-powering their might.[18] The paiks were forced to sacrifice their nankar paikan lands. Khatwali lands were also resumed step by step. The chiefs and the people felt the natural impulse of resistance the nature of which was misunderstood by officers and historians.[19] The new process of challenge and response in the third transition period in the jungle mahals and Midnapur was admirably summed up by Firminger.[20] "The English could show the Mughol sanads and farmans to justify their occupation but the Directors when they referred to lands granted in zamindari tenure as" territory or as "possession" clearly intended to indicate that rights obtained by process of Mughal law would, if necessary, be maintained by military force. Behind the diplomatic or legal settlement [illegible] was a virtual conquest of the country, i.e. suppression of the native military power by British military power."

REFERENCE

1. *Bangaleer Itihas*—Dr. Nihar [illegible] p. 442.

2. The wave of immigration thus [illegible] from Orissa on the one hand and northern [illegible] on the other through the famous ancient [illegible] extending from northern India to Purus[illegible] Kshetra. This route lies through the [illegible] mahals. It was by the only route that [illegible] traders, salt-merchants and pilgrims [illegible] from ancient times to as late as 18th ce[illegible] during the early British occupation. (*Midn[illegible] Salt Papers*—Dr. N. K. Sinha; *Census Re[illegible] 1951* : Article on Salt by N. N. Das PCXL—[illegible] viii).

3. Pro. A.S.B. Dec. 1894, p. 136.

4. *Mangal Kabyer Itihas*, p. 504.

5. *The Hodesum*—Tickell, J.A.S.B. 18[illegible] p. 696.

6. *Col. Dalton*—Pro. A.S.B. (18[illegible] p. 170-5. The revolt against tyrant rulers [illegible] demonstrated in the traditional account [illegible] *Samantabhumi*. The tribal goddess like *Va[illegible]* had become Hinduised and by the songs [illegible] poems of poets like Chandidasa and with p[illegible] tical ascendancy of their devotees she, from [illegible] plane of folk religion, obtained a new status [illegible] literature.

7. For their invaluable service from [illegible] remote past these peoples enjoyed rent free la[illegible] social and political privileges and a recogni[illegible] of their merit by occasional land grants [illegible] conferment of titles like Sri Chandan or M[illegible] Sultan like that of the king of Narayangad.

8. Vansittart's letter to Hon'ble J[illegible] Cartier, President and Governor, Fort Will[illegible] dated Midnapur, the 25th February, 1770.

9. K. P. Chattopadhya—*Dharma wor[illegible]* J.A.S.B., Vol. VIII, 1942, pp. 99-135.

10. W. Schmidt—*The origin and growth* [illegible] religion, p. 49.

11. *Opp. cit.*—Dr. A. Bhattacharya, p. 3[illegible]

12. Ruparam in his *Dharma Mangal* ca[illegible] Lausen, the hero and son of Karnasen [illegible] Lalladitya.

13. *Grants Analysis*, II, p. 454-56.

14. *Ibid*, p. 188-89; 364-65 and [illegible] J.A.S.B., XII, 1916.

15. Dr. S. Bhatta—*E.I. Comp. & the Ec[illegible]* of Beng., pp. 9-17.

16. The Mohanta family of Gopiballav[illegible] are the descendants of Rasikananda who was [illegible]

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first disciple of Shyamananda. Both Shyamananda and Rasikananda preached post Chaitanya Vaisnavism in Midnapur anad the jungle mahals in the first half of the 17th century. Through their influence many people of high and low castes including even aboriginies embraced the religion. The chief among them was Vaidyanath Vanjadeo of Bhanjabhum—Baripada. Gopijanaballavadasa, a discipale of Rasikananda worte *'Rasik-Mangal'* in 1655 after the death of Rasikananda, which is an authentic biography of the great Vaisnava apostle. Under the custody of the Mohantas there is a copy of sanad granted by Vir Bikramaditya Vanja Deo (1711-1727) stating that he made the gift for the maintenance of a temple at Brindaban. Thus we find generation after generation the Mohanta family has been endowed with enormous land grants for the maintenance of the family deity.

From *Rasik-Mangal* we get a genealogical table :

1. Rasikananda
2. Radhananda
3. Nayananda

4. Brajananda	8. Brindavanananda
	9. Vaisnabananda
5. Vajanananda	6. Bichitrananda
7. Govindananda	

It shows that Govindananda was the nephew of Brindabananda. There is a farman of Bahadur Shah in the custody of the Mohantas. The genealogical table given above sows that all the three sons of Brajajanananda died without any issue. So the succession devolved on Brindabananda. As there were other claimants for the priesthood he thought it safe to have the recognition from the highest authority at Delhi and got it from the Emperor (Pro. I.H.R.C. Vol. XVII, 1940). There is one Persian document dated 1771 directing the local officers of Chakla Hooghly in Bengal to pay proper respect to the possession of the family and another Oriya letter from Rajaram Pandit, the Marataha Subedar of Orissa fully establishes the influence of the family in Orissa. The importance of this family is best described in a Bengali letter dataed 23rd September, 1803 written to Vikramanandadeva Goswami by the Magistrate of Midnapur regarding the settlement of affairs in Mayurbhanj just before the conquest of Orissa by the Company.

17. Fergusson's letter to Graham, thana Balarampur, dated the 14th February, 1767.

18. Graham to Fergusson dated Midnapur, the 30th January, 1767.

19. J. C. Bose—*Medinipurer Itihas* ; also was illustrated in contemporary letters such as one from Capt. J. Forbes to S. Lewis, dated Holdypokore, the 30th May, 1773.

20. Intro. Fifth Report, Vol. I, p. vi.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN RENAISSANCE UP TO 1500 A.D.

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The European Renaissance of the sixteenth century is rightly considered as an important land-mark in the history not only of European civilization, but of human civilization as a whole, inasmuch as it influenced every aspect of human life—prose, poetry, literature, art, drama, painting, music, architecture and minor arts and at the same time introduced a remarkable new spirit and broad outlook which delivered mankind from the narrow obscurantism of the Middle Ages. It made for all-round progress. The process thus started in the sixteenth century is still continuing.

The European Renaissance appeared in its full bloom in the sixteenth century, and much has already been written on it and people are usually familiar with the vast artistic and technological development that took place then.

But it is not usually realised that there was a long preparation for the Renaissance of the sixteenth century, and that this preparation in its volume and intensity is not

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less than the actual Renaissance of the sixteenth century. The object of this article is to place before the public some of the important aspects of this development before the sixteenth century which is very little known especially in this country.

The word Renaissance in its primary sense has a religious connotation, and gained currency after the Miracle of Notre-Dame since the fourteenth century. The word came to mean neither 'resurrection' nor 'return', but 'recommencement' on a new plane. The Medieval Age was fast coming to an end and there was to be a 'recommencement' of the entire historical process on a new plane. Mankind was called to "a new and a more elevated life."[1] This new life, the life of the Renaissance was fully accomplished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the preparation for it which went on slowly till 1500 A.D., was none the less important and historically more significant; for once a process is started its logical accomplishment is a foregone conclusion and is only a matter of time, but the important thing in history is the starting of a new process. From this point of view the scope of the present article is very important.

Among the many important patrons in France who helped the 'new learning and culture' (in France) in the fifteenth century, especial mention must be made of "the good king,"[2] the Count of Provence (1409-1480) whose work was later taken up by the Duches of Ferrare (1510-1575). Reform and Renaissance became such popular themes with the masses that in 1496 Michel Bureau wrote, "In our days the word 're-form' has sounded so much in popular ear that with whomsoever you speak it re-appears again and again."[3] The famous Italian poet Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374) wrote his odes and sonnets "To Laura" that were translated into many languages. He celebrated in Rome, in 1341, 'The Triumph of the Ancient Fashion'. On the other hand, the Cardinal Bembo feared that a study of Latin might spoil the "purity of his style," and this great follower of Cicero, born in 1470 A.D. scrupulously "avoided reading "decadent Latin," vehicle of that Ancient Learning, was his special object of worship. He a great admirer of the vernaculars, and cient Learning through the verna was his motto.

Pomponio Letto (1464) in Rome, sile Ficin (1473) in Florence, Casim Jagellon (1498) in crackow and Charle in Paris established Academies for ving" ancient ideas and arts.

Considering that the Sultan of Tu Mahomet-II, had captured Constanti in 1453 A.D. the starting and stabili of Renaissance in the remarkably period of about half a century (1453-1 must be considered a remarkable ach ment. It was helped by such impor factors as the zeal of Lorenzo di Medi Elorence (1469-92), the discovery of New World in 1492, and the patronag innumerable rulers in the states of It The speedy establishment of the Re ance in modern times was possible bec between the fall of the Roman Em (476 A.D.) and the fall of Constanti (1453 A.D.) "art was not dead,"[4] but co nued to live some sort of an existence the "Middle Ages transmitted to us ancient tradition." Just before the fal Constantinople (1453 A.D.) the great sc tor who did something to revive the anc styles in his works in France and Italy Nicolas D'Apulie. His main work was between 1250 and 1268 A.D.

Wyclif in England (1381), Jean Hu Bohemia (1409) and Charles-V of Va (1364-1380) prepared the way for ind dualism, reform and Renaissance. Pa cularly Charles-V was a great collector ancient manuscripts and did much to courage interest in ancient learning. T progress was fortunately not interru in spite of many disturbing factors of Middle Ages, such as the Hundred Years W between France and England, the econo collapse in many slav countries and m massacres of Christian populations in B mania, Hungary, Servia and Greece by Turks in the period from 1350 to 1450 A. A manuscript in the National Library, be a letter dated the 3rd February, 1442, s

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gests that the Turks "in the period of six years carried away four hundred thousand Christians who were made their slaves, and then killed the old and diseased among them whom they could not take with them."[5] But the Pope and the appearance of powerful Christian bankers and banking houses, such as those of the Acciaiuolis, Bardis, Peruzzis, Albertis, and Medicis in Italy helped the cause of the new learning and new enlightenment. Of course, as it has been well remarked "money knows neither religion nor country" and the Pope Aeneas Sylvius complained in 1458 of "Italian Treachery" when a Christian engineer built the warships and bombing vessels of the Sultan. In spite of all this, fourteenth century Italy saw such brilliant painters and authors as Petrarque, Boccace, Matteo Giovanetti and others. In Germany, in the fourteenth century was established the Societas Magna Alemaniae at Ravensbourg by Joseph Hompys as an agency to patronize economic and cultural activities in Germany. Towards the close of the fifteenth century the Society established its branches in sixteen important towns of Europe. A member of this Society, Johann Fugger created "a dynasty of financiers" who lent money to the Court of Rumania, King of Portugal, Emperor Maximilian, Charles-V and Philip-II. The patronage of these Christian bankers to the cause of the Renaissance was an important factor in its stabilisation and progress. Between 1455 and 1500 A.D. thirty thousand volumes of Renaissance literature were sold in Europe and in Lyons alone 56 printers and publishers settled down who encouraged the new movement.

Geographical explorations and discoveries that formed a very important aspect of the new movement also are to be traced to the period before 1500 A.D. The researches of J. de Bethencourt (1399-1402), Henri the Navigator (1394-1460), Martin Vaz (1419), G. Cabral (1431), Columbus (1492-97), Vasco da Gama (1498-1503) and others gave an impetus to geographical explorations. The galleons, mainly Spanish, started bringing to Europe 266 tons of silver and 7 tons of gold annually. It is usually not appreciated that the economic development at this time contributed a lot to the social, artistic and cultural efflorescence of the succeeding period. The Hanseatic League was responsible for the speedy economic and cultural progress of seventy-seven towns of Europe in 1367 A.D. At the same time economic prosperity was dependent on geographical explorations and knowledge.

Although both Renaissance and Reformation came as movements of liberation that set the human mind free from the shackles of the Middle Ages, it will be wrong to regard them as great moral and spiritual movements in history. Before the advent of the Renaissance as well as after its full development, we find the same moral looseness and easy virtues in the higher circles. Thus a novel of the thirteenth century shows us "a Count in undress before the household fire putting his head on the lap of a damsel of society[6] ('society-girl') so that she may more conveniently scratch his back; and this in the presence of the Countess, who finds nothing to condemn in it and in the presence of the children who play around."[7] At the same period Isabella, a queen of Jerusalem, was separated from her husband and married in succession to two powerful lords against her will for purely political reasons.[8] It is true that the Pope condemnd it strongly. But in spite of such condemnations such instances of moral turpitudes were not infrequent. Again, we find that in the eighteenth century, that is after the accomplishment of the Renaissance, the same looseness among the intellectual classes, the leaders of the society. At this time a person no less than La Fontaine preached 'The Good Law of Nature'[9]; and this 'Good Law of Nature' "teaches us luxury and voluptuousness,"[10] and the intellectuals "cared less to think well than to live well," and desired and recommended all the pleasant things in life, and among other things "good gardens where it is not prohibited to join with moderation good wine and the company of gay women."[11]

Now we take up some of the more important savants, artists and scholars and shall examine their contributions in the period upto 1500 A.D. Nicolas de Cues

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(1401-1464) priest, philosopher and historian, a great mathematician and a mechanic held an important place among the forerunners of the Renaissance. In 1475, the Thurzos in Hungary presented a machine for draining away the water of abandoned mines and a process for converting copper sulphur. An increased interest in the mines and minerals and particularly in copper was created due to the need for heavy artillery. The Hungarian Orban manufacutred a 70-ton war vessel for Mahomet-II. Plain (white) glass was made in 1463 which helped conservation and distillation of products. The tapestry of Arras acquired such a renown that the Sultan Bajazet after his victory at Nicopolis in 1396 demanded as ransom "the tapestry of the highest excellence worked at Arras." Fancy knitting and spinning spread remarkably in the fifteenth century. Towards 1350 oil-painting developed remarkably in the Mediterranean belt. Giotto of Florence (died in 1336) and Duccio (died in 1319) gave a new impetus to Renaissance even before the fall of Constantinople. Giotto was a fresco painter and an architect, who gave the plan for the campanile of Florence in 1334. With emotion and clarity he painted at Padua and Rome the portraits of the Virgin, Christ, the life of Saint Francis and some contemporaries. Duccio knew how "to paint a Madonna humane and pleasing."[12] From contemporary historians we know that between 1344 and 1380 two royal painters, Jean Coste and Girard d'Orleans painted the Life of Saints and the Life of Caesar (1349) and a Worest with Children (1370). "All these have disappeared like the 3906 precious objects from the inventory of king Charles". In 1398, the Milanese called Flemish and Parisian masters to design their Gothic cathedrals, and till as late as 1450 the Italians acknowledged their inferiority to these foreigners in the matter of giving living expression to the human portraif. Jean Van Eyck (1384-1441) in the service of Philippe Le Bon, the Duke of Burgoyne, and Eyck's brother Hubert are noted for their famous work, The Adoration of the Lamb, installed in the church of Saint-Bavon, in 1432 A.D.

The influence of the Flemish m... minds was acknowledged by all and ... cularly by Luis Dalmau of Barc... (1445) and Nuno Goncalves in Por... (1460). At this period the Flemish m... minds deserving special mention ... Rogier Van der Weyden and Hans Mem... The latter, a pupil of Rogier, worked m... at Cologne and at Brussels. Being Ger... by birth and Flemish by naturalis... Memling introduced in his work a s... combination of the best in German ... Flemish artistic traditions. In 1477 ... painted The Seven Sorrows of the Vir... in 1479, The Mystic Marriage of Saint Ca... rine, and The Adoration of the Magi, ... in 1489, The Shrine of Saint Ursule, ... magnum opus.

Although the Italians were slightly ... in coming to the fore, they excelled whe... last they came in. Between 1425 and ... Ghiberti accomplished ten bas reliefs ... bronze in Florence noted for their "persp... tive" and "the notion of flight." Dona... (1383-1466) makes vivid in bronze ... marble every model of expression ... thought. In La Cantoria it is the childre... in The Angel at the Tambourine it is ... adolescents ; and in Saint Jean Baptist, ... Naked David, and Saint Laurence of F... ence it is the adults ; that are represen... in all their glory. His magnum opus was ... wooden statue of Saint Madelin.

Luca Della Robbia towards 1443 and ... nephew, Andrea, used the latest researc... in pottery, particularly glazed pottery ... in stanniferous majolica in Florence. ... artists studied in details the disposition ... lines, the contrasts particularly in sha... and anatomy. Fra Philippo Lippi (1... 1469) continued the spiritual tradition ... the monk Fra Angelico (1387-1455) in ... B. Gozzoli (1420-1497), Uccello, Piero D... Francesca painted and wrote on 'persp... tive.' Ghirlandajo (1449-1494), Verroc... (1435-1488), and Botticelli (1441-151... author of 'Venus' and The Allegory ... Spring-times were the precursors of a gr... artistic blossoming. Brunellesco (13... 1466) was responsible for the celebra... dome of the cathdral of Florence. Hs co... structed the churches of San Lorenzo (14...

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and San Spirito in the shape of Greek stars.

Verrochio, at the same time gold and silver smith, painter, sculptor, and architect, was "a unique genius of his time." His David, The Incredulity of Saint Thomas and the equestrian statue of Colleone in Venice (1480) by reason of their vigorous and meticulous rendering and liveliness "escape all classification" and are a class by themselves. There is not a line in these representations that "does not represent a movement."

In Germany, in the fifteenth century there were a few artists of great renown. The painter Master Francke von Hombourg (1424) was famous for carving wood and metals and his sculpture was noted for simplicity and vigour. Lochner's Adoration of the Magi (1435) was regarded as a unique creation by contemporaries. The Westphalian School of Art developed by Conrad von Soest (1404), the Swabian School developed by Lucas Moser (1431) and Gabriel Maleskircher's famous 'Crucification' at Nuremberg were important achievements. At Nuremberg three other famous artists were contributing to the Renaissance tradition. Viet Stoss's sculpture in mood, Angelic Salutation in the church of Saint Lawrence, Adam Krafft's works in marble and Peter Vischer's works in architecture constituted the glories of fifteenth century Nuremberg. Engravers in copper developed a flourishing art in Alsace under the guidance of Martin Schongauer (1445-91). His pupil Albert Durer (1471-1528) was a widely travelled artist and was responsible for numerous works in wood and copper. His wooden engraving—The Apocalypse, was universally appreciated. His famous engravings in copper were—Petty Passion (1512), The Cavalier, Death and Devil, Melancholy, and Saint Jerome (1513-14). Among his paintings Adam and Eve (1507), The Adoration of the Holy Trinity (1511), and The Four Apostles (1526) are the most famous. In his works he "perfectly expresses the restlessness of contemporary Germany."

A great name that dominated fifteenth century France in the domain of art was that of the famous painter Nicolas Fouquet who settled in Rome after 1445. His work was continued by Francois, Piqueau and Bourdichon mainly in Turn. Some have not liked the "crudity" of his colouring, but it is not possible to deny the "sober" and "elegant vigour of masculine expression" in his paintings.

Thus, it is very clear that in the period upto 1500 A.D. the Renaissance was sufficiently established in different parts of Europe, and that the process of enlightenment had started even before the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 A.D. The glorious beginning thus made in the period before 1500 A.D. was continued with great success in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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1. Faure Paul (Professeur a l'Institute Francais de Vienne)—La Renaissance (1949) Paris, p. 125.
2. "Le Bon Roi."
3. He was a famous litterateur and journalist of fifteenth century France.
4. Faure, P., *op. cit*, p. 9.
5. Manuscript in the Bibliotheque National, Paris.
6. "Une Demoiselle de Compagnie."
7. D'Haucout, *G-La Vie au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1957), pp. 51-3.
8. *Ibid*, p. 96.
9. "La Bonne Loi Naturelle."
10. "la volupte."
11. Mornet, Prof. Daniel,—*La Pensee Francaise au XVIII Siecle*, pp. 28-29, speaks of "de jolies femmes."
12. "Humaine et Jolie."

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EDUCATION FOR COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING

By J. MINATTUR, M.A., J.D., Ph.D., LL.D.,
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Sometime ago, Melville C. Branch, Jr., wrote: "Education for Comprehensive Planning is the greatest unfilled need at present and the most challenging opportunity for the future."[1]

It appears that the only educational institution which has attempted, up to the time of writing, to do something about this unfilled need is the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, Netherlands. This Institute started in September, 1960, a four-month course in Comprehensive Planning, selecting as participants a handful of planners and specialists of various disciplines from several countries. It also secured the services of many eminent Professors and civil servants who were unsparing, within the frugal confines of the time allotted to them, in their gift of knowledge to the participants.

That planning should be comprehensive seems to be generally recognised. But whether a comprehensive planner, if such a being could exist, can be trained appears to be a matter of some doubt in certain quarters. It is contended that while an engineer, architect or administrator may be brought into being by academic training coupled with practical experience, it is well-nigh impossible to breathe's 'comprehensive' life into a physical planner or administrator or, for that matter, any specialist, and turn him into a comprehensive planner.

The whole question of training a comprehensive planner seems to centre on what is expected of such a person, what he should be and what his functions would be. If the trainee be a specialist in some discipline he has to approach the problems of planning as a planner, not as a specialist. It will be his task to appraise a labyrinthin maze of conflicting, inter-related facts and concepts before deciding or advising on a course of action. For instance, he will be expected to appreciate the changing *mores* of a dynamic urban population, the impact of rapid progress in transport, the balance to be maintained between individual rights and community interests and a number of other similar things with which no specialist, as long as he remains a mere specialist, is to be adequately familiar. That is probably Harvey Perloff would assume the prophetic and state that the planner of tomorrow will "generalist with a speciality." It is not impro to visualize a specialist with a generalist on planning, delivering the goods no less effic than Perloff's generalist with a speciality. the activities of both in the planning proce be limited by what Herbert Simon calls the ciple of bounded rationality is not to be ign Commenting on models of man, Dr. Simon

> "The capacity of the human mind for for lating and solving complex problems is small compared with the size of the prob whose solution is required for objectively ra al behaviour in the real world—or even for reasonable approximation to such objec rationality."[2]

Though operation research may help planner to a considerable extent in arriving planning decisions, his decision-making necessarily be circumscribed by the nar boundaries of rational human behaviour. W no academic training can overcome this di culty, a course of training intended for plann and specialists of various disciplines with a v to making them capable of a new approach their problems and a new degree of co-operat with their colleagues in related disciplines wo instil in them a broader view of planning p blems than is usually accorded by their resp tive disciplines, with the result that they eventually be possessed of what the Schu calls "the wisdom of good minds."[3]

Such a course of study is what is visualiz by the Institute of Social Studies.

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1. Melville C. Branch, Jr., Comprehensive Planning, A New Field of Study, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. XXV, p. 19
2. Herbert Simon, *Models of Man* p. 1
3. *Report of the Committee on Qualifications of Planners*, 1950, p. 70.

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MODERN REVIEW FORTYNINE YEARS AGO

Repatriation of South African Indians

The repatriation of South African Indians is out of the question, and that for many reasons. It goes against our national dignity. Are we a moral pest that we must be driven away from a country wholesale, bag and baggage? Imperialism is said to be abroad. It would be curious empire which would expel one of its members from territory occupied by another. There are 45,000 indentured Indians in South Africa. They cannot be released from their contracts except by legislation. If the South African Government can obtain the consent of the capitalists, who are sure to be very hard hit by the loss of so many labourers, to pass such a law, would it not be much easier to pass a law abolishing the £3 tax and redressing the other grievances of the Indians? It is very easy to talk of repatriation; but can South Africa do without Indian labourers? Will it be able and will it be willing to pay the very large compensation that will be required to be given to the Indians expatriated? The fact is South Africa does want the Indians to remain there, but remain only as slaves, not as free men;—a very laudable desire for Christian men belonging to an empire whose boast is that it abolished slavery. That we do no injustice to South Africa will appear from the following extract form what Sir Thomas Hyslop, in moving a resolution in the South African Agricultural Union supporting the levy of the annual license of £3 on each non-indentured Indian, man or woman, publicly said:—

"The effect of the license is to prevent Indians from settling in the country. It is extended to Colonial-born Indians now and if the license were abolished Indians would have the choice of remaining in the country as free men. We want Indians as indentured labourers but not as free men."

Lastly, where will you repatriate all these 150,000 Indians? Many of them were born in South Africa, have their homes there, their roots there, and do not possess an inch of soil in India, the motherland of their race. South Africa is really their Patria, their Fatherland; it is absurd to speak of repatriating such men and women. In their case repatriation can only mean a sentence of exile or banishment. What have they done to deserve such a sentence? By what code of law or ethics can such a sentence be supported? No, no, it were far better, as Mr. Gokhale said in his College Square speech, that these 150,000 Indians should perish to a man than that they should be deported from South Africa.

Nailing South African Falsehoods to the Counter

As Chairman of a public meeting of the Indian Christians of Bombay held to express sympathy with their Indian brothers and sisters in South Africa in their struggle for recognition as citizens of the British Empire, the Rev. A. J. French made a most telling speech. He spoke with authority and power because he knew things at first hand, having laboured amongst the Indians of Natal for five years.

Mr. French said that his was not a mere academic interest in the subject. He lived amongst the Natal Indians, as a brother among brothers. He said that the Indians had been the means of building up the economic position of Natal. He quoted Mr. Colcahoan, one of Mr. Cecil Rhode's friends, that Indian labour had made Natal. The position of Indians was good under the Crown Government but declined under a responsible Government and finally and steadily worsened under the Act of Union. The Union had repudiated Natal's obligations to the Indians. The position was bad. He distinctly controverted the truth of two assertions which were commonly made about Indians in South Africa.

1. That Indians in South Africa lived

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on a lower plane of civilization. He knew them and had lived among them for five years and denied this statement in toto. Economically no doubt they lived more cheaply, as they were an intelligent and industrious people, but he distinctly denied that they lived or desired to live on a lower slab of civilization.

2. Another statement which was frequently and falsely made was that white men were in a terrible and glaring minority in Africa and that threfore all native and coloured races must be depressed as a physical necessity. As a matter of fact white men were 20 per cent of the whole population of "South Africa." Moreover, they wre armed, backed by military organisations and had complete command of harbours, forts, railways and ammunition and lived also not in isolated tracts but in organised communities. Therefore such a plea of craven fear and of false and misleading statements were engineered for racial purposes. The £3 was an accursed imposition.

3. He did not hope for much from this inquiry. No one was on the Commission of Inquiry who really knew the Indian point of view. Still South Africa had learnt much from commissions of enquiry. He instanced the commission of inquiry into native affairs, the results of which had opened the eyes of South Africa, had called forth an outburst of indignation and resulted in sound public opinion on the native (Zulu) question; so please God this inquiry will do the same. He knew of hundreds of Englishmen in South Africa who deeply sympathised with the sufferings of Indians. He reminded his hearers of Cecil Rhodes's maxim "Equal rights for every civilized man in South Africa" and he contended that Indians were civilized men.

The Civic Aspect of the South African Struggle

From one point of view our countrymen and country women in South Africa should be considered as building up the nucleus of the United Indian Nation. There they are all engaged in a united and common struggle disregarding differences of creed, race and sex. From them we should learn the lesson of unity.

Passive Resistance is undoubtedly a more civilised and humane form of ... struggle than armed resistance. Indians in South Africa by the very fact of their engaging in this form of bloodless struggle are proving their fitness for the rights of citizenship. They are giving an experimental demonstration, as it were, of the possibility of unarmed disobedience. Much more would depend on the efficacy or futility of this struggle than appears on the surface. The British Empire and the whole civilized world is interested in seeing that men are able, not only theoretically but practically too, to draw from it the lesson that a bloodless struggle is better than a bloodly one. Indians in South Africa had prayed and petitioned for years, but in vain. If passive resistance should also fail, our brethren should not, of course, have recourse to violence—nobody would give them such unwise advice: but should anybody be allowed to be driven to have a mental preference for violence? That is the serious question for British Imperialism and civilised humanity to ponder over.

The Advice of Moderation

Some of our friends have been asking our countrymen in South Africa to be moderate in their demands. We think our brethren are asking for the irreducible minimum of free men's rights. In a recent letter to the Times Lord Ampthill writes:

It cannot be too much insisted that the Indians in South Africa are not making any unreasonable demand or asking for anything which cannot quite conveniently be conceded to them. The proof of this is that they are only asking for the fulfilment of promises which have actually been made to them. If these promises had been kept and if the Indian community had been treated with ordinary honesty and good faith there would not be a trace of this long-standing trouble at the present moment either in South Africa or in India. On the other hand, there is no excuse for thinking that the present alarming situation was unex-

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pected and could not have been foreseen. It was foretold by all those who have interested themselves in the question and who have any knowledge at all of Indian character.

(Modern Review, January 1914)

A Failing of Indian Educational Committees.

A distinguished European professor who knows the requirements of Indian education writes to us :

"Indians themselves are often just as much to blame in this matter (the appointment of professors) as the Government. The Committee of the Canning College at Lucknow has, I believe, a majority of Indian members. Yet two or three years ago, a Scotch-man who had only taken a degree at a Scotch university was appointed professor of mathematics there on Rs. 500 a month. Why was not Dr. Ganesh Prasad, who took high honours at Cambridge, asked to accept the post ? The best Scotch-men after taking their degrees in Scotland come to Cambridge and read three years more before taking their degree there. A friend of my own who was tenth wrangler in my year did so. The difference between a good first class at Cambridge and a Scotch degree is then greater than the difference between B.A. and M.A. at an Indian University. But there is still more to be said in the case of Dr. Ganesh Prasad. He and Dr. Zia-ud-din and Mr. Paranjpye after taking high honours at Cambridge studied for a year at Gottingen under Klein, the greatest living teacher. To the best of my knowledge there is no Englishman in the Educational Service so highly qualified as they. Here is another case. Mr. Lakshmi Narain, who teaches the higher classes in mathematics at the Central Hindu College, is only paid Rs. 200 a month, while the teacher of the lower classes gets Rs. 300 a month because he took a Cambridge degree. People in India do not seem to understand that to take high honours at Cambridge like Dr. Ganesh Prasad means a great deal, but to take a third class, as this teacher did, means very little. In the Mathematical Tripos the Senior Wrangler gets something like twenty times the marks of the lowest man who passes. So great a difference is not possible at an Indian University, and so Indians often fail to understand the meaning of a Cambridge degree.....I see again in the "Statesman" that it is intended to bring out an Englishman to be principal of the Hindu College. Why do they not offer the post to Dr. S. C. Bose, who will retire from Government Service in a year or two ?"

Indian Educational Committees ought to be able to profit by what the writer has said.

(Modern Review, February 1914 page 396)

University College of Science.

On the 27th March the foundation stone of the University College of Science was laid by Sir Ashutosh Mukherjeea in the presence of a distinguished gathering. In the lucid speech that he made he traced the history of the institution from its very inception. We are deeply indebted to the generosity of Sir Taraknath Palit and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose for their princely donations. It also gives us peculiar pleasure to learn from the Vice-chancellor's speech that the contribution of three lakhs of rupees made by the University to the funds of the College, came from the Reserve Fund of the University "Formed out of the surplus of examination fees realised from candidates of all grades, in different stations of life, from every corner of this Province." This enables the poorest and most obscure graduate and undergraduate among us to feel that this College of Science is our own, and that we have all contributed our mite to it.

The response of the Government of India to the request of the Syndicate for liberal and substantial help in aid of the College, has been disappointing. To quote Sir Ashutosh :—

The response, however, was slow to come, and the only assurance we received was that when funds were available, the request of the University would be considered along with other claims. The true position now became perfectly plain to

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even the most optimistic amongst the promoters of the scheme for they fully realised that, for the present at any rate, the University must rely upon its own resources, limited though they be, supplemented by the generosity of founders like Sir Taraknath Palit and Dr. Rashbehary Ghose, whose names will be handed down to posterity and will be gratefully mentioned by all true lovers of education from generation to generation, even long after the names of present-day notabilities—euphemistically so-styled shall have passed into inevitable and well-merited oblivion.

Are the educational gods of Simla among these "notabilities ?"

(Modern Review, April 1914)

Another Raptured Spleen

A man named Martin Forbes, Port Trust Inspector, Bombay, found another man named Dhondu working under his supervision to have fastened the sling to the wrong part of a wheel. Forbes "got somewhat disconcerted at this fact, went up to Dhondu and gave him a blow on the stomach while Dhondu was still bending to fasten the sling." The result was Dhondu died, and Forbes was in consequence put to the trouble of taking his trial before a magistrate. The magistrate held that the blow struck by Forbes "could not have been violent," but as Dhondu suffered from a diseased spleen, "which, according to Dr. Powell, was so feeble that even to gently push could have ruptured it," he died within thirty minutes. The magistrate charged Forbes with voluntarily causing hurt under Section 323, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced him to pay a fine of Rs. 25, which we hope was subscribed on the spot by the Advocate(?) of India who has written a chivalrous article in defence of Forbes.

These men wose diseased spleens are ruptured belong mostly to the laboring class. They have to earn their living by hard bodily labour almost every day of their lives. In the course of their work they receive pushes, pressures, knocks, blows, &c., on different parts of t... bodies, including the stomatch, which are always gentle: yet no case has come to ... notice of death from a ruptured sp... among them, except when the push, ... happen to be administered by a Europ... or Eurasian. That is a peculiar charac... istic of Indian spleens. Again, every yea... Bengal and other malarious parts of ... country, there are serious and sometim... murderous affrays among the agricultu... population, not infrequently resulting ... deaths from blows on the skull. There ... the so-called religious riots, too. And s... or similar scuffles are far more numer... than the unfriendly physical contacts ... Indians and Europeans or Eurasians. ... we do not remember ever reading of a ... peasant or field-laborer dying of a r... tured spleen in consequence of these agr... rian or other riots or scuffles. But as we a... not medical men, we would ask the Gover... ment to compile statistics showing h... many Indians during, say, the last 10 yea... have died of a ruptured spleen, (1) as th... result of their stomachs coming gently ... violently in contact with inanimate sub... stances in the course of their labours, (2) a... the result of blows received from th... hands of their countrymen, and (3) as th... result of blows received from the boot... fists or sticks of Europeans and Eurasians.

We do not know what Government ca... do in this matter. They cannot pass a law ... that in every case in which an Indian die... in consequence of an assault committed o... him by a European or Eurasian, the accused ... must be hanged; that would be a rather ... unreasonable and unjust law, against which ... all white men would rebel. But that kind ... of administration of the law, too, which ... has resulated in no European or Eurasian ... slaver of an Indian receiving the extreme ... penalty of the law in recent years (we ... cannot speak of days to which our memory ... does not run back) cannot be called satisfactory. Mayne, in his Criminal Law of India lays it down, indeed, as pointed out by the Bombay Chronicle :

That a charge of culpable homicide could lie against a person who "knowing that disease of the spleen was prevalent in

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the district, and knowing also the risk involved in striking a person suffering from the disease, but who was not known by the defendant to have it." The condition applies to every large city in India, and certainly to the docks in Bombay, where everybody in charge of coolies ought to know that to assault one of them is to take the risk of causing death by a ruptured spleen.

But what can Government do if judges and jurors do not take that view? The remedy is not easy to find or administer. But one thing is clear. No remedy can be effective until the people of India have become healthier, stronger and manlier than now, and until there has been a thorough change in the political and economic conditions of the country; and, let us add, until, partly in consequence of those changes, the consciences of the European employers, supervisors, &c., and of judges and jurors have been roused. For, though it ought not to be and cannot be asserted that all judges who acquit or lightly punish the accused in such cases are guilty of conscious injustice, or that all doctors who in such cases depose that death was due to a ruptured spleen are liars, there is no doubt in the Indian mind that some such judges and doctors exist. They require a renewal of the heart and an awakening of the conscience.

(Modern Review, November, 1914)

Wanted the Highest Education for Women

Whatever some persons in India may say, it is no longer necessary to discuss the abstract question of the need of the highest education for women for their highest good and of their capacity to receive such education. We shall not, therefore, discuss that question. In some countries there is co-education for boys and girls, men and women from the elementary up to the highest stage, in some there is not. In countries where co-education exists there are also separate schools and colleges for the sexes. In England, where no purdah is observed and where women enjoy perfect freedom of movement, there are Girton and Newnham for the highest education of women. In India, purdah is strictly observed in some provinces, for instance Bengal, and from none is it entirely absent. For this reason, apart from the pros and cons of co-education, separate provision and arrangement should be made for the education of girls and women up to the highest stage. In recognition of this principle Bethune College in Calcutta existed for years. For the same reason there is the Thoburn Isabella College at Lucknow. In pursuance of the same policy a college for women has been established at Madras, and a medical college for women is going to be established at Delhi. As young men studying in colleges are for the most part not accustomed to the society of women not belonging to their own families, even small communities like the Brahmos do not feel it quite convenient to send their daughters to classes meant ordinarily for young men. There is, moreover, the question of the expense involved and of escort in conveying the ladies to and from college. It is within the power of very few families to make satisfactory arrangements for conveyance. For these reasons Government should make arrangements in Bethune College to teach science and other principal subjects up to the B.A. and B.Sc. standard not now taught there. M.A. classes in some subjects should also be opened there. No doubt, the expense would be out of proportion to the small number of students who would take advantage of these classes. But even in countries where the education of women is of longer standing the higher education of women costs more per head than the higher education of men. Morover, in the beginning the education of women must be very costly. Besides, the question should be looked at from another point of view. As Government spends lakhs of rupees for the higher education of men, common justice requires that no expense should be grudged for the higher education of women, so long as the total amount spent for this purpose does not exceed the total spent for men.

The educational policy of the State, too, requires that the Education Department of Bengal should provide for the opening of M.A. classes in Bethune College. That policy requires that in educational institution for girls, male teachers and professors should be gradually replaced by female teachers and professors. But if our daughers do not receive the highst education possible in India, how can they become good

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teachers and professors ? At a private conference with some educated Bengali ladies the Director of Public Instruction is said to have urged in effect that as there were no lady graduates fit to occupy the post of Principal of Bethune College, a duly qualified English lady graduate should be appointed, at least temporarily. Taking it for granted that there is no Bengali graduate fit to discharge satisfactorily the duties of a principal, the appointment of an English lady graduate can at the best be looked upon as a temporary make shift. For, in the first place, there is no principle of justice and there is no man-made law by which Indian women can be excluded from any office which has to be filled by women. In the second place, Indian men are not excluded from principalships of Colleges, whether they are State College, or aided or private. Why then should Indian women be excluded ?

The position, then, comes to this, The Education Department says to our women : You are not fit to become principals. To which our daughers reply "Give us then the highest education, so that we may become fit." The response of the Department is "We cannot."

This is not exactly, an imaginary conversation. This year more than one lady graduate wanted to study for the M.A. degree. For the reasons stated in a previous paragraph, it was not practicable for them to attend the University M.A. classes. So the father of one of them wrote to the Director of Public Instruction on July 11, asking him to be kind enough to make some arrangement for teaching lady-graduates the M.A. course in English. On the 22nd of September, after two months and eleven days, the reply was given "that the Director of Public Instruction regrets that this deparment is unable to make any arrangements. Application should be made in the matter to the Registrar of the Calcutta University."

It will be seen that the Director's reply was as prompt as it was encouraging. As for the "advice gratis" that "application should be made in the matter to the Registrar of the Calcutta University," it was unnecessary, and it did not require two months and eleven days' cogni... hit upon this method of disposing of the a... tion. It was unnecessary, for the perso... made the aforesaid application for his d... had been Principal of a College for years a... some knowledge of the educational fa... existing in Calcutta.

However, neither the lateness of the ... nor the superfluous character of the advice ... chief subject of our consideration. The pro... requires attention is will the Education D... ment give our daughters the same facilit... higher education as it gives to our sons ? W... that it must.

To many an Indian sojourner in E... accustomed in their own motherland to the ... of her majestic streams, the Thames must ... appeared at first sight as a big drain ca... dirty water. But it is only when it is cons... as "liquid history" that the true glory ... Thames can be understood.

In our own motherland there are tho... of rivers and mountains, forts and cities, p... and palaces, temples, mosques and mausol... fields and mounds strewn over with the ... and remnants of universities, monasteries, a... and cities whose very existence is now forg... —thousands of sites of which poets have s... and which are encircled by the magic ha... history, which we can speak of as liquid or s... history. The Ganges is liquid history. Bodh G... is solid history. Chitor and the pillars of A... are petrified history. The caves at Ajanta ... Elephanta and the temples at Ellora and ... where are history hewn out of the rocks. The ... pillar at Delhi is solid history of a very e... ing character. The Tajmahal at Agra is ... history and romance in stone.

It is not enough to read of them or hea... talk of them. If we would derive the proper ... of inspiration from them, we must see th... touch them, meditate near them, have our ... veries and daydreams in their immediate ... nity. In that way alone can India be made ... living reality to us and speak to us with a v... that must be obeyed.

(*Modern Review*, December, 19...

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

***Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati*:**

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ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI—The Bhakti Yogin: By *Anthony Elenjimittam, Aquinas Publications, St. Catherine of Siena School, Mount Mary's Hill, Bandra, Bombay-50, (India)*.

Distinguished thinkers like Renan and Mathew Arnold worte biograpahies of St. Francis of Assisi. But what acted as a bar to their full appreciation is, that they could not reconcile the spiritual aspect of the saint to their view-points, limited by stubborn prejudices of the sceptic. Admirers of the rationalistic school of thought stopped at the point from where the spiritual life of the God-intoxicated soul of Assisi started his pilgrimage to the Kingdom of Christ. The self-contradictory facts, which the Indian philosophers think usual in the life of a man of realisation, were misunderstood by the rataionalists. In the face of revelation, their reason stagnates within the pool of their limitation, because revelations always occur beyond the ken of time, space and causation. The paradoxes of asceticism and their veiled mystery without which St. Francis would be no Francis at all and the story of Lady Poverty are the bewildering facts to most of the thinkers of Europe. Volumes of books have been written on these points. So to write something on St. Francis requires comprehensive study of the esoteric as well as historic literature of Europe. The paintings of Giotta present a great deal to understand him. His proper setting on the pattern of history needs thinking from the positive direction. In this respect Anthony Elenjimittam has taken up an onerous task and has acquitted himself creditably. He has blended scholarship with his natural devotion to the great saint. He has the privilege to have a bent of mind toned up by scriptual knowledge and acquisition. In 1962, he visited the spots associated with the holy name of St. Francis.

The book under review is an outcome of inspiration he received there. He has broken fresh grounds by comparing the spiritual experiences of St. Francis with what were revealed to the sages of India in their moments of illuminated awarness. He underlines the differences between the Eastern and the Western thoughts. The advant of St. Francis corresponds to the historic necessity when, as G. K. Chesterton says, 'there were a fresh flowering of culture and creative arts after a long spell of much sterner and even more sterile experience which we call the Dark Ages.' That was an age of emancipation. The purge of paganism was complete; and the pagan tradition of nature-worship was entirely erased from the minds of the people. But St. Francis's famous poems, The Canticle of the Creatures and The Canticle of the Sun brought renascence with a freshness of thought and spirit. Yet they differ from the poems of the romantic period. St. Francis wrote poems out of love of God and looked at dumb nature as an image of the Almighty. On the contrary, the romantic poets animated dull Nature out of passionate love for her. The sayings and writings of St. Francis reflect the idea of the love of nature, the love of animal, the sense of social compassion and the sense of spiritual danger of material prosperity. Before the coming of Wordsworth and Tolstoy the Europeans were not familiar with these ideas. So what St. Francis contributed took a few hundred years to understand—he was the morning star of Europe. His was the first cry of a nascent poetry which found its highest expression in 'Divine Comedy' wherefore he has been called the precursor of Dante. St. Francis was the very first of the national poets in the purely national dialects of Europe. Unlike other poets he had the privilege to rise to the height of a true poet—his life itself as good as poetry, rarefied and sublimated to divinity. His mysticism has not a shred of mist anywhere to obscure Truth. He voiced his age and was destined to become the genius of the nation. Chastity, obedi-

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ence and the vow of poverty—these are the three pillars upon which the vast edifice of the Franciscan movement rests. Like Shri Ramkrishna, his denial of possession and contempt of book learning contradict the thoughts of the moderns. Though devoid of learning, what St. Francis uttered bear the stamp of originality. Acceptance of extreme poverty was the main theme of his life. His idea of poverty took the form of a gracious and beautiful lady called 'Lady Poverty'. She was his Holy Ghost. The idea of Lady Poverty has a relation with the culture of Troubadours who sang love-songs on accompaniment of light instruments of the day. To this culture Dante owed so much.

In praise of Lady Poverty not only Dante but other poets also composed a number of poems. It is astonishing that a person who did not think for to-morrow but the morrow thought of him, enlivened the whole of christendom with the elixir of a fresh enterprise of life and thought.

To conclude, I would like the readers to know that the proceeds from the sale of this book will go to alleviate the sufferings of the destitute children of all communities at St. Catherine of Siena School, Mount Mary, Bandra, Bombay. So to purchase and read the book means enlightenment of the soul.

NARAYAN KUNDU

AMAR-ANUVADAK SATYENDRANATH: *By Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyay, published by A. Mukherji & Co. Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1368, B. E., pp. 233, demy octavo. Price Rs. 6.00 nP.*

Among the many youngmen who began to write verses after Rabindranath, the name of Satyendranath Dutt stands out most prominently. His collection of poems named the *Kuhu-O-Keka* (The Cuckoo and the Peacock) took by storm, as it were, the reading public of Bengal. Partly by his clever versification and partly by his novelty of themes and expression, he conquered for the time being the heart of the lovers of poetry in Bengal who were so long under the spell of Rabindranath's muse. Though the young poet's work lacked considerably the depth of the great master, it shone brilliantly indeed by its originality which was absent in the verses of his other colleagues. More poems came from his hands till his untimely death at the age of forty-one, and he left behind him quite a good volume of poems which enjoyed great popularity. And the very touching elegy which Rabindranath wrote at the death of his young admirer and disciple, speaks indeed very eloquently about the lasting place which Satyendranath Dutt came to occupy in the literature of Bengal. But in spite all this there is a class of critics, mostly [illegible] of verses, who are not quite willing to accord Satyendranath a high place as a poet. This done mostly on the ground that a considerable portion of Satyendranath's poems, was translation from different languages. The volume under review makes an attempt to vindicate Satyendranath's right to be considered an important poet on the basis of a close study of his translated poems. This task is by no means an easy one. For, as is well-known, Satyendranath was a great linguist, and quite a good number of his translated poems go to the orignial Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian, English, French and German. Hence to appreciate very critically the value of his translated poems one has to know so many languages. It is gratifying indeed to note that Satyendranath has at last got one critic whose linguistic attainments are of a very high order. For Dr. Sudhakar Chatterji, the author of the volume under review, knows besides Sanskrit, Hindi and English, French and Persian. And he utilises this knowledge properly to explore critically the merit of Satyendranath as a translator of poems written in different languages. Though it is natural that Satyendranath was not equally successful in all his translations and some of them verge on pedestrian verses, yet in a great majority of cases he achieved marvellous success. By his very skillful and creative translation many a gem of foreign literature has obtained the right of citizenship in Bengali, and enriched it very greatly indeed. Dr. Chatterji has selected some of the best specimens of his translated poems and discussed their language and versification after quoting the source and has shown how Satyendranath could maintain the beauty and grace of the originals, in spite of his occasional deviations from them. All this he did in respect of poems from English, Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian and French. Dr. Chatterji has done his work with considerable ability, and we congratulate him on the success he has attained in creating a fresh interest in one of the most important poets of Bengal after Rabindranath. In this work the author has added a chapter on Satyendranath's influence on the Oriya literature and another on some of the difficult poems of Satyendranath. Though these are of secondary importance in the present connection, the admirers of Satyendranath may find them useful. But the most substantial part of his work, the chapters 1 to 6, will surely be considered an important contribution to the study of Comparative Literature in Bengali. The printing and get up of the work is excellent.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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THE BIG IDOL : *By Richard B. Gregg, Navajiban Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, pages 72. Price 75 nP.*

The Big Idol discussed in this book is Money. But the author claims no authority on the subject. His clear handling of this intricate subject proves beyond debt that he is not only conversant with the theories of money but its practical application is also fully under his grasp.

Economists tell us that money performs many kinds of functions, *viz.*, exchange function, measure function, a storage function, a transfer function, a symbol of credit (trust) function and an estiming (the present value of a future act or obligation) function.

As a tool, money, is not like multi-functioned machines whose different operations are always, performed in the same order or are at least completely controllable and the result is uniform.

Money as a medium of exchange is a boon to man. But as a measure of value it is an unstable unit. As a store of value it is full of defects. Besides economic values also become moral values. Its storage value is inherently moral, depending on trust. And because money in its prsent forms has inherent defects, bad moral results of its use are inevitable. As regards money as a transferer of value, sooner or later money always creates situations of partly irresponsible power. As a symbol, money is exceedingly useful and powerful in human affairs, but it has many grave defects.

As a result of these mingling functions some grave evils appear in human society and money harms economic relationships. According to the author the use of money in its present forms with further concentration of ownership and control of wealth make for consequent growth of monopoly. As a result all small enterprises and the entire middle class in every country will be destroyed. Money in its present form is destroying spiritual values, harming democracy, causing war and obstructing world peace.

As a remedy he suggests among others that a particular kind of money (stamp scrip) should be used for a medium of exchange and for no other function. He quotes J. M. Keynes and Irving Fisher in support of his theory and gives examples of Bavaria and Austria (1931), many towns and cities of U.S.A. (1933), successfully using stamp scrips in depression.

The book is extremely readable and thought provoking.

A. B. DUTTA

KRISHNA, A study in the theory of the Avataras : *By Bhagawan Das, Bharat Ratna, Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, pages 202. Price Rs. 2/-.*

This treatise on KRISHNA is a document based on *Gita, Anu-Gita, Bhagavata, Hari-vamsha, Mahabharata* and others. Bhagawan Das, the erudite scholar of ancient scripts and the master of Indian religious thoughts, gives in this book a copious exposion of Avatar KRISHNA'S life and teachings supported by instances and evidences.

The subject of the book is not for popular reading and the author is too resourceful to be simpler than what we find in this book. Sanskrit quotations in devanagri script (with English renderings) have enriched it and readers conversant with the Sastras will find the theme fit for deep deliberation.

M. GUPTA

A HAND BOOK OF PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION—*By Prof. S. Ghosh, Published by the author at 156, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-6, pp. 176. Rs. 7.*

It is with genuine approbation and delight that I have gone through the "Hond book of Philosophy of Religion" by Prof. S. Ghosh, M.A. the book reveals the working of an experienced mind, disciplined in ways of accurate thinking and sympathetic understanding of the academic needs of students for whom the Hand book is intended. What, above all, has appealed to me is a sense of the essential on the part of the author, who has not fallen a victim to the lure of a 'popular' treatment of the problems of 'Religion' at the expense of thoroughness and breadth of outlook which characterise the Handbook as a whole. In the execution of his task Prof. Ghosh has employed a style of writing which is as simple as it is elegant, and the reader is nowhere left in doubt as to what the author means to establish in and through his treatment. It is reasonably hoped that the Hand book will score the success it so eminently deserves in academic circles as much as outside these limits.

(PROF.) SAROJ K. DAS

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Indian Periodicals

REPHASING THE THIRD PLAN

Writing editorially in its current special number, the **Economic Weekly's** reassessment of the Plan would bear careful study.

Structural deficiencies in the formulation of projects as well as in the general pattern of priorities had already become apparent during the first year of the Third Plan. A reconstruction of the Plan, so that the major targets did not get lost in the **melee** was, therefore, clearly called for from the very beginning.

An assessment of its operation in the first two years and especially of the recent developments following the Chinese aggression in October last, will indicate broadly the direction in which the Plan needs to be re-phased. This is confirmed on the other hand by the many gaps in the industrial structure which are coming prominently into view. The developments currently projected for the remaining period of the Third Plan convey no assurance that the industrial structure is being adequately strengthened or even that the strategic sectors are being given due priority.

During the first two years of the Third Plan, national income increased at the annual rate of only 2 per cent as against the expected rate of 6 per cent. An increase of no more than 5 per cent per year is what is likely in the remaining three years. This would mean that national income over the Plan period would show an increase of only 20 per cent, and not 30 per cent, as posited in the Third Plan.

The external assistance that would be needed for the Third Plan was given out as Rs. 2,600 crores (excluding P L 480 aid). What had made the Planning Commission put up this particular figure can only be imagined. Perhaps, it was considered prudent to put up a modest figure so as not to scare away the aid-givers. Even a cursory examination of the original physical targets from the data presented in the Plan itself made it abundantly clear that the assistance that would be required was much higher.

The formulation of the projects has sh... that the earlier estimates of external a... ance required were unduly low. Add... this, it had also become clear that ma... ance imports needed would be much gr... than had been provided for in the Pla... was indicated in the last Annual No... that the external assistance that woul... needed for the fulfilment of the Plan ta... would be of the order of Rs. 4,856 c... ("Defence and the Plan," Annual No... 1963, page 104-vii, Table 2) of which ... about Rs. 2,400 crores—the amount we ... then asked for —is now more or less a... ed. Of this Rs. 4,856 crores, Rs. 500 c... would be for projects which would be c... ed forward to the Fourth Plan, so tha... external assistance that can be utilise... the Third Plan period will be of the o... of Rs. 4,356 crores. To this has now t... added the import content of the increa... defence expenditure taken at ano... Rs. 300 crores. Thus the total extra... aid that will be needed for fulfilling ... Plan targets and building up a lim... defence capability will be of the orde... Rs. 5,153 crores.

Is such an order of assistance ... within the realm of possibility? W... seems likely from the past trend is ass... ance of the order of about Rs. 3,500 c... (excluding P L 480); of this, Rs. 500 c... will not be available for use in the T... Plan as it is tied to the projects which ... spill over into the Fourth Plan. This ... best, only Rs. 3,000 crores worth of ass... ance can be reckoned on for the duratio... the Third Plan.

Let us now try to outline the pictur... the Third Plan in aggregative terms ... emerges from these three basic assumpt... (a) an overall increase of 20 per cent in ... national income over the Plan peri... (b) external assistance of Rs. 3,000 cro... and (c) additional defence expenditure ... Rs. 1,200 crores during the last three y... of the Plan. (See Table 2). Total pu... sector Plan outlay (investment **plus** cur... expenditure) has been revised upwards ... Rs. 8,900 crores (for details, see the Ann...

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Number, p 104-vi), estimated investment in the private sector remaining unchanged at Rs. 4,100 crores, as in the Plan. To this would now have to be added the extra expenditure for defence of Rs. 1,200 crores, so that the total public sector outlay would be Rs. 10,100 crores against the Plan estimate of Rs. 7,500 crores, and the total outlay, public plus private, would be Rs. 14,200 crores.

For this outlay, assuming that Rs. 3,000 crores of it is external assistance, the draft on domestic resources would have to increase from about 11 per cent during the first two years to about 19 per cent of national income in 1965-66, the last year of the Plan. This will mean that total consumption (including Government consumption) can increase by only 1.9 per cent per year during the last three years of the Plan; and that per capita consumption will have to be decreased by 0.1 per cent each year if population grows at about 2 per cent per year, as assumed in the Plan. If population growth is higher than 2 per cent, as seems most likely, per capita consumption will have to be restricted still further. (As population has been growing at about 2.6 per cent, per capita consumption will decrease by 0.7 per cent each year!)

Table 1

Agricultural Income and Agricultural and Industrial Output, 1960-61 to 1962-63

	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63
Agricultural Income at 1948-49 Prices (Rs. crores)	5910	5860 (−0.9)	5976* (−1.1)
Index of Agricultural Production (1950-51=100)	139.9	139.9	138.5 (−1.0)
Index of Industrial Production (1956=100)	129.8	139.3 (+7.3)	149.5 (+7.3)

* Estimated.
Figures in brackets are rates of increase (per cent) over previous year.

It is not inconceivable that a reduction in consumption of this order can be effected. In aggregative terms, it may even appear desirable that such an effort should be made. In reality, however, any attempt to curtail per capita consumption to this extent will inevitably generate considerable inflationary pressures, particularly in view of the known inelasticity of agricultural output and even the 0.1 per cent decline in per capita consumption per annum will mean, in practice, a substantial deterioration of the standard of living of more than 50 per cent of the population. Distribution of incomes has been changing in favour of business classes and to some extent, factory workers. If this trend continues, as it is bound to, even the expected increase of 1.9 per cent per year in total consumption, had it been realised, would have gone largely to these classes. If food prices are not kept stable, the real income of the lower and the salaried classes would be cut into further.

As a matter of practical politics, therefore, it is more likely that public sector outlay rather than consumption would be cut in order that per capita consumption can be increased at least at about 1 per cent a year. If consumption has to be kept up even at this modest level, public sector outlay over the Plan period (including the additional defence expenditure) may then have to be cut by Rs. 3,000 crores to around Rs. 7,100 crores. This is at 60-61 prices. As prices have already risen by 10 per cent and may rise more, the outlay may be much larger than this in money terms, even as large as Rs. 8,900 crores at current prices. But in real terms it may not exceed the figure mentioned.

This raises the vital question about Plan priorities. The aggregate outlay in the Plan, by itself, is not very meaningful. Its contribution to a cumulative and self-generating process of growth depends not so much on the aggregate magnitude of the Plan outlay as on its pattern. It is conceivable that a smaller outlay with an appropriate investment pattern may contribute more to this basic objective than outlay at the present level.

The broad strategy of the Plan, however, need not conflict with the requirements of defence. With the export constraint which India has to face, the emphasis on basic and heavy producer and capital goods industry is unavoidable and must be main-

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Saving, Plan Expenditure and National Income in Third Plan
(Rs. crores at 1960-61 prices)

	1960-61 (1)	1961-62 (2)	1962-63 (3)	Total during first two years (4)	1963-64 (5)	1964-65 (6)	1965-66 (7)	Total during last three years (8)	Total during Third Plan (9)	Annual average rate of growth 1961-62 to 1965-66 (%) (10)
(1) National Income	14,200	14,498	14,788	29,286	16,249	16,925	17,040	50,214	79,500	
Per cent increase over previous year	....	+2.0	+2.0	(14,643)	+9.8	+4.1	+0.6	(16, 738)	....	+4.0
(2) Public Sector and Private Sector Investment	1,925	1,824	2,110	3,934	2,566	3,022	3,478	9,066	13,000	
				(1,967)				(3,022)		
Per cent of national income	13.6	12.6	14.3	13.4	15.7	17.8	20.4	18.1	16.3	
Per cent increase over previous year	....	—5.3	+15.6	....	+21.6	+17.7	+15.1	....	....	+16.1
(3) (2) + Additional Defence Expenditure	....	....	....	....	2,766	3,422	4,078	10,266 (3,422)	14,200	
Per cent of national income	....	....	....	....	17.0	20.2	23.9	20.4	17.9	
(4) Draft on Domestic Resources (excluding from (2) till 1962-63 and from (3) for other years, the external assistance and draft on reserves)	1,431	1,483	1,679	3,162 (1,581)	2,178	2,679	3,181	8,038 (2,679)	11,200	
Per cent of national income	10.0	10.2	11.4	10.8	13.4	15.8	18.7	16.0	14.0	
Per cent increase over previous year	....	+3.6	+13.2	....	+29.7	+23.0	+18.7	....	....	+24.4
(5) Consumption (including Government Consumption) (1-4)	12,769	13,015	13,109	26,124 (13,062)	14,071	14,246	13,859	42,176 (14,059)	68,300	
Per cent of national income	90.0	89.7	88.6	89.2	86.5	84.1	81.3	84.0	86.0	

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tained. But along with this emphasis on basic heavy industry, the Plan also visualised a substantial increase in agricultural productivity and expansion of household and hand industries for meeting the demand for consumption goods, creating adequate employment and supporting in general the basic industrial structure. To these household and hand industries can be addded rural works programmes for various projects of capital construction for augmenting agricultural productivity

This was indeed the broad strategy of the Draft Plan-frame of the Second Plan which laid the foundations of heavy industry in the Indian economy by articulating its rationale. That rationale has been vulgarised and distorted in the process of implementation. The basic industrial projects require proper formulation; for their implementation, negotiations have to be carried out with various parties, including the aid-giving agencies. Aid is given on an annual basis but the actual amount as also the timing of aid remains uncertain; even after firm commitment has been made for aid, it takes several months before the aid can be actually drawn. This inevitably causes delay. Apart from this lag in the receipt of external assistance, there are administrative delays, which can be avoided if projects are properly formulated and implementation is balanced. There are basic projects which have been delayed not on account of a holdup of external aid but because of inadequacies of planning and implementation.

To mention only a few, for the expansion of public sector steel plants, as originally formulated, orders for imports were to be placed before March 1961 for Bhilai and before March 1962 for Durgapur and Rourkela. The orders for Bhilai have been placed only recently, and the orders for the other two are still to be placed. The Alloy and Special Steels Plant, it is now certain, will not go into production during the Third Plan. For so basic a project as the Heavy Plate and Vessel or Heavy Structural Works, even the scope is still not defined. Other basic public sector projects which are still uncertain are Organic Intermediate Chemical Plant and Ophthalmic Glass Project. All these projects are basic both for defence and development, and it is not lack of external assistance which is holding them up.

In agriculture, the picture is even more dismal. Many things can be done, agricultural productivity can be substantially increased by irrigation, fertilisers and good seeds. Irrigation projects are not completed in time and even of the projects which are, utilisation of the irrigation potential is woefully small. The fertiliser projects are in the dumps and their production targets have no chance of being fulfilled. Rural works programmes for putting idle labour to work with non-scarce materials to add to national income have been much talked about but who is going to organise them, how soon and on what scale?

The upshot of all this is that even though the overall magnitudes of outlay conform to the Plan, the really basic schemes of strategic importance will not be necessarily implemented. Yet outlays, which are not important either from the point of view of growth or defence, may still be made and may also overreach their targets. Adding to the inflationary pressures and the drain on foreign exchange, they may even hold back the Government from pushing ahead with really worthwhile projects. All this has to be drastically changed.

What is necessary is a radical revision of Plan priorities. For both defence and development, the basic producer and capital goods should get a high priority. Through organisational changes rather than increased investment, agricultural productivity can be and will have to be substantially raised and the idle man-power put to effective use both in agriculture and other traditional industries as well as productive services. The prices of basic consumption goods must not be allowed to rise and action has to be taken both on the production and distribution fronts.

For the vast majority of the people, income is related to employment and unless employment increases, the Plan would produce no impact on their lives. In most cases, however, the extent of increase in per capita income that is possible through wider employment opportunities is limited; but this can be offset if they are given the opportunity to improve their own condition. The one basic item of collective consumption or investment which the State can and should provide on a large-scale is education. This would give an opportunity to a large number of people to improve

Consumption) (1-4)	12,769	13,015	13,109	14,071	14,246	13,859	42,176 (14,059)	68,300	
Per cent of national income	90.0	89.7	88.6	86.5	84.1	81.3	84.0	86.0	
Investment									

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their productivity and would add to national income many times more than the initial investment. Educational policy for providing equal opportunity to all as well as for meeting the demand for the skilled and technical working force is an aspect both of an income policy as well as the basic Plan policy. Reduction of inequalities has so far remained merely a slogan. Employment and educational policies are, in fact, the most effective ways of achieving it.

The priority, which exports should have been given, has been assigned only to the export targets. It has to be properly integrated into the Plan and worked into its investment and production pattern.

These are the broad directions in which the Plan priorities have to be cha... Defence is a net burden. It is no use d... ing ourselves in the belief that de... and development do not conflict. The... and resources which could have been ... for development will now be sucked ... defence.

Nevertheless defence must come ... but can it have percedence over every... else? The emergency has snapped ... ever tenuous link there was between ... Defence Ministry and the Planning C... mission. This link has to be establ... and strengthened. A defence progra... which pushes the country onwards to ... nomic disaster will not hold back the e... for long. Can there be a more ser... warning for the rephasing of Plan?

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Foreign Periodicals

The Rusty Bells of Hope

The **Saturday Review** has something to say editorially for the "Meals For Millions" movement which has its obvious interest in the context of present world food shortage.

With the single exception of death, mankind's classic enemy is hunger. All through the historical period, right up to the present moment, our best thinkers have stood paralyzed before the problem of how to grow enough food to keep expanding populations well fed.

In recent years, however, a heterodox but hopeful approach to this problem has been worked out by a modest Los Angeles organization known as Meals for Millions. According to Dr. Henry Borsook, a Caltech biochemist who is research director of Meals for Millions we are trying the fight against hunger too closely to agriculture.

"It is easier, cheaper, and often more convenient," Dr. Borsook says, "to get vitamins and minerals from sources other than food. In fact, the whole promise of coping with world food problems depends on our using industrial sources. . . . . the source of an essential nutrient is immaterial. It may come from a food which is grown, it may be mined, or it may come from a factory."

What Dr. Borsook is proposing, then, is nothing less than an Industrial Revolution in the field of nutrition. The main feature of this revolution is that it involves no added agricultural production. Instead, it makes use of foodstuffs not previously utilized as human fare.

The key to MFM's success is a coarsegrained food supplement that comes in three different formulas, one of which "looks like sawdust and tastes like turkey dressing." Like the Shmoo of comicstrip fame, this multi-purpose food (MPF) is a surpassingly obliging source of nutriment : it can be poured onto the tongue and chewed as it; it can be mixed in as a supplement with all dishes; it violates no religious, tribal, or other dietary laws; and a one-meal portion costs just three cents.

Specifically, this two-ounce, three cent portion supplies vitamins, proteins, and minerals equivalent to the nutrients in one quarter of a pound of beef, a baked potato, a dish of peas, and a blass of milk. MPF is also synergistic : it combines with all foods to bring out latent nutritive qualities. As a result, even one-ounce portions of MPF can boost marginal or substandard diets to healthful levels.

The story of MPF began in the Depression days when California restaurateur Clifford Clinton used to offer the unemployed soup-and-bread meals for a penny. In 1943, Mr. Clinton underwrote experiments by Dr. Borsook at Caltech, with the aim of developing for use in his cafeterias a cheap, high protein food that would keep without refrigeration. Dr. Borsook's solution was to utilize waste husks left after the oil is pressed out of soybeans. To this cheap material, which had traditionally been used for stock fodder, he added amino acids, vitamins, minerals, and flavoring, and came up which an eminently edible mixture that looks like corn meal.

Though it is plagued by a chronic shortage of funds, more than 73,000,000 meals have been sent to starving people in 143 countries, territories, and island dependencies; and the files in MFM headquarters at 215 West 7th Street, in Los Angeles, overflow with letters of thanks for "The Friendship Food."

The head nurse of the Scheweitzer clinic at Lambarene wrote, "It is wonderful food. The patients like it and it does them great good..... They love the flavor of MPF in crocodile soup ....We have used MPF sparingly because we do not know that we might be so fortunate as to receive more."

The late Dr. Tom Dooley wrote, "Our day-by-day performance is hardly the kind that will move mankind, but if you could see it, it might shake the rusty bells of hope. Keep supporting our teams with your food....it is an integral, important part of our daily therapy ....You could say MPF is Dooley's third hand."

The MFM self-help program has been especially successful in India, Japan, Mexico, and Brazil, which have taken over production of MPF themselves, adapting the formula to local conditions. India, for instance, uses a base of peanut meal and Bengal gram instead of soy meal. Many other nations are preparing to produce MPF independently.

Letter from Birmingham City Jail

Here are excerpts from a letter from the Negro leader Martin Luther King published by the **New Leader,** which should have its obvious interest.

You deplore the demonstrations that are presently taking place in Birmingham. But I am sorry that your statement did not express a similar concern for the conditions that brought the demonstrations into being. I am sure that each of you would go beyond the superficial

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social analyst who looks merely at effects, and does not grapple with underlying causes. I would not hesitate to say that it is unfortunate that so-called demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham at this time, but I would say in more emphatic terms that it is even more unfortunate that the white power structure of this city left the Negro community with no other alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: (1) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; (2) negotiation; (3) self-purification; and (4) direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of this country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal, and unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants—such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises Reverend Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. As in so many experiences of the past, we were confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through a process of self-purification. We started having workshops on nonviolence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?"

We decided to set our direct action program around the Easter season, realizing that, the exception of Christmas, this was the shopping period of the year. Knowing strong economic withdrawal program would the by-product of direct action, we felt that was the best time to bring pressure on merchants for the needed changes. occurred to us that the March election ahead, and so we speedily decided to post action until after election day. When we covered that Mr. (Eugene "Bull") Connor in the run-off, we decided again to post action so that the demonstrations could not used to cloud the issues. At this time we a to begin our nonviolent witness the day the run-off.

This reveals that we did not move ponsibly into direct action. We too want see Mr. Connor defeated; so we went th postponement after postponement to aid in community need. After this we felt that action could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask, "Why direct acti Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation better path?" You are exactly right in your for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks create such a crisis and establish such crea tension that a community that has consist refused to negotiate is forced to confront issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that can no longer be ignored.

I just referred to the creation of tens as a part of the work of the nonviolent resis This may sound rather shocking. But I m confess that I am not afraid of the word tens I have earnestly worked and preached aga violent tension, but there is a type of constru nonviolent tension that is necessary for grow Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary create a tension in the mind so that individ could rise from the bondage of myths and li truths to the unfettered realm of creative and and objective appraisal, we must see the ne of having nonviolent gadflies to create the k of tension in society that will help men rise f the dark depths of prejudice and racism to majestic heights of understanding and brot hood. So the purpose of the direct action is create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. therefore, concur with you in your call f negotiation. Too long has our beloved South been bogged down in the tragic attempt to in monologue rather than dialogue.

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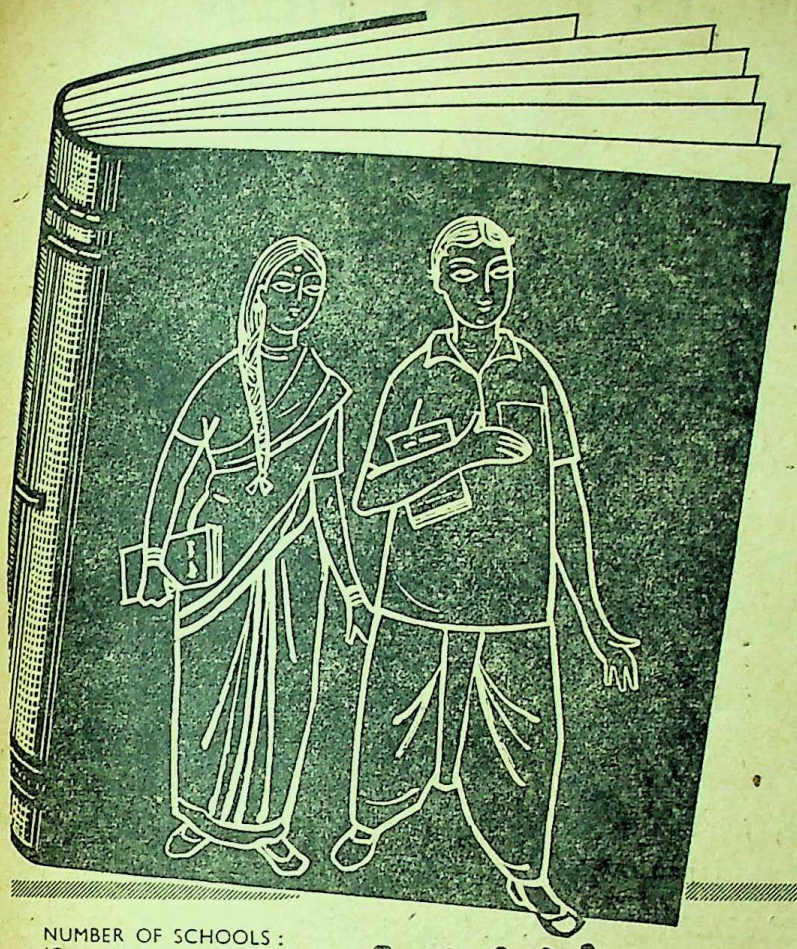

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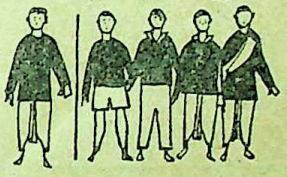
1961-62 = 35,208



LITERACY (PER CENT) :
1951 = 24.54
1961 = 29.3

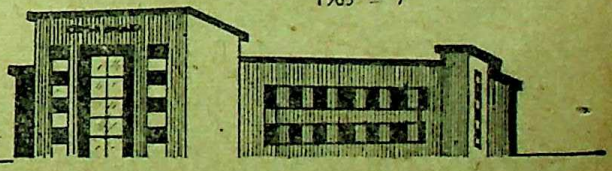
STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS :
1947-48 = 15,66,611
1961-62 = 39,52,349

EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION :
1947-48 = Rs. 5.59 CRORES
1960-61 = Rs. 34.08 ,,

NO. OF TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS :
1947-48 = 13
1961-62 = 48

STUDENTS IN TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS :
1947-48 = 1,135
1961-62 = 6,325

NO. OF UNIVERSITIES :
1947 = 2
1963 = 7



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GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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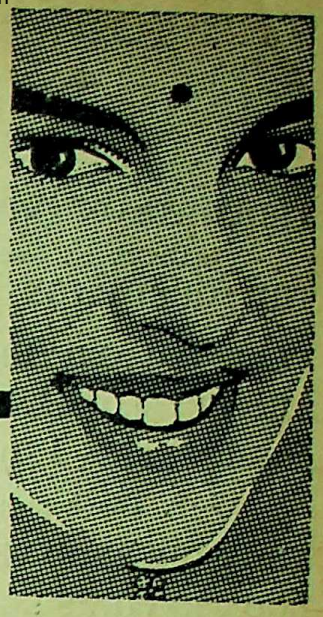

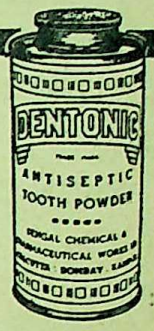

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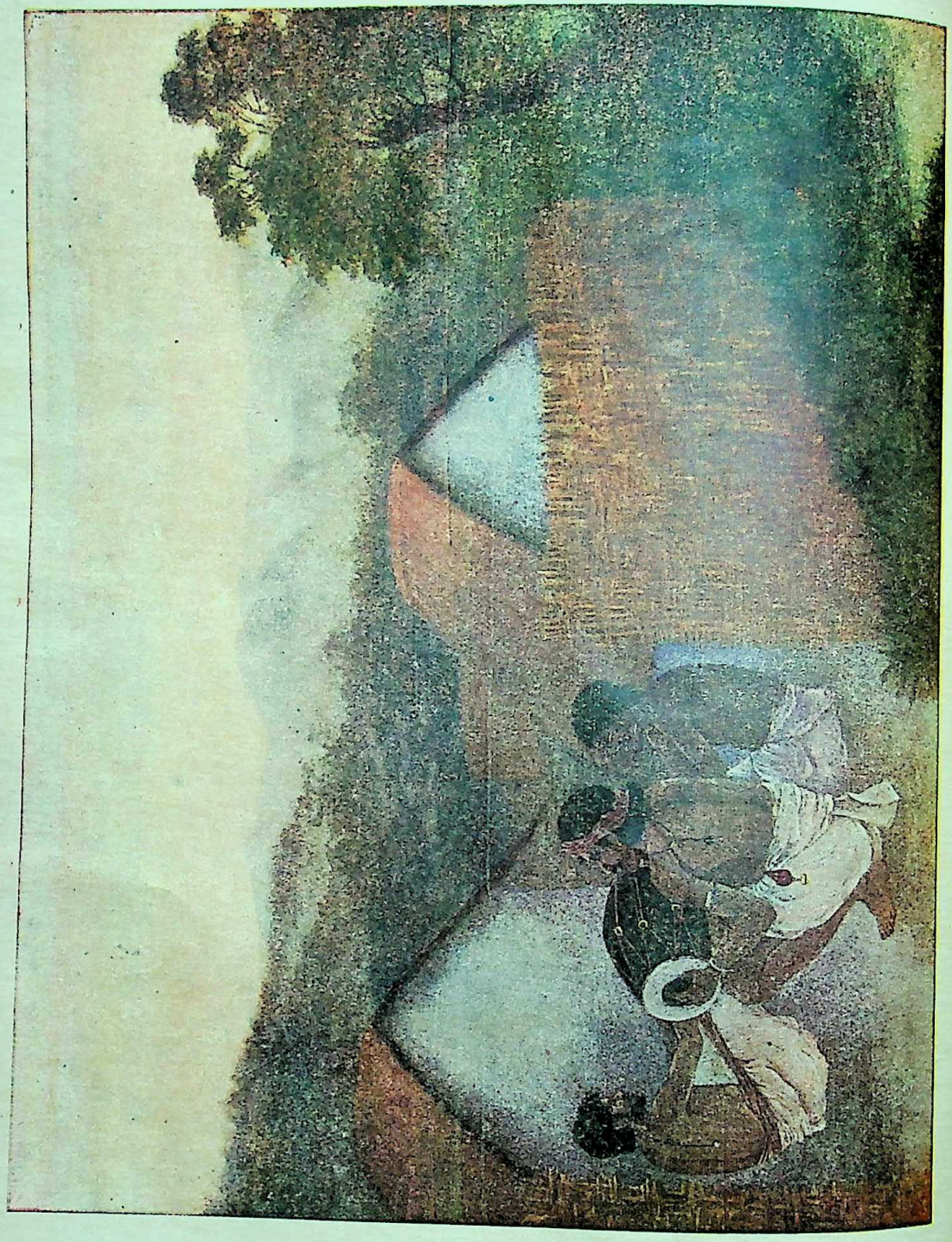

RELAXATION

Artist—Sri D. P. Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1963

VOL. CXIV, No. 4 WHOLE No. 682

NOTES

THE WORLD

The main points of tension in world affairs, in the month of September were ranged between Russia *vs.* Red China, India *vs.* Pakistan. There is a recent crisis in the relations between the newly formed State of Malayasia, which came into being at mid-night between September 15th and 16th, on the one side and Indonesia and Philippines on the other. Diplomatic relations have been broken off by Malayasia and army movements have also commenced.

Minor tensions of fluctuating intensity are still prevailing in South Vietnam and, in a strictly restricted area, in the United States.

On the other hand there has been a distinct lowering of tensions between the two armed blocs from the West and the East, after the signing and raitification of the limited Test Ban Treaty by both sides. There are many difficulties in the way of a complete understanding between the Soviet Bloc and the U.S. Bloc, but a "first step" has been firmly taken and a narrow channel opened for the eventual resolving of mutual suspicions and animosity. China has maintained her hostile attitude towards the Test Ban Treaty and De Gaulle is still persisting in his obdurate refusal to sign it. China (of Mao Tse Tung) has only two satellites who follow her without reasoning—namely, North Korea and Albania,—and a new-found friend, Pakistan, who might be a fellow-traveller for some distance. France—or rather De Gaulle—has refused to go along with the rest of the democratic world as, according to her President, the time for signing the treaty has not arrived as yet.

The ideological tussle between the Soviets and Red China has now been intensified to a critical point. Recently official disclosures have been published in Soviet papers like the **Pravda** which shows that Red China's megalomaina and expansionist thrusts have been felt even by the Soviets from 1958. Terirtorial claims, based on ancient history—which in the case of Red China means a garbled version of traditional history mixed with legends and fables—have been made on Russian Asiatic lands on the ground that at some distant past period of history the Chinese had suzereinty over that area, ignoring the fact that for centuries China had no hold on those areas and that for a very considerable period of time China proper was under foreign domination.

China's campaign of vilification against Russia goes on unabated. There is no acknowledgement of the brotherly aid, by supplies of technicians, machinary and arms on a vast scale, without which China's retarded and confused economy and military strength could never have been stopped from further degeneration. There is no reciprocation of the comradely attitude of the

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Soviets towards China. There are only claims made on the Soviets and condemnation of the Soviet principle of peaceful co-existence. These vicious demands and vituperations were concentrated in a lengthy statement made by China on September 1. The Russian reply has been published in two instalments, the second one alone being 15000 words in length. The result has been an intensification—almost to the breaking point—of the tension. The **Statesman** of September 23, has given a summary of that second instalment, from which extracts are given below :—

The statement said that "the Chinese Governmet has come to open hostile acts in relation to the Soviet Union" and "its foreign policy activities go counter to the peace-loving policy of the USSR."

Openly siding with India, Russia recalled that the Chinese embarked on their massive trans-Himalayan adventure in the autumn of 1962, following the Carribbean crisis, when the world hovered on the brink of war and great restraint was needed on all sides. Instead, the Chinese embarked on an explosive course of action which has created a dangerous tension-point in South-East Asia.

The statement warned that similarly adventurist thrusts at Soviet territory—China was accused of 5,000 violations of the Soviet border in 1962—would meet with "a decisive rebuff."

On Chinese violations of Soviet territory, the statement said that they had made Russia "wary", especailly in view of Chinese hints of "unjust demarcation" of certain sections of the Sino-Soviet border.

Observers felt that what Russia said in this respect applied with equal force to the Chinese attitude on the Indian Border.

On this aspect, the Soviet Government significantly declared "artificial creation in our times of any territorial problems, especially between socialist countries, would be tantamount to embarking on a very dangerous path. If, at present, the States begin to make territorial claims on one another, using as arguments some ancient data and graves of their forefathers, if they start fighting for revision of historically d loped frontiers, this will lead to no merely creating feud among all peopl the joy of the enemies of peace."

The statement said that Russia warned China in 1959 about the inte cation of the Sino-Indian border dispu

Denying that India was fighting C with Russian weapons, the statement "……following this logic the Indian G ernment would have much more reaso charge that the Chinese are fighting I with Soviet weapons since everybody kn the large amount of military aid given China by the Soviet Union."

The statement published in the Gov ment newspaper, **Izvestia** said: "It ca be considered accidental that actually that period (in 1962) the Chinese lea got themselves involved in an armed c on the Indian-Chinese border and this sides creating an acute situation in t part of the globe, was ultimately aimed torpedoing relaxation of international t sion which had come about.

"Already at the time, when the Chine Indian conflict began in 1959, Soviet lead frankly told the Peoples Republic of Ch Government that aggravation of the disp in connextion with frontier territories the Himalayas, territories inherited China and India from old days, and dev lopment of this dispute into a large arm conflict, was fraught with negative cons quences not only for Chinese-Indian rel tions, but for the entire international sit tion. We consider that in frontier disput especially in a dispute of the type of Chinese-Indian clash, one should adhere the Leninist view according to which i possible to settle frontier problems with resorting to armed force, granted that both sides it is desirable to do so.

The Soviet Government statement the criticized the Chinese for not listening Soviet advice and said "at present everyo can already see that the Chinese-Indian co flict in the Himalayas had the most negat consequences for the cause of peace, of t anti-imperialist front in Asia and placed progressive forces in India in an extreme

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difficult position. As it could be expected, China herself did not benefit in any way. And her prestige in the eyes of the peoples of the world, and especially of the Afro-Asian peoples, has certainly not grown."

"The PRC (Peoples Republic of China) leaders are deliberately concentrating their people's attention on frontier problems, to fan up nationalistic passions and to breed dislike towards other peoples."

The Soviet statement also criticized China's hostile action on the Indian border on the ground that it was all the more deplorable that it was done by a socialist country. "It was with a feeling of bewilderment and bitterness that people saw one of the socialist countries, which had recently become independent and served as a model to them, get itself involved in a military conflict with a young neutralist State and using its military superiority, endeavouring to gain for itself in that way, a favourable solution of a problem over a certain part of territory."

The Soviet Government statement disclosed that Chinese leaders had ignored the "comradely advice" of other socialist countries. "Moreover, they (the Chinese) saw in this an unwillingness to support them in the international arena and considered this comradely advice a great injury to themselves. In the article "What is the Cause of Disputes ?", the Chinese comrades directly link the beginning of their differences with the fraternal parties with the fact that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countried failed to support unconditionally China's stand on the conflict on the Indian-Chinese border."

The Soviet statement gave what it said was the text of remarks on war made by Mao Tse-tung at the 1957 Moscow Communist conference.

It said Mao referring to a conversation with Mr. Nehru, had said : "I told him that if half of mankind were destroyed the other half would still remain. But in return imperialism would be completely destroyed and only socialism would remain in the world, and within 50 years or a century, the population will again grow even more than by 50 per cent.

The Soviet statement went on to say that Mr. Mao Tse-tung had also stated : "Let us first have a trial of strength and then return to construction."

The Soviet statement disclosed that the Chinese leaders had on certain occasions stated that they did not mind if the entire population of small countries like Czechoslovakia or Italy were destroyed in a nuclear war. They had gone further and stated that the peoples of these countries should be willing to die in the interest of others remaining alive to inherit a revolutionary world.

The statement said a Chinese civilian intercepted by Soviet authorities had carried a document issued by the provincial authorities of Heilungkiang, Manchuria, saying the Chinese proposed to continue fishing on disputed islands in the Amur and Ussuri rivers (which form the Sino-Soviet border)

The document said the Chinese would "declare to the Soviet border guards that these islands belong to China and that they and not we violate the border. We assume that in view of the friendly relations between our two countries the Soviet side will not employ force to expel our fishermen."

The statement said Russia had repeatedly proposed to the Chinese Government to hold consultations to define disputed sections of the Sino-Soviet border, but the Chinese had refused to hold such discussions.

This can only put us on our guard, especially since Chinese propaganda has been making certain hints about alleged unfairness of past delimitations of some parts of the Soviet-Chinese border. To artificially create territorial problems now-a-days, especially between Socialist countries, would mean to adopt a very dangerous course," it added.

It will seem, therefore, that the same process was followed by China in trying to attain her expansionist and ideological combative objections with India as in the controversies with Russia. Here in India the extremely lax and grossly inefficient direction, control and equipment of the defence arrangement and the muddled policy followed by our External Affairs Ministry embol-

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dened the Chinese into launching a massive campaign of invasion across the Himalayan frontiers. It is quite another matter where the Russians are concerned, who have threatened a "severe rebuff" if the Chinese try the tactics they have followed in India, and as yet the war is proceeding with uncivilized and persistently uncivil behaviour linked with verbal vilification of Russia on the part of Red Chna and more controlled yet very firm refutation of all Chinese claims and arguments, together with strong condemnation of Chinese methods by Russia. But the tension is rising towards a crisis and it is an open question as to when the breach widens to open enmity.

On the Indian frontiers Chinese concentrations of troops, military equipment and material and transport vehicles are continuing and roads and communication arrange ments are being reorganized by the Chinese. The country has been assured, in the course of the NEFA debate in the Lok Sabha, by Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan, that our defence arrangements have been improved and that no time, energy or effort is being spared in the speeding up of improved arms supplies to the defence forces. The Defence Minister further said that a searching enquiry has been made into the causes and factors that led to the NEFA debacle and that strenuous efforts are being made to make up the deficiencies and shortcomings and that considerable progress has been made in that work.

Pakistan has been trying to provoke an armed retaliation by India to her continued but minor armed intrusions and actions. The latest was armed intrusion into a small tract of Indian territory on the Assam frontier near Karimganj. For five days Pakistani troops kept up directing machine-gun barrages and rifle fire across the Indian frontier on the Indian areas of Dumabari, Latitilla and Surma Cherra. They fired over 50000 rounds against Latitilla alone. Two Indian nationals—tea-garden labourers —were killed and three others severely wounded by the firing.

As usual, there were "strong protests" from the Indian side at the begining. But later the border police were reinforced with military units, orders were given to re the fire and, and in this instance, a ceas followed after direct negotiations bet the military Commanders on both sides a the fifth day, but the territorial viol was not vacated.

It is now becoming more and more c that Pakistan and Red China have b moving in concert with each other a 1959, the recent treaties etc., being the fulfilment of a conjoint plan, as are the v tions of Indian territory, streams of a and vilification of India by the Pakis press and tireless and rude and crude haviour linked with widespread espio and sabotage work by Pakistani officials We have to thank our own gullible a supine supreme executives for this state affairs.

Malayasia came into existence—i born so to say—on the midnight betwe September 15th and 16th. And, from t very first, Indonesia took an unfriendly a arrogant attitude against it which has de loped into warlike preparatories on t borders of Sarawak and North Born Indonesian mobs attacked the Malayan e bassy and later on, for good measure, t British embassy at Djakarta. Indones President evidently gave his tacit approv for the mob fury continued for three day resulting in the complete destruction of t attacked embassies, together with the cars, furniture, papers etc. Rabble-raisi is commonplace for Indonesian authoriti but on this occasion it seems to be leadi to more serious consequences. Strange enough, the Philippine Government, whic has presented a somewhat tenuous claim o North Borneo, has joined with Indones As a result, Malayasia has broken off diplo matic relations with both.

In South Vietnam the Diem Govern ment, led by the President's brother Ng Dinh Nhu and his wife Mme, Nhu, seem to have got away with their programme of persecution and forcible subjugation of the Buddhist majority. There is world-wide condemnation of the action of this dictator and his family, but the U.S. being deeply interested and involved in South Vietnam's affairs, whose dictator and his

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autocratic administration has been both bolstered up by vast subsidies and militarily strengthened by arms and equipment, technically trained military officers and and by air-force planes and pilots, nothing much may result from the move in the U.N.

The U. S. position is anomalous in the extreme in both Pakistan and South-Vietnam. Both countries are being led by military dictators, who have ruthlessly deprived their own people of all democratic civil rights. In both countries religious intolerance of all who are not of the same faith as the ruling party or family prevail, as evinced by the thousands of Hindus who are being forcibly deprived of all their rights including house and farms etc., resulting in their flight from Pakistan into India and in the forcible abasement of the Buddhists in South Vietnam. Both are adepts in the production of lying propaganda, which is lapped up by the people of the U.S. and the U.K.—thanks to the predilection of certain press magnates towards such dictators—and in both of these the dictators think—with reason—that they have the U.S. in a cleft stick.

In the U.S. itself the age-old prejudice is being controlled slowly and in very small measures. But public opinion is definitely changing for the better although in certain areas of the "South" ugly flare-ups are still occuring due to active fanning of racial animosity by persons in power like Governor Wallace. A recent occurrence, the bombing of a Church where Negroes were praying, resluting in wide damage and in the killing of four very young Negro girls and the wounding of many others, has produced a wave of horror throughout the U.S., though the unregenerate Governor and his officials seem to be unaffected.

In the United Nations the 18th session started last month, wih election of a new President of the Assembly. Venezuela's Ambassador, Carlos Sosa Rodriguez was elected President in place of Pakistan's Zafrulla Khan, who retired this session.

Modification of Gold Control and C.D.S.

The new Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, announced in the Lok Sabha on September 21, some modifications in the Gold Control Order and in the Compulsory Deposits Scheme. The announcement was made on the last day of the Monsoon Session of Parliament. The reports say that his announcement was greeted with loud and repeated cheers from both sides of the House and it was clear that this reversal of his predecessor's actions was exceedingly popular on all sides.

The statement on the withdrawal of the C.D.S. order except in relation to income-tax payers started with a clarification of the reasons behind the drastic changes brought in by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari.

Mr. Krishnamachari pointed out that three of the five schemes under the C.D.S. Act, 1963, namely, those relating to land revenue payers, urban immovable property holders, and sales tax payers, were not yet in action as they have to be implemented through the States and local authorities concerned and the draft schemes were therefore referred to the State Governments for their comments. Replies received from them have indicated numerous practical difficulties, because of wide variations in land tax rates, etc., from State to State and collection difficulties in the case of urban immovable property holders and sales tax payers. There were indications, moreover, that State Governments were far from happy about the idea that an additional levy be imposed on land-owners and the relatively lower income groups, even though the levy took the shape of savings.

In view of all these Mr. Krishnamachari wrote to the Chief Ministers of all the States asking them for their opinion as to whether in their considered opinion the three schemes should be implemented, modified or abandoned. The replies indicated that almost all are in favour of giving up the scheme for land revenue payers and the majority are in favour of abandoning the schemes for urban property owners and sales tax payers. Some Chief Ministers have further pointed out that this levy on land-owners and the urban population in general would affect contributions to the

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voluntary savings scheme, which consideration the Government cannot afford to ignore. The reaction of the Government and the resultant statement of the Finance Minister is as follows:

"In the light of those comments, the Government of India has made a review of the Compulsory Deposits Scheme as a whole. It is mportant to ensure equity of sacrifice between people who belong, broadly speaking, to the same income groups or to the same economic levels. We cannot exempt land revenue payers from this scheme without giving relief to salaried workers as well.

"The Government of India has, therefore, decided that schemes in respect of land revenue payers, urban immovable property holders and sales tax payers, which have not yet come into force should be given up. As regards salaried workers, who are not in the income-tax paying category, the Government feels that similar relief should, in equity, be given to them. Arrangements will be made to refund the deposits that have already been made with interest, with the least possible delay.

"Income-tax payers, however, stand on a different footing. So far as they are concerned, the rate of income-tax on them has gone up and they have the option to pay a part of the increase in the shape of a contribution to the Compulsory Deposits Scheme. A mere withdrawal of this scheme might mean greater hardship to them, because in lieu of a refundable deposit they would have to make an outright payment in the shape of a tax. The scheme for income-tax payers will, therefore, continue. I trust these changes will have the support of the House.

"The decisions which I have just announced would mean a substantial loss of resources. The Government, however, hopes that the loss would be more than made up by an increase in voluntary savings. The House will be glad to know that during the first five months of the current financial year small savings collections have been at a record figure of Rs. 31 crores, which is more than double the collections in the corresponding period last year.

"The Government proposes to intensify its efforts for the collection of small savings and it trusts that the State Governments, who receive two-thirds of the collection from small savings, will also join in this effort with renewed vigour."

Similarly, on the matter of Gold Control, Mr. Krishnamachari started the preamble with lending a categorical support to the reasoning that his "distinguished predecessor" had adduced before the House more than once in arriving at the conclusion that the addiction to gold ornaments, consequent to the social outlook and habits of the people, resulted in a serious drain on our foreign exchange resources and further provided a lucrative field for smugglers. The Finance Minister said that the Government was positively convinced that the objectives of the Gold Control Order were basically sound and justified by consideration of national interests and had decided on keeping the main objectives intact. But there are difficult problems that have cropped up in the administration of the Gold Control Order, which have to be reviewed.

The problems relate firstly to the hardships of those working on gold, both as self-employed goldsmiths and as employees of bigger goldsmiths and jewellers. The Government had recognized that the rehabilitation programme—now in progress—**had barely touched the fringe of the problem** and it would take considerable time and much more than the moneys allocated for rehabilitation, before the majority of the sufferers can be rehabilitated. The programme of rehabilitation shall continue for those goldsmiths "who depend purely on the manufacture of gold ornaments for their livelihood," but "we cannot do all that has to be done in a day."

Secondly, there is the problem of giving due regard to the question of the sentiments of the people who, "have a great deal of attachment to gold and gold ornaments." In consideration of all these problems, Mr. Krishnamachari said:

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"The Government has, therefore, decided to grant licences to self-employed goldsmiths on a nominal fee and to permit them on certain conditions to convert existing gold ornaments in excess of a purity of 14-carat into ornaments of like purity. This will restore to them the facility to carry on what was their main avocation.

"Out-workers, that is goldsmiths who work in their own houses to execute orders received from licensed dealers, will be permitted to handle limited stocks of primary gold up to 14-carat.

"The Government hopes that these measures will facilitate the continuance in employment of goldsmiths and artisans in this trade, pending the long-term process of rehabilitation.

"I would emphasize that these relaxations do not involve any change in the Government's basic long-term policy to discourage the use of gold generally and the production of gold jewellery of high purity. If any one wants new ornaments to be made from primary gold, he can only get 14-carat ornaments to whichever source of supply he turns. There will be no sale or display by dealers of jewellery of a purity exceeding 14-carat.

"The facility to convert existing ornaments into new ornaments of a purity above 14-carat is necessarily a limited one and intended to benefit those who possess such ornaments and want them to be reshaped, and to enable self-employed goldsmiths to continue to earn a living for the time being.

"Apart from these changes to which I have just referred, the Government proposes to make certain changes in the administrative set-up in order to make enforcement more effective. The present rules provide for the establishment of a board to advise the Government and to be in overall charge of the implementation of policy. The responsibility for enforcing these rules is, however, entrusted to the Central Excise Department.

"After careful examination of the matter, the Government has come to the conclusion that bifurcation of responsibility for policy making and for implementation is not wise. The Government, therefore, has decided to centralize the administration by appointing a gold control administrator, located in the Revenue Department, who will be in charge of matters of gold policy and administration and who will seek the assistance of State administrations in this task.

"When the Gold Control Rules were originally framed it was considered that the most convenient method was to issue them in the form of amendments to the Defence of India Rules. Considering the application of these rules to a very large section of the community, both in regard to the use of gold in industry and as ornaments, the Government feels that these rules should be replaced by a statute, subject, of course, to the approval of Parliament. The Government, therefore, intends to bring before Parliament at a very early date a Bill which might cover both the short-term and long-term objectives of the Government's gold policy."

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari is an old Parliamentarian and has neither the "ivory tower" outlook—or rather the lack of it—of his Chief nor the polarized vision of an ex-bureaucrat like his "distinguished predecessor." Having both his eyes open and all his wits about him, he could see the damage done to the public estimation of the Congress Party. Further, he knew that the old-pattern deputy-collector's predilection for imposing his will on the poor suffering public and leaving the task of facing the reaction, when the worm turned, to the superior officers, would not do in a democratic set-up like what obtains in India. He has done his best, therefore, to repair the damage.

It is about time that our Chief Executive and his colleague realized that they have sadly depleted their reserves of public confidence and loyalties. The Congress Government has bungled badly in the matter of Defence and is still making a very poor show indeed—to put it mildly—in the matter of service to the common citizen. Corruption and maladministration is rife and blackmarketing is rampant. All this is debited to the Congress Party's ac-

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count. So exhortations for sacrifices cannot be made in the blatant fashion pursued by our erstwhile Finance Minister. If there is a call for further sacrifices then there must be some clear guarantees that the people would be assured of minimum supplies of all essentials at reasonable prices. And the reasonable prices "must be determined with regard to the economic capacity of the general public," not with the rapacity of the super-fatted pets of the Ministries.

The Kamraj Plan in Action

Some few years back, while reviewing the attitude of certain friends and neighbours of ours with regards to our frontier and territorial problems **vis a vis** Pakistan, Pandit Nehru quoted from **Alice in Wonderland** and said the situation was getting "curiouser and curiouser!" We think the quotation would be equally happy if used in the context of the Kamraj Plan.

We had remarked in our last issue, regarding the implementation of the Plan that the why and wherefore of the choice made by Mr. Nehru of Ministers in the Central Cabinet on whom the duties of party organizational work should devolve and whose resignations were to be accepted therefore, was a puzzle for both the people who took the plan at its face value and those who divined ulterior motives behind it. No definite pattern could be seen in the selections that would fit in either with the apparent design of the plan or with the pronouncements made **sub rosa** by those who are supposed to know the working of the minds of our great ones or even with the "I told you so" utterances of the Opposition.

The filling of the vacancies in the Central Cabinet does not offer any key to the puzzle either. The filling of vacancies in the Finance and the Home Ministries by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and Mr. G. L. Nanda were appropriate enough but it meant the abolition of the department and the portfolio held by Mr. Krishnamachari when he was inducted into the Central Cabinet by Mr. Nehru and the handing over of the Planning department to a comparatively unknown gentleman, thereby lowering its importance. These have further strengthened the aspersions of ulterior motives behind the plan.

If the "ousters," replacements and revamping in the Central Cabinet is curiouser" still are replacements—at least some of them—in five of State party leaderships. The six new party chiefs are who are the Chief Ministers prospective Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani in Uttar Pradesh, Krishna Ballav Sahay in Behar, Mr. Balwantrai Mehta in Gujrat, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam Madras and Mr. D. P. Mishra in Madhya Pradesh. Some of these elections were declared to be "unanimous" to add to the unreality of the whole affair. The remaking and the reshuffling of the State Ministries together with large-scale contraction in the size of the Ministries as in West Bengal, has caused quite a deal of heart-burning as is no longer a secret anywhere.

One of the Central Cabinet Ministers released for party-organization work is Mr. S. K. Patil, who has a record of energetic work and outspoken comments, which he seems to be keeping up. In Calcutta he addressed three meetings on September 21. He is reported to have spoken on the Kamraj Plan, its implications, the effects of its application and on free enterprise of which he is a protagonist. **The Amrita Bazar Patrika** gave the following report of his comments regarding the Kamaraj Plan made at the India Exchange:—

"Explaining the Kamraj plan he said Kamraj conceived the plan for his own State, to enable him to go to the people and work among them so that in the next election the Congress could capture at least fifty per cent of votes. Kamraj was a good man as basically his plan was a good one.

"He did not know his plan would take the present shape. Different people have interpreted the plan in different manners. But the basic idea was not to weaken the administration and allow it to deteriorate.

"People today did not look up to the party but to the Government for good administration, fairplay and justice. Therefore

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nothing must be done to weaken the administration. But the plan's implementation led to deterioration in the standard of administration.

"He did not ridicule the plan, Sri Patil added. But he wanted the people to realise the effect of its implementation. Kamraj wanted the plan for his own purpose but it created an opportunity for others to eliminate their opponents.

"Many people had left Government to serve the party. But could the organisation absorb all of them or did it really need them all ?—he asked.

"He, however, said the good effect of the plan was to show the people that Congressmen could give up power to better serve the interests of the masses. This would put a check on corruption."

On the 25th of September, while addressing Congress Workers at the Calcutta Information Centre he further modified his statement. **The Hindusthan Standard** reported as follows :—

"The former Union Minister, who was addressing Congress workers at Calcutta Information Centre on Wednesday, regretted that he had been misunderstood for some of his observations made in Calcutta a few days ago. None should think that he was against the Kamaraj Plan whose basic objectives were to make the administration and the organisation strong and to arrest possibilities of corrupt tendencies among some Congressmen that power might beget. The Congress needed such a corrective and he was vitally interested to see that the plan succeeded. But he always thought that the plan should be applied in a way that might not weaken the administration. But in some States there was such an uncertainty that no Minister touched any file for the last one month. He feared that such a stalemate might continue in those States for a few days more."

There can be no question about Sri Patils staunchness towards the Congress Party. His past record, of nearly four decades, as a Congress worker and leader does not allow of any such aspersion. One must come to the conclusion therefore that Sri Patil feels unhappy at the course the implementation is taking. He has inside knowledge beyond all doubt and therefore his comments would further add to speculations that are being aired in many quarters, including some influential newspapers.

The Master Plan, on the preparation of which the Kamraj Plan laid some emphasis, has not materialized as yet. If we are to judge by the nature of the implementation of the Plan proposals, the Master Plan—if and when formulated—will remain an abstract quantity with no elements of compulsion or enforcement in it.

The main idea, that of reorganizing the Party, if it has the limited objective of educating or inducing the electorate to the advantage of the Congress, with the ultimate goal of winnnig elections by capturing more than 50% of the votes is not basically sound. We are passing through a critical phase where the nation is concerned, and it is dobutful in the extreme as to whether we would pass trough it without major damage being inflicted on our economic structure, political set ups and the World status of the Union. Deterioration in moral values, consequent on rampant corruption and degeneration in the standards of education and social welfare, is increasingly polluting the main-stream of the nation's life. The middle-class which is the backbone of any nation—despite all claptrap to the contrary —is being wiped out thanks to the confused thinking of those in charge of the nation's affairs and the disgraceful muddle in the administration of all essential executive functions.

Unless the Congress opens its eyes to the evils that are gnawing at the vitals of the nation and tries to tackle it at the roots, the Kamraj Plan would be infructuous, despite all wishful thinking to the contrary.

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A Picture of the National Economy

The Annual Report of the Directors of the Reserve Bank of India for the period from July, 1962 to June, 1963, just published, yields a picture of the progress in the Indian national economy which, from diverse points of view, may not prove to be wholly encouraging. The Report itself is prefaced with the admission that the year "began in difficult circumstances with commodity prices on the upgrade, rate of industrial growth at a low point, stock markets on a downward trend and foreign exchange reserves declining rather rapidly."

One of the prime pressures on the relevant period, it is easy to understand, were inevitabely the twin demands of defence and development, the former having acquired an emergency import arising out of the Chinese invasion of the country and the consequent and urgent need to immediately step up its potentials, while development planning having a large area of urgent defence content, larger developmental outlays were necessarily called for to reach upto the targets of the Third Five Year Plan. These, together, inevitably called for the utmost mobilization of resources and the consequent concentration of such resources upon defence and development. Resource modibilization, it would appear, followed certain traditional trends one of which naturally impinged upon the Government's fiscal and public debt policies. In the latter field Government's borrowing rates were appreciably raised in respect of both market borrowings and small savings, while additional public savings media were introduced to enable more comprehensive effort being made in this field thon hitherto. As an ancillory to these policies, the Reserve Bank raised the cost of credit through a modification of the Slab-rate system and at a later stage by raising the bank rate by a half per cent. Other measures were also introduced for restraining excessive credit expansion and towards a greater measure of selectiveness in their credit operations by commercial banks with a view to a greater area of diversion of resources to purposes related to defence, development and export promotion. Other measures included the introduction of the Gold Control Rules and the establishment of a Board for their control, and the promulgation of a Gold Bonds issue at the internatoinal price but with a very high interest yield, with a view to diverting some part of the gold hoards in country towards the national exchequer. The latter, however, failed to yield any very sizeable or substantial result and the gross subscription Gold Bonds upto 30th June this year aggregated the comparatively paltry amount of only Rs. crores.

Production Progress : Agricultural

The Report frankly admits that although detailed figures have yet to be worked out available indications leave no doubt of the fact that agricultural output has failed, for the second year in succession, since the launnching of the Third Plan, to register any measurable increase. The output of rice, especially, seems to have registered a decline in both the Eastern and the Western regions. Anticipated output of wheat, however, is likely to equal the preceding year's record production. Among the commercial crops groundnut is expected to show a decline of 2 per cent, a smaller sugarcane crop by about 5 lakh tonnes and a 14 per cent decline in Jute yield. The Report goes on to make the dismal prophecy that unless the need for more thorough-going efforts to raise agricultural output is appreciated and adequate and immediately effective measures taken to raise both output and productivity in the agricultural sector, the outcome of the planning effort would be bound to be placed in jeopardy. Having regard to the fact that the agricultural sector "contributes nearly one half to the national income and the prices of agricultural commodities occupy a crucial place in the price structure," it should be self-evident that progress in this sector is "vital to both industrial growth and export promotion."

Indeed, even these rather mild comments on the crucial role of the agricultural sector to the growth of the economy, do not seem enough to pin-point attention on its vital importance. It is necessary to appreciate, that the history of economic growth all over the modern world indicates that a surplus agriculture with atleast self-sufficiency in food output, is an inescapable prior condition of industrial development. Unfortunately, although a relatively greater emphasis was placed upon agricultural priorities in the Fifth Plan together with such economic bases for

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agricultural development as irrigation water, flood control, development of fertilizer manufacture, etc., there appears to have been a considerable shift in priorities in the succeeding two Plans. With relatively more overwhelming emphasis on industrialization, especially in the vital producer sectors, agricultural needs appear to have been relegated to a comparatively minor position even as early as in the Second Plan, and more emphatically so in the current Plan. And even with the present relatively less important place allotted to agriculture, the measure of actual implementation demonstrates substantial and progressively increasing short-falls which may, in very substantial part, account for the obvious stagnation in this vital sector of the economy. One does not ignore the crucial need for rapid industrialization, especially the need for laying down firm economic bases in the sector of producer-industries like steel, coal, power, machine-building and sundry other equally vital industries, but bearing in mind that the building up of a prior surplus agricultural base is regarded by the consensus of modern economic thinking as an essential and necessary condition of progress in successful industrialization, the primary emphais, it would appear, ought to have been upon agricultural development which, tragically enough, appears to have been the most neglected sector in our planning efforts. The inevitable impact in agricultural short-falls, especially in the vital food sector where we still seem to be overwhelmingy dependent upon aid from the U.S.A. for our basic requirements of bare existence, was bound to be correspondingly inimical upon both industrial progress and on the price structure, both of which were bound, in their turn, to attenuate Plan achievement in corresponding measure.

Industrial Production

If industrial production has not actually declined during the period under report, its progress has not been commensurate with the anticipations of the current Plan. At 8 per cent increase in gross industrial output over the year, it was marginally higher over that of the immediately preceding year which stood at 6.5 per cent, but was substantially lower than the 10 per cent of two years ago and even lesser than the 11 per cent rate envisaged in the Plan. Various factors, not the least of which was the difficult position as regards imported raw materials, contributed to this condiderably slowed own growth in industrial output, agricultural short-falls also playing a not wholly unimportant role in the process. Another important factor undeniably was the difficult power supply position, especially in some highly industrialized sectors. Although the position as regards power and coal would appear to have somewhat eased over the year, the situation especially in respect of power availability still remains extremely acute. If the estimate of a certain noted Indinan economist can be relied upon, it would seem that an average gross 20 per cent of the already laid down industrial capacity in the country has remained unutilized over the year on account of shortfalls in the power supply. Here also, there would seem to be an obvious failure in Plan priorities in that they would seem to have been unable to fully envisage the rise in power demand that would eventuate from the increasing industrial capacity that was in process of being laid down, with the inevitable result that a very substantial part of the new investment has had to remain inoperative for lack of necesary and basic servicing facilities.

Demand, Supply and Prices

The Report frankly admits that while the position of aggregate supply improved somewhat over the year, it was unable to catch up with the corresponding growth in demand, with an imbalance between the two inevitably reflected in an increased price-pressure during the year. Agricultural production remained more or less static, with some decline in the aggregate food sector, industrial production registered a fair measure of increase, and imports rose principally because of PL 480 imports of food grains and cotton. There was also moderate rise in exports and the increase in the stocks of food grains with the Central and State Governments was only marginal,—all these contributing only very slightly to the aggregate supply. Demand, in the aggregate, however registered a substantially increasing incidence. The Central Government's consumption and investment expenditure including loans and payments to State Governments increased during the year rather steeply by 30 per cent and private investment in the organized sector also continued to evince the rising trends of the previous three years. Population growth, recently re-estimated at the higher rate of 2.6 per cent per annum, also contributed to an increase in the consumption outlays of the private

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sector, while increasing direct demand for food from the agricultural sector reduced the quantum of marketable agricultural surpluses.

The effect on the price structure was both significant and substantial. The Report states that the "seasonal rise in prices which began towards the end of March, 1962, continued till early August, with the general index moving up by 7.1 per cent. This rise was larger than that in the corresponding period of the previous year and of the year before....The seasonal decline from early Agust to December 15 was only 4.7 per cent. After that the prices were again on the uptrend, slowly at first, but rapidly from March 30, with the onset of the agricultural lean season. Over the year the rise in prices amounted to 4.6 per cent as against 1.5 per cent in the previous year and 2.8 per cent in the year 1960-61 (July-June). Thus there was once again an upward thrust of prices after comparative stablity. All the constituent groups contributed to the rise in the general price index over the year but the *major contribution* (emphasis ours) was from food articles which went up by 7.3 per cent. The increase in this group was mainly in the prices of rice, pulses, sugar and gur, which rose by 14.1 per cent, 5.7 per cent, 4.8 per cent and 38 per cent respectively...."

The Report, however, fails to explain adequately this sudden and very substantially uprising price-spurt merely by its attempt to relate the imbalance between demand and supply. One very important contributory factor, which has already been earlier discussed in these columns at some considerable length, that of the pressure of current taxation policies of the Central (and to some extent also of States') Government and of the tax-structure as a whole, on the price-structure, would appear to have been either wholly ignored or deliberately evaded. The unprecedented tax effort of the Central Government in the measure of the incidence of additional taxation imposed through the current year's Budget was stated to have been undertaken, by the then Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, as recorded in his Budget speech, for the twin purposes of both being compelled to mobilize national revenue resources to their uttermost for emergency defence and development needs and also, at the same time, of the need to mop up all available surplus purchasing power for ensuring stability in the price structure in the face of the inevitably very large spending by Government for their defence

effort. The price trends, which had already on the rampage, since of the presentation Budget would, instead of securing the anti measure of stability, seem to have been ev distinctly progressive acceleration especially the sector of food and other essential co ables. In the result, the paradox of a substa attenuated measure of purchasing power, to an even more than corresponding rise in price level would seem to have been achieve

The Reserve Bank, not being directly cerned in the matter, very conveniently by-p the situation without much of an explanation cept the apparent imbalance between d and supply being held accountable for symptom. That this, by itself, is not the w of the cause nor even the best part of it, it w be both naive and hypocritical for the Re Bank Governor to repudiate. At the same t to have by-passed the matter in the manner which it has been sought to be done in the Re which is expected to be a factual and compre sive picture of the national economy and visible and under-lying trends, would seem have been a deliberate attempt to blur the pict in some of its most essential features. We h already tried, in a previous issue to seek ratio explanations for these admittedly paralyz symptoms and have found that the most import part of the reason for such a price spurt m be sought in the inherent defects of the natio taxation structure. The trends of increasi indirect imposts, very substantially upon esse tial consumables, which have been a visi symptom of the Government's taxation polici during the past few years under Mr. Morar Desai's husbandry of the national exchequer an fiscal machinery (in fairness it must also b acknowledged that Mr. Krishnamachari durin his brief earlier period as the Finance Minist had really been responsible for starting th trend,) and which has been estimated to h assumed the overwhelming proportion of a much as 74 per cent of the total taxatio burdens. are obviously loaded with the highe inflationary pressures and the consequent oppo tunity to the conscienceless profiteer to exp the situation to his own utmost advantage an to the misery and distress of the people a large.

There was a great deal more to analyze and comment upon the Report under review, but unfortunately forbids a more

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detailed examination. But from what has already been said above, although it has recorded most of the more important events and factors affecting the economy and recoreded as faithfully as possible the trends, paces and directions of its progress, it is yet a wholly unsatisfying document as a faithful and realistic picture of the condition of the economy as it stands today. The Reserve Bank's reports fulfil much the same purpose as the President's Economic Report to the Congress does in the U.S.A. But while the latter usually presents a picture in bold and sharp outlines faithfully recording both the ups and downs, as well as yielding a detailed analysis of cause and effect and of future trends, the former has presented a rather blurred picture with many of the essential details of cause and effect and trends and prospects rubbed out of focus.

Krishnamachari on Price Control

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in his new role as the reinstated Finance Minister of the Government of India, appears to have passed through a process of considerable chastening in his moods and attitudes than he was known to have been before, even until a year or so ago. An increasing sense of caution and moderation, albeit tempered by an unwonted measure of candour, appears have been informing his views and statements on many of India's more urgent economic problems since after he has reassumed the Union Finance Portfolio. A year ago, for instance, speaking in Madras, he seemed to be quite keen on introducing physical contrals, especially on essentials articles of food, as an effective instrument of restraint upon the already alarmingly upward price trends that had begun to make themselves felt. Such a view was in direct cleavage with the publicly expressed, even fought for, views of the then Union Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr. S. K. Patil. Mr. Patil. it may be recalled, does not appear to have moved away from his stand even after relinquishing his official responsibilities in the Union Government, as would be evident from his recent pronouncements on the subject in Calcutta.

Mr. Krishnamachari, from what he recently said in the Rajya Sabha only a little while ago, would appear to have receded a great deal from his earlier stand on the problem. What he said meant, in effect, that views that may be logically sound and theoretically wholesome may not, necessarily be also practicable at the same time. While he readily conceded the urgent need for stabilization of prices, he seemed to be not quite sure if the country was really ready to accept the logical consequences of what would be bound to eventuate if the Government were to evolve the necessary machineary for holding the price line or, in other words, for the re-introduction of controls. It would mean, he was reported to have said, assumption of responsibilites by the Government for the fulfilment of which "we have not got adequate powers or adequate backing of public opinion." It is difficult, indeed, to readily agree with Mr. Krishnamachari that Government do not have adequate powers—the D.I.R. has already clothed them with comprehensive and blanket powers to impose whatever they may consider necessary to maintain public order during the continuance of the national emergency —but what may really be important is the question as to whether the Government have the appropriate administrative machinery at their disposal with the necessary contents of rectitude and competence that would enable the application of controls to be both wholesome and effective and productive of the desired end to be achieved.

As regards the question as to whether there would be adequate backing of public opinion, one has to recognize the reality of certain factors obtaining in the country. Public opinion, it must be recognized at the very outset, is by and large still comparatively unorganized in the country so far as the man in the street is concerned. What passes for public opinion in the country as represented by the daily press, somewhat organized as it may be, does not, by and large, present the viewpoint of the vast masses of our people and ventilates merely the views and susceptibilities of what may be called the upper ten in the society. So far as the masses of our educated intelligentsia are concerned who usually comprise the lower middle classes, they do not generally have within their reach such organs of public opinion as, for instance, the press, that would enable them to make their opinions felt and respected. These far vaster sectors of the community are necessarily, therefore, officially mute and unrecognized. What passes genearlly for public opinion in the country is usually that of the numerically microscopic organized sectors who generally control the instruments of expression of so-called public opinion and to whose

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sectional interests such so-called public opinion is known to cater. It certainly is not in their interest to have physical controls by Government in the procurement and distributions of essential consumables like food to be imposed. So far as the generality of the masses are concerned, we have no doubt that if it were possible to obtain a poll of their *bona fide* opinion in this matter, not much enthusiasm would be found in favour of reimposition of controls, especially on food and clothing. It is not because they detest controls on any fundamenal grounds of economic policy and principle, but primarily because of their extremely unhappy experience of past Government controls on the distribution of these essentials. Mr. Krishnamachari was only realistic when he deprecated the suggestion to reimpose wholesale physical controls in the present state of the administration with which he would then have to administer such controls. Frankly, the administration by and large, it would be repudiating realities to deny, has neither the character nor the competence which alone would have enabled the Government to apply controls for genuine public good and welfare.

All this, however, does not answer the more fundamental questions as to why prices have risen and have still been going up as we write. The question was frankly posed to the new Finance Minister in the Rajya Sabha. Prices have risen, he was reported to have said, because of shortages in supply of certain essential commodities rather than as a result of monetary inflation. The producion of rice, sugar and gur during the 1962-63 crop year had fallen. As a result, as listed by the Reserve Bank of India in its Annual Report for the year 1962-63 recently released, it shows that during the period March-August, 1962, the general index had moved up considerably by as much as 7.1 per cent which was much larger than the rise in the corresponding period of the previous year, and while the index over the year moved by 4.6 per cent against the previous year's 1.5 per cent, prices of food articles went up by 7.3 per cent; rice by 14.1 per cent, sugar by 4.8 per cent and gur by as much as 38 per cent. Marginal shortages in supply could not have accounted for such steep rises merely as normal adjustments of the subsisting imbalances between supply and demand. There must, therefore, have been other forces in operation which have eventuated in the present order of price rise, especially in the ess consumer sector.

What Mr. Krishnamachari appears to wholly ignored or deliberately by-passed is factor of the possible impact of the ta measures, in both their depth and areas, o price level. From a recent study available it appears that the per capita incidence of ation in the country, which was stated to been of the order of Rs. 8 per annum in 195 with a 7 per cent indirect-taxation content progressively moved up to Rs. 12.70 by 195 to Rs. 20.75 by 1961-62 and has been ass at the far steeper level, so far as Central im alone are concerned, to Rs. 31 per capita annum in the current year. What is of even gre significance so far as the price factor is concer is that the indirect content of the current mea of taxatoin appears to have been of the o whelming proportion of as much as 74 per of the whole, and which comprises a very s stantial proportion of indirect excise imposts o large variety and long range of essential c sumables. Ordinarily heavy taxation would expected to work as a distinctive disinflation factor. Mr. Morarji Desai while presenting Budget for the current year to Parliament said his unprecedented measure of additional taxati proposals for the year were conditioned by three-fold compulsions of defence, developm and restraint on consumption. Unfortunately, very basic foundations of his taxation polic appear to have been so conceived that they h inherent in themselves, inescapable inflationa pressures. In addition, there were also the obvio shortage in supply of certain essential consum bles like a number of article of food. The t together, considerably accentuated by the u hampered profiteering activities of wholly co scienceless and anti-social profiteers and w seemed to be in the enjoyment of the especi indulgences of the former Food Minist accounted for an incidence of price movement the degree of which could not have been explain merely by shortages alone. This Mr. Krishnam chari would appear to have either deliberately evaded acknowledgment of or, what would s to be wholly inconceivable, seems to be entire unaware of.

One is naturally grateful for small mercie If monetary inflation had added its force pushing up prices to any appreciable degree, situation, unsupportable as it is, would have b

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bound to deteriorate to one of virtual chaos. That there has been monetary inflation of a rather substantial order by way of deficit financing is undeniable. The magnitude of deficit financing during 1962-63 has been of the rather large measure of Rs. 300 crores. Evidence available seem to indicate that the same order of deficit financing has also been continuing into the current year. This might have had further disastrous impacts on the price level. Fortunately, however, the Reserve Bank of India had conceived of and applied certain wholesome and wise credit policies, some of which have been rather severely criticised by the business community. The Reserve Bank appears to have applied credit controls in such a manner that money should be comparatively tight during busy seasons so as to minimise the effects of a too liberal credit policy that would otherwise be bound to be exploited by the unorganized sector of the money market which, in this country, still continues to play a very crucial and important part in gross credit transactions. But for such controls imposed and rigidly applied by the Reserve Bank, speculation and hoarding might assume levels in the present state of the supply market which would be bound to prove far more disastrous on the price structure than it has so far been It is a wise and judicious policy that has been enunciated and is being applied by the Reserve Bank of India, and the need for pursuing it without relaxation in the on-coming busy season would be obvious in the face of the inevitably cumulative effects of defcit financing that has still to continue further adding their impact on the price situation. But what would seem to be equally important is the need to devise and apply effective measures to extend the organized sector of the money market and progressively reduce both the area and depth of operation of the private financier. In the meanwhile, the pressure from the business community and banks upon the Reserve Bank and Finance Ministry to ease the present credit control coutinues, to which the latter can yield only at the expense of fostering a wholly uncontrolled private sector of the money market which would be disastrous.

It is significant that by far the most important aspect of current price rises appear to have been in the agricultural sector, especially in food. At the same time manufactures have registered only a microscopic rise comparatively speaking. It is urgent that price levels must be brought down considerably from their present altitudes before measures are applied for their effective stabilization around a proper and legitimate level. Since most of the rise is accounted for by agricultural commodities, it would seem that the most opportune moment should be to devise appropriate measures and apply them effectively during the on-coming crop-year (1963-64) to bring them down very substantially. If the crop is larger, as it is expected to be at the moment, that in itself should be able to play its part in forcing down the price level to a certain extent. But that in itself is not likely to be enough and the authorities should be able to conceive of judicious measures to force down the price level to a legitimate level at this opportunity. They should not allow themselves to be intimidated by profiteers and interesetd politicians by the recently raised, but wholly specious slogan for not letting down the agriculturists. They must have the courage to throw back upon the detractors of such price-depressing measures that agriculturists themselves have been recently adding their feeble voice of protest against prevailing high prices. This demand is understandable since it is a known fact that in the food production sector more than fifty per cent of the nation's cultivating classes produce only enough to cover their own requirements of consumption and seed for anywhere between two and ten months. High prices even of food affect the generality of our food growers quite as avdersely, therefore, as anyone else, and it would be wholly sanctimonious to plead for higher (or anywhere near as high as at present) prices for agricultural yields, except perhaps in the commercial crops sectors, in their behalf. To devise measures and to effectively apply them towards such an end will require both foresight and courage, and if the Government are unable or unwilling to accept these responsibilities, they had much better abdicate.

Traffic Congestion In Calcutta

A press report under dateline September 21 relates that while discussing the proposal for a Rs. 10 crore grant to the Calcutta Metropolitan Organization from the Union Government towards a joint fund for implementation of certain development plans for Greater Calcutta which would include water supply to the urban areas, improvement of slums and modernizing the

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machinery for the supply of gas, the West Bengal Finance Minister was reported to have raised the question of both the urgency and importance of building a circular railway in Calcutta to enable the present acute traffic congestions in the city to be relieved. Possibly as a sequel to this discussion, a later report under dateline Sept. 27 informs that a team of representatives of the Calcutta Port Commissioners, the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization and the Eastern Railway will undertake a joint survey to study the feasibility of the State Government's proposal for a circular railway in Calcutta. This decision was stated to have been arrived at a meeting held on Sept. 26 at the Port Commissioners' Office and attended by Lt. General D. N. Chakravarti of the C.M.P.O., Mr. B. B. Ghosh, Chairman of the Port Commissioners, and the Chief Engineer of the Eastern Railway. Lt. Gen. Chakravarti was said to have suggested that the extension of local trains as far down as Hastings would help to relieve the city's present traffic congestion, in which he was said to have been supported by Mr. Ghosh. The Eastern Railway's Chief Engineer while agreeing, was said to have pointed out that it must be done only with the minimum dislocation of the port tracks, jetties and level crossings.

The question of a Circular Railway around Calcutta has been on the tapis for quite some time. Before this, inspired by the late Dr. B. C. Roy, quite a great deal of money had been completely wasted in surveying over years the feasibility of building an underground railway in Calcutta and which had ultimately to be abandoned. At one time even proposals for a possible overhead railway was also vaguely mooted. Of these the proposal for a Circular Railway seems now to have found the most favour and the question appears now to have reached the stage for a preliminary survey for the purpose of assessing its feasibility. Now what Lt. Gen. Chakravarti is reported to have suggested at the meeting referred to above and which seems to have found general approval is the extension of local train tracks right down to Hastings. It was not quite clear from the brief press report which local trains were thus proposed to be extended to Hastings,—those with their present termini at the Howrah Station ?—or those which at present extend between the Sealdah South Station and Budge-Budge, with a track branching off from somewhere near Majerhat and terminating at a suggested point in Hastings ?

Whatever it is that the General may have intended, we cannot quite see that unless it be provided for these trains to terminate at points where near the points in the city where business and employment at present concentrates, it would be likely to be much helpful in relieving Calcutta of her present problems of acute traffic congestion. One does not get quite a clear picture of what the planners for Calcutta may have in their mind. For all the ordinary non-expert public can visualize is that any attempt to lead new railway tracks into the heart of the city and business quarters might produce a far worse burden than at present on the already highly, one might say even acutely congested available road space to enable these proposed tracks to be laid.

If, on the other hand, the proposed circular railway is intended to feed the innumerable new and further growing satellite townships that are growing up all around the Greater Calcutta area and going round the outer perimeter of the City, as has also been suggested earlier, this would not be likely to provide any visible relief to the city's problems of acute traffic congestion that one can visualize. The life-line of these satellite townships, it cannot be denied is really the heart of the city where business and employment concentrate, and any scheme to feed the traffic from and to these townships must necessarily reach into the area of need or its very purpose would be lost. To undertake an expensive survey to build a still far more expensive railway system with questionable potentials as the proposal to build a circular railway appears to us to be, is really like by-passing the principal point of the problems of traffic congestions in Calcutta, that of heavy concentration of business and employment within a very limited area in the heart of the city. A better and a more far-sighted proposal, it seems to us, should have been to evolve a well conceived, properly co-ordinated and effectively streamlines plan of decentralization of places of employment in such a judiciously distributed way, that workers and employees may have their places of employment within convenient distance from their homes. That is how modern townships are planned elsewhere in the more advanced countries of the world.

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PROF. TOYNBEE AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION

By DEBIPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

(1)

The ninth volume of Prof. Toynbee's astounding ten-volume "A Study of History"—which Colin Wilson, a stimulating young thinker of our times, has rightly called "the greatest spiritual journey of our age"—contains one of the most interesting things of his monumental work; a brilliant analysis of the western civilization. Throughout his study his attitude towards his own civilization is distinguished by the refusal to identify "a parvenue and provincial" Western Society's history with History **sans phrase**; he is almost completely free from what he himself has repeatedly deprecated as the "egocentric illusion." We must remember that for a western historian from a country where the industrial revolution was born this is a remarkable and an extremely difficult achievement; no other western historian of comparable stature, dead or alive, has been so completely free from parochialism. No wonder that Toynbee is the despair of professional historians who have tried in vain to rationalize their secret, unconscious envy at the tremendous popularity of a book that they refuse to call history because they know it is altogether beyond them in its range and breadth of vision, in its flashes of profound spiritual insight and in its incomparable literary charm.

In what follows I shall try to present as briefly as possible, first, Prof. Toybee's panoramic survey of the contemporary western scene in 1952, the year he wrote the ninth volume of his **Study** and, secondly, his profoundly interesting speculations about the "Prospects" of the western civilization. My object here would be to enable the reader, who has not had the time or opportunity to go through Toynbee's enormous volumes, to have a clear, if not a comprehensive, idea of what this great sage—because Toynbee is to me much more than a technically competent historian, although according to some professional historians of our times he is not even that—has to say about a subject that is agitating the minds of millions of intelligent and humane men and women all over the world: Modern Western Civilization.

Before coming to Toynbee's profound observations on the nature and future of Western Civilization it is necessary for us to know certain fundamental concepts of study. I shall state briefly here some interesting facts about the genesis, growth and disintegration of civilizations—the central theme of his Study. Civilization, he says, is a species of human society; it is a comparatively recent phenomenon—only 6000 years old, may be less—from the astronomical, even biological point of view. In the course of last 5000 or 6000 years twentyone civilizations in all have appeared on our planet. Of these twentyone or so civilizations the Western Civilization is the only one that is still alive; he rest are eiher dead or moribund.

The genesis of Civilization is still something of a mystery; all that we can say is that the emergence of a civilization is always the result of a successful response to a challenge and this challenge has invariably occurred in the form of a fiercely hostile natural environment. Next comes the growth phase of a civilization. Growth, according to Toynbee, consists in a series of challenge-and-response; so long as a challenge is met and overcome successfully the civilization is growing and healthy. Then, after it has attained the highest point of development, the civilization in question is confronted with a powerful challenge, so powerful indeed, that it is no longer able to meet it with an equally powerful response. The result is breakdown, and then gradual disintegration leading finally up to the last stage; dissolution or death.

Now, in order to understand what Toynbee says about the present and the

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future of the Western Civilization, we must have a clear idea of what he means by disintegration. It is a very complicated process consisting of a succession of waves rather than a straight line indicating steady decline.

Disintegration, like growth, is a long-drawn-out cyclically rhythmic movement; it consists of a series of routs followed by rallies. The first stage of disintegration or the first rout, is a phase of widespread disorder and chaos which he calles a Time of Troubles. This Time of Troubles is followed by the first rally which in its turn is followed by a relapse, which is usually worse than the first. This relapse is followed by a more powerful and permanent second rally which takes the form of what he calls a "Universal state." Then comes a further relapse from which the universal state, which dies very hard, somehow manages to recover. This third rally is usually the last, because the universal state, with all its indomitable strength, rarely survives a "second paralytic stroke." Thus the process of disintegration consists of three and a half beats, namely, rout-rally-relapse-rally-relapse-rally-relapse. The complete process, from the first break-down—the Time of Troubles—to the final and irretrievable dissolution takes, according to his calculations based on an empirical survey, a minimum of some eight hundred years. Disintegration, we must remember, is an irreversible process; once a civilization goes into disintegration, it can never stop till it reaches its final and inevitable goal, dissolution. The downward curve, it is true, is not straight, but wavy, but these rhythmic fluctuations caused by periodical recoveries or "rallies" are a passing phase. Recovery is never complete; the challenge no longer—as it always does in the growth phase—evokes a successful response.

After these general reflections on Civilization, let us now turn to our real subject, the Western Civilization. Before we discuss the prospects of the Western Civilization we must bear in mind certain interesting points about its nature and history.

First, like the Ancient Mariner rounded by his dead fellow travellers image is Toynbee's—it is the sole surviv it is the only civilization alive today the rest—twenty in his reckonnig—are I said, either already dead or "in artic mortis."

Secondly, it is a civilization of third generation. It is affiliated to civilization of the second generation Hellenic Civilization. At this point must note, in passing, that the greatest tribution to human civilization was ma especially in religion which is, accordin Toynbee, the consummation of human ex ence, the noblest manifestation of the hu spirit—by the civilizations of the sec generation, namely, the Sinic, the In the Hellenic and the Syriac.

Thirdly, the Western Civilization possibly still in the growth phase. T is a point of the utmost importance for of us—for all of us, because we are all matter to which country we belong, inv ed in the fate of the Western Civilizatio because if it is true it will mean that it h not yet gone into disintegration. We sha have a great deal to say about this cru question later on; in fact the prospects the Western Civilization will be determin largely by whether or not it is still in t growth phase. All we can say here is th Toynbee's freedom from a pessimistic co look about his own civilization is the res of his conviction—which, as we shall se is grounded in facts—that it has not y gone into disintegration.

In order to understand why in Toy bee's opinion the Western Civilization perhaps still young and growing we mu take a glance at the history of the Weste Civilization. The Western Civilization w born after the break-down of its parent, t Hellenic Civilization, represented by t Roman Empire; it is therefore, about thi teen hundred years old. The first challeng to this nascent Western Civilization ca in the form of anarchy; the response ca in the form of the Papacy, the most powe ful unifying agency of medieval Christi Europe. The political counterpart to t ecclesiastical unity was the medieval em

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state which appeared about four hundred years later. This was towards the end of the eleventh century; the next challenge came four hundred years later when the parochial city-state could no longer solve the problem of building up a much larger political unit. Nationalism was the challenge; and the response was the characteristic modern western political institution which followed the Renaissance: the nation-state. The emergence of the nation-state towards the end of the 15th century ushers in what Toynbee calls **modern** western civilization.

Thus we have seen that the Western Civilization has so far, since it was born about 675 A.D., had three rounds of challenge-and-response; the last successful response came about 1475 A.D. The remarkable thing is that these three recurrent rounds of challenge-and-response—which is, I repeat, the one unmistakable sign of the growth-phase of a civilization—are separated by about four hundred years. This brings us to a question of the greatest importance: Is the growthprocess periodic as well as cyclic? In other words, is the wave-length constant? Toynbee is tempted, like all historians to whom the discovery of a law in history is always a delight, to answer in the affirmative, but finally withholds his judgment, because the empirical evidence is against it. Arnold Toynbee, we must remember, because it is often forgotten or even denied, is a thorough-going empiricist—here, by the way, he is true to the British temperament—in his historical method.

Now the empirical evidence, in this case, I said, is contrary to the belief in a periodic law in history, because otherwise we should have come across another challenge-and-response about 1875, but we do not. The challenge, however, came, on the economic plane, with the Industrial Revolution, which ushered in what Toynbee calls the past-modern phase of the Western Civilization.

What precisely was the nature of this challenge to which an answer, which is long overdue, has not yet been found? It is this: Has the Western Society as yet found a political counterpart to the economic interdependence it has achieved as a result of unprecedented technological progress brought about by the industrial revolution? In other words, has there been a corresponding political unification in the form of a "Universal" or "ecumenical" state? The answer is of course: No. And this means two things. First, the appearance of periodicity in the historical development of a civilization is illusory; had it not been so we ought to have witnessed a response to this last challenge in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Secondly, this very failure on the part of the Western Civilization to achieve political unification proves that it has most probably not yet gone into disintegration; perhaps, it is still in its growth phase. We must remind the reader, who may fail to see the causal connection between the two, that according to Toynbee the establishment of a "universal state," so far from being the culminating point of a civilization in its full bloom, is the surest sign of its decline. It is the first successful rally, as I have said, after the "time of troubles" which marks the first phase of the disintegration process.

Thus we see that the challenge, the fourth challenge in the history of the Western Civilization thrown by the Industrial Revolution, has not yet evoked a successful response, and a successful response here means the creation of a universal state, and a universal state in this case means a world-state because, the Western civilization has become, thanks to that astounding phenomenon, the Industrial Revolution, literally world-wide. And yet this answer has got to be found, because in this age of thermo-neuclear warfare, the only hope for the survival of human civilization lies in the establishment of a world-state.

These are some of the fundamental points about the history of Western Civilization. It is interesting to note that Toynbee has distinguished three phases of Western Civilization: the first he has called "Nascent," the second, "Modern," and the third, "Post-modern." What will chiefly

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concern us here is this post-modern phase in which we live, move and have our being.

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Now our subject-matter here is not the history, but the present and the future of the Western Civilization. But before passing on to the contemporary scene as it appears to Toynbee, we must state briefly his attitude to what he rightly considers the key to the understanding of this post-modern phase of the Western civilization, namely, the Industrial Revolution.

To begin with, Toynbee, we must remember, contemplates this most revolutionary of all revolutions in the history of civilization with no great feelings of rapture. In his complete lack of enthusiasm for the astounding triumphs of technology, he is more with Gandhiji than with one who is unquestionably the greatest of his felllow countrymen alive today: Bertrand Russell—a man with whom he has little in common except greatness. To him, as to all wise men of all ages, values are ultimately spiritual, and "the greater the technological triumph, the greater the risk of spiritual devastation." This is a startling pronouncement, not merely because it condemns the Industrial Revolution—because that is something which many have done since Ruskin—but because it makes it clear that the evil is inherent in the very system, that the whole thing, in other words, is spiritually rotten.

Thus, from the spiritual point of view —and we must remember, as we shall see more clearly later on, that according to Toynbee, man does not live by bread alone, that spirituality is the essence of man—the Industrial Revolution is on the whole a misfortune for mankind. But this is not all. It suffers from two other very grave defects, one psychological, the other political.

To take the psychological aspect first. The annihilation of distance and the "accelerating pace of social change due to the unprecendented advance in technology since the Industrial Revolution, has been far in advance of the Subconscious Psyche which is much slower to adapt itself to the technological advance that was now ing at a break-neck speed." This pro disharmony is the great spiritual of modern man. Toynbee goes so far say that the two world wars are the consequences of this "High tension be a conservative Psyche and a revolut Technology." Industrialism has hands with democracy and nationali turn modern warfare into a far more rible thing than it had ever been bef

On the political plane, the impa industrialism has given rise to the the crucial problem of Western Civiliz the problem of finding a proper "po set-up" to fit in with the "new eco structure." This is, as I have already the last challenge that confronts the We civilization. There can be one, and one answer to this challenge and that is creation of a world-state, which has long overdue. We have achieved eco unity, thanks to the Industrial Revolu but we are yet to achieve political uni tion of the world. The discovery of the neuclear weapons has made the problem less than one of survival of the human on the surface of our tiny planet.

Before passing on to Toynbee's pa ramic survey of the contemporary scene A.D. 1952, I shall point out what, acco ing to him, are the fundamental chara ristics of the Western Civilization a what is of still greater interest, why thinks it is in some respects, a unique p nomenon in the history of civilization.

The Western Civilization, according Toynbee, is not the civilization of the we ern world alone, but of the entire "habi able and traversable surface of the plane It has become literally "world-encompass ing." The remotest parts of the world getting rapidly industrialised, and con quently westernised, in the ways of life modes of thought. Moreover, this proce of "expansion" and "radiation" of western culture has been made much easier by t fact that it has to face no rivals because the other civilizatoins are either "in ar culo mortis" or long dead and gone.

Toynbee's attitude towards the Weste civilization is distinguished by a remark

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able freedom from the two opposite extremes of facile, self-complacent optimism and unrelieved, pessimism. He does not share in the least the smug, comfortable outlook of (whom he rightly regards, with the deepest admiration, as the greatest historian of his age) Edward Gibbon. Toynbee, who is too mature a thinker to believe in that puerile fantasy of intellectual adolescents, "progress,"—characterizes his illustrious eighteenth-century predecessor's excusable, though short-sighted, optimism as "a credulous declaration of faith in the perpetual progress—a classic example of the ego-centric illusion."

Toynbee, unlike many progresive, modern-minded contemporary intellectuals who contemptuously dismiss him as a reactionary of the most sinister kind, is not himself westernised enough to be thrilled by the marvels of technology, and although he has expressed, repeatedly his warm admiration for the brilliant discoveries of modern men of science, he refuses to join the rest of the world in celebrating the supreme triumph of modern science—: "mastery over Non-Human Nature." And this is because the most powerful enemy of man still remains unconquered: Man himself. "His crux had been the spiritual problem of dealing with himself, his fellow men and God, not the technical problem of dealing with Non-Human Nature."

This brings us to what according to him is the great question of age-religion. "The decisive battle was likely to be fought not on the political or economic plane; for in A.D. 1952—(when he wrote the last volumes of his history) the crucial questions confronting Western Man were all religious."

We shall have a great deal to say about Toynbee's profound and stimulating observations on what he rightly considers the supreme glory of man-religion, a subject which always fascinates him. We must remember that to him the ultimate criterion of excellence of a civilization is not material well-being, which is valuable as only a means to something beyond it, but "a progressive increase in the provision of spiritual opportunities for human souls in transit through this world." In nothing else is Toynbee so inspiring, so indisputably great as in his profoundly religious sensibility, a firm conviction that compared to religion in the widest sense of the term, all other issues are of secondary importance.

It will be clear from all this that Toynbee does not believe in "Progress." He has no illusions about his own civilization in spite of the fact that it has accomplished miracles in the way of man's material prosperity. But this does not mean that he is a dismal prophet; far from it. He does not share the pessimism of Spengler and Paul Valery, the celebrated French poet and intellctual whom he quotes in the original at considerable length and with great respect. The twentieth-century French prophet's disillusionment, his agonised cry of despair that is expressed so powerfully in the passages beginning with "Nous autres, civilizations, nous savons maintenant que nous sommes martelles," represent the opposite extreme to the eighteenth-century complacency of Gibbon. Pessimism about the future of the Western Civilization is, he asserts, as little warranted by empirical evidence as an exultant optimism.

How does it come about that Toynbee who is so acutely aware of the spiritual bankruptcy of the Western Civilization, who is so completely out of sympthy with the most characteristic manifestation of it, namely, Industrialism, yet finds it possible to be hopfeul about its future prospects? The answer to this has already been given, namely, the profoundly significant fact that the Western Civilization is still possibly in its growth-phase; there are reasons to believe, although it is by no means certain, that it has not yet gone into disintegration. There is an element of adventure about this uncertainty about the future of a civilization that is still pregnant with tremendous possibilities. We possess, however, at least one clear and impressive evidence of the "moral health" of the Western Civilization. Of the "twin cancers" of all the civilizations in the past, war and slavery, it has abolished, in the nineteenth-century, slavery. This is, we must remember, a remarkable achievement because it has removed with triumphant success a great evil that has

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been a disgrace to mankind since the dawn of human civilization. The other problem, namely, war, it has yet to solve.

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So far we have confined ourselves to Toynbee's general attitude to Western Civilization, especially to its most characteristic expression, industrialism. We shall now turn to Toynbee's profoundly interesting survey of the contemporary scene. We must remember, however, that this survey was written in 1952. But this will not in the slightest degree diminish the value of his stimulating, and sometimes illuminating observations, because the world situation has remained fundamentally the same since 1952; the scene he surveys is still contemporary.

The main issue, in the post-war world, on the socio-economic plane is "a tug-of-war between (a) regimentation and (b) the human impulse to resist it." Now according to Toynbee regimentation, the great curse of modern western civilization, has manifested itself in the form of two cardinal institutions of our time: trade-unionism and civil service. His attitude towards both is one of strong, intense disapproval; a great deal of what is worst in our present world is attributable to the emergence of these two spiritually paralysing institutions.

Toynbee is completely out of sympathy with the trade-union movement. To him the trade-union movement is a tragic paradox because it is essentially "imposing regimentation upon themselves in order to resist its imposition upon them by their employers. Thus the workers' resistance to regimentation at the hands of an external power had driven them into regimenting themselves."

He is equally severe on the civil service, although he does not regard it as an unmitigated evil. It is both a gain and a loss, but the loss far outweighs the gain. It is a gain in that it subordinates "the egocentric motive of making personal profits to the altruistic motive of public service and moral integrity." It is a loss and a great mischief because it is vitiated by "a lack of interest, a disinclination to take the initiative or to incur risks and an impulse to pers[illegible] safety." "The psychic steamroller," To[illegible]bee sternly warns us, "of a ponderous p[illegible]lic administration was crushing the busi[illegible] man turned civil servant as remorsele[illegible] as, in the nineteenth century the meta[illegible] steamroller of a ponderous industrial pl[illegible] had crushed the husband-man tur[illegible] machine-tender."

The dangers of trade-unionism a[illegible] the civil service exist in all industrialis[illegible] countries, under capitalistic as well [illegible] socialistic regimes. Here, however, we m[illegible] make a distinction, and a very importa[illegible] one. Although the dangers of these t[illegible] western institutions are universal, th[illegible] are far more serious in a totalitarian st[illegible] like the U.S.S.R, than in a democratic st[illegible] like the U.S.A. One main reason why [illegible] prefers infinitely the socio-economic stru[illegible]ture of the U.S.A. to that of the U.S.S.[illegible] is its wise and entirely laudable endeavo[illegible] to solve the problem of class-conflict "n[illegible] by the inhuman and uneconomic crime [illegible] liquidating the middle class, but by buil[illegible]ing up a class-less society on a middl[illegible] class footing." He warmly praises Ameri[illegible]ca's determination to "preserve the midd[illegible] class way of life against the danger of bei[illegible] paralysed by the rise and spread of th[illegible] defensive, negative, unenthusiastic trade-union and civil-service ethics." Toynbee, however, freely admits, with his characteristic balance and openmindedness—although this latter quality has been seriously questioned, and sometimes angrily denied, by his furious detractors—that the Russian approach to the class-conflict was inspired by the same noble desire of "getting rid of class-conflict by eliminating class-divisions." But here the likeness ended for although the end is the same, the means to achieve it are widely different. The Americans tried to eliminate class-divisions "by bringing the industrial working-class on to a middle-class footing; the Russians had achieved the same object "by liquidating the middle-class and by banning all freedom of private economic enterprise, not only for "capitalists," but also, in practice, though not in constitutional theory, for Trade Unionism as well."

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That is only one of the reasons why—again like Bertrand Russell—Toynbee considers the U.S. "incomparably preferable" to the Soviet Union if mankind is confronted with the choice between the two great powers of the world today.

There are at least two very important respects in which the U.S.A. would be infinitely preferable to the Soviet Union. The first of these two criteria is taken from Plato who said in his Republic: "The truth is, and must be, that social life is happiest and most harmonius where those who have to rule are the last people who would choose to be rulers." America is much better fitted to rule the world than the Soviet Union precisely because she is much less willing to do so. Her "cardinal virtue," according to Toynbee, was her "transparently sincere reluctance to be drawn into playing this role at all." Her second "outstanding virtue" was her generosity. Not even the most cynical among us, except those, of course, who are too fiercely bigoted to be capable of seeing palpable facts, could help admiring the warm humanity, the sincere feelings of good-will towards mankind, irrespective of race or creed, that were expressed by the Marshall Plan—"a long-term plan for reconstruction in Europe that was to be payable out of the American tax-payer's pocket."

From the above comparison it will be clear that the Soviet Union, the only other candidate for the leadership of the world, does not share, in anything like so eminent a degree, the two supreme virtues of a ruler, namely, freedom from the desire to dominate and generosity. (Although I am sure had Toynbee written this part of his Study in 1963 instead of in 1952, he would have warmly welcomed the unmistakable signs of a liberalizing tendency of the U.S.S.R. under the present Khrushchevite regime; and as regards the desire for world-domination, compared to China, Russia would appear as liberality itself.) But these are the symptoms rather than the cause; the cause lies much deeper. To investigate this cause would bring us face to face with a subject that we have so far carefully avoided; Communism.

Toynbee's attitude towards Communism is one of unconcealed horror; its emergence is to him, a great misfortune for mankind. For the future of man, of human civilization, it is far more dangerous than even the atom bomb because its triumph will mean the destruction of all that is most valuable in man, all that has made life worth living. It would be a mistake to suppose that Toynbee, because of his pre-occupation with the spiritual in man, ignores the material factors in history. Any careful reader of the "Study" would see how completely false this impression of Toynbee would be. The truth is that although Toynbee is a thoroughgoing empiricist in the true British tradition, although he yields to nobody, not even to the most ardent Marxist interpreters of history, in his appreciation of the material, especially the economic background of man, he firmly believes in the great Biblical saying "Man does not live by bread alone." Acceptance of Communism means the death of the spiritual in man and the spiritual is what, Toynbee repeatedly asserts, ultimately matters.

Had Communism been a merely anti-religious movement and nothing else, it would not have worried civilized mankind. What makes it so sinister is that it is itself a religion, or rather, a substitute for religion. It is to this that Marxism owes its tremendous appeal to millions who have lost their faith in traditional religion and yet badly need something to live by. Communism has substituted a worship of Collective Humanity for the worship of God. "A religion of Humanity which had missed fire in the frigid mould of Contain Positivism had set the world ablaze when it had been fired from the canon's mouth of a Marxian Communism." And humanism, of this type, as we shall see later on, can never be a religion even of the lowest order because "Collective Humanity" is a "contemptible little idol."

That is Toynbee's view of Communism as a religion a religion that has a powerful appeal for the masses who find in it an admirable substitute for traditional religion in which they have ceased to believe. As a religion it is dogmatic, fanatical, ruthless;

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it opens up to the starving millions all over the world an enchanting vista of an earthly paradise; and it has its prophet and its gospel. This is the reason why it is a challenge to liberalism, its one powerful rival in the western world today. We shall see later on how the fate of Western Civilization depends on this crucial question of Communism vs. Liberalism.

Toynbee is equally severe on Communism as a political and economic doctrine. On the political plane it leads to the totalitarian state; on the economic plane it simply substitutes public exploitation by the State for private exploitation by one individual under a capitalistic system. In one respect it is even worse than the latter because ruthless "suppression of all individual liberty" is not only fatal in its spiritual consequences; it is also economically disastrous because it paralyses "the incentive to produce and to create."

It would be wrong, however, to conclude from the above that Toynbee—who by this time must have been roundly condemned by cultivated intellectuals of our country as a bourgeois reactionary and an agent of the U.S.A.—is in sympathy with Capitalism, a term which, it is interesting to note, he does not use very often. Theoretically, he is much more in favour of Socialism, but that is not the point. Toynbee, here as elsewhere, always judges a tree by its fruit; and this is what we should expect from a man to whom the empirical approach is the only sensible approach to history. It follows that he criticises Marxism, especially on the economic and political plan, not in the abstract but in its concrete manifestation in the Soviet Union. And in this form it simply horrifies him.

According to Toynbee, there are in the world today three existing ways of solving the great economic problem of our time—class-conflict: (a) American, (b) British and Scandinavian, and (c) Russian. Of these three, the British or Scandinavian approach is, in his opinion, the best. By the British way he means a compromise between private economic enterprise and socialism; it is, in other words, a middle way between an American and a Russian extreme, "an illogical combination of a modicum of free economic enterprise with a modicum of governmental planning and regimentation in the interests of social justice." The great merit of this British approach are (a) its "flexibility" and (b) "the coolness of its emotional temperature." Here we must remember that to Arnold Toynbee, the avowed champion of the "pedestrian path of empiricism and give-and-take," a certain spirit of compromise is in many cases much less harmful than the blind, fanatical adherence to a single "ideological principle" where passions run high when political issues, however trivial, are involved. Here again Toynbee is truly British in his love of compromise and freedom-qualities, which are bound up with the empiricist approach.

(4)

Before going on to discuss this crucial question of the day, namely, Communism versus Liberalism, we shall briefly mention his views on (a) population and (b) leisure. His views on the baffling problem of population are interesting not because it is new or original but because it illustrates Toynbee's attitude to science when it comes into conflict with religion. Now according to Toynbee there can never be such a conflict for the very simple reason that science and religion have no common frontier, so that trespassing is out of the question. Toynbee has the greatest admiration for modern science; indeed his very approach to history is avowedly scientific. So far from decrying, as a religious reactionary should, the amazing development of the physical sciences, he acclaims it as the supreme triumph of the human intellect. But the intellect, the logical reason, is not, according to him, the highest faculty of man. Above it and far beyond it lies the realm of the spirit to which science is a stranger. So long as science pursues its true aim, which is to investigate the material universe and formulate the laws that govern it, it is admirable. But the moment it arrogates to itself the right to pronounce on the spiritual, the divine, it makes a fool of itself by forgetting its jurisdiction. In such cases science should be asked to mind its own business

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and sternly kept in its place. On the other hand—and this is the interesting point—religion, which alone has access to the spiritual and the divine and is, therefore, the highest achievement of man, has no right to meddle with the affairs of science; it must accept the verdict of science where the laws of the material universe are concerned. Toynbee, who is rightly supposed to be the apostle of the religious outlook, has condemned over and over again and in the strongest terms, the stupidity and appalling cruelty of the Church in the middle ages. The Catholic Chuch made an utter fool of itself by trying to settle questions that were none of its business and on which it had no right to pronounce; men like Galileo and Bruno were much better fitted to deal with these. In our times, so far as the problem of birth-control is concerned, "industrialism is a challenge to religion," because it has made nonsense of the family. The Church is apt to forget that "freedom from want" and "freedom to beget" are incompatible ideals. Toynbee, however, does not, as Russell does, or at least did in the past, believe in the omnipotence of rationalism. Religion, in the widest sense of the word—which is, by the way, a very different thing from an established Church—has much higher things to attend to; it is stupid to invoke it where the reasoning intellect is enough. It is clear now why according to Toynbee there cannot and should not be any quarrel between science and religion, that is, between true science and true religion.

The problem of leisure is another important consequence of the combined action of industrialism and the trade-union movement. Work in a factory is so odious that to an industrial worker leisure has come to have an intrinsic value; indeed it is to many even more valuable than money. One of the ironies of industrialism was that "it was responsible for both excessive work and unemployment." Of these two, the first, that is the problem of excessive work, was successfully solved by the Trade Union movement. The result has been "an unprecendented abundance of leisure."

How is it that leisure, which is what made civilization possible in the past, without which there would have been no art, no science, no culture of any kind, has now become a problem and a danger? Leisure has become a problem because the question that is beginning to worry the Western man today is: How to use this leisure? The strange and profoundly disturbing fact is that he does not know the answer. The tragedy of modern man everywhere—and modern means western—is that with the disappearance of religious faith, a spiritual vacuum has been created, and he is unable to fill it. Secondly, leisure may turn into a source of danger because when it becomes widespread and not the privilege of a cultivated and wealthy few, it is "likely to lower the level of culture." Culture in the past has always been the product of a gifted minority who made use of their leisure in creation. Universal leisure will lead to what is called mass-culture, and mass-culture is bound to become a very inferior form of culture. With the spread of powerful mass media like the cinema, the radio and television, we are already having a foretaste of this latest type of modern culture.

Throughout his study of Western civilization, Toynbee has firmly supported Liberalism as a political doctrine. The great question of western man today is to preserve this against the powerful onslaught of Communism which is a challenge to Liberalism. What causes him grave concern is that Liberalism, the only rival of Communism because it alone recognises the ultimate intrinsic value of the individual man, is a "feeble weapon" against Communism. The weak point of Liberalism is its non-religious lukewarm, humanism, it lacks the religious enthusiasm and passion of Communism.

The only hope of Freedom against Totalitarianism is to transfigure this secular ideal of Liberalism into "a powerful spiritual weapon wielded in defence of the liberty of conscience." This great spiritual transfiguration has to be achieved in two ways: the negative way and the positive way. The negative way consists in the

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exercise of the difficult spiritual virtue of humility, humility in confessing "the spiritual importance of a Mechanized Technology." The positive act consists in "filling the spiritual vacuum by the living waters of religion."

Then he turns to Science. We have already discussed at some length his attitude to modern science and seen how, if rightly understood, it should never come into conflict with religion. Now the irony of our great age of science and technology, is that "just when the triumph over the material universe is complete man is threatened with extinction." For this science is not to blame because "the titanic power released by physical science is not an evil in itself"; on the contrary, if rightly guided, it is capable of doing incalculable service to mankind. Science, which is ethically neutral, cannot save man [illegible] destruction because the malady is essentially spiritual. "It is not the physical force generated by splitting an atom [illegible] is responsible for the imminent destruction, but "a schism in the soul." "Man must throw aside his physical tools," he warns us in a passage remarkable for its poetry and beauty, and that wonderful solemn and prophetic vehemence which is [illegible] millions of his admirers all over the world part of his irresistible charm, "in order to concentrate on the now far more urgent task of reconquering an inner spiritual world that had slipped out of his control while he had been engrossed in his unbalanced prolonged child's play with clock-work. He must make peace with (i) his fellow men and women, (ii) with his Subconscious Human Psyche, (iii) and with his God."

LORD CURZON AND THE POLITICO-SURGERY OF BENGAL
(October 16, 1905—December 12, 1911) : A Review

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George Nathaniel, Marquis Curzon of Kedleston and Lady Curzon landed at Bombay on December 30, 1898. The new Viceroy had come at a time when a new century was round the corner. It was the sincere hope and aspiration of Indians, (who had come to learn about his manifold qualities of head and heart[1]), that the honour of leading India towards sunshine and prosperity may belong to that Civil Servant[2] brought up in the rich traditions of Eton and Oxford. It was expected that Lord Curzon's rich and rewarding association with Oscar Browning and his deep admiration for poet Tennyson[3] might make him a truly Indianised Viceroy. It was equally true that Lord Curzon assumed the high office fired with an infectious zeal, bubbling with glowing new ideas.[4] Even Lord Morley paid him handsome tributes despite the fact that the two statesmen were political rivals.[5] Later in life, Morley had to revise his estimate [illegible] Lord Curzon and preferred to call Lord Curzon, rather meaningfully, "our indomitable man."[6]

For better or for worse, it looked [illegible] in spite of the impact of Victorian Imperialism, Lord Curzon could be the man of the hour.[7] He declared on March 25, 1903, that under his regime there would be roses strewn on India's path towards progress and not weeping tears.[8] The Queen's Proclamation of November 1, 1858 had already given high hopes and pious promises, and India looked up to the new Viceroy and the new century for an extension of what she had hitherto, secured, and also materialisation of what she had always cherished by way of political ideals. That, as events unfolded themselves, was to remain mere wishful thinking. The Viceroy showed a subtle originality in all his views,[9] and as the [illegible]

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cleared away, Indians were shocked by the painful realisation that Lord Curzon was emotionally unstable, highly strung, physically and mentally in a malaise, and, by far, a very lonely man. This distemper, in many ways, affected his thinking, utetrances and actions,[10] and it is a sad reflection that just as India presented to him an opportunity for his political zenith, it also sucked him into the vortex of oblivion, hatred and derision.[11] He had little praise for or faith in the role of his predecessors. In a conceited manner that served little useful purpose, he decided to launch his own programme of overhauling Indian administration. He had a ready-made prescription of twelve reforms and a veritable **Pandora's Box** of ideas for India's salvation, as a corrective to administrators' blunders in the past.[12]

The **Partition of Bengal,** ironically, was a result of Lord Curzon's a consuming burst of enthusiasm. As if it were not enough, he introduced a number of measures which were, in themselves, adequate to earn notoriety for him that could last into posterity. The curtailment of the autonomy of the Calcutta Corporation; the Official Secrets Act; interference in he working of the Universities; tirade against Indians' ethical and moral standards; a scheme of twelve reforms; and, the so-called Tibetan expedition; were warnings enough of an acutely misconstrued notion of administrative reforms.[13] They amply betrayed Lord Curzon's role as England's **keeper of colonies** as a veritable **Indian Kaiser.**[14]

Lord Curzon believed that Indians, by heritage, environment and upbringing, were not equal to the responsibilities of high offices in India: a typical racist argument.[15] He thought of India as a country wherein the British had a moral obligation to keep their monopoly for ever; and, where the people had only that to expect, anticipate and aspire for.[16]

An utter disregard for the popular sentiment, apathy for the Indian cause and obsession ogainst India's growing nationalism, led Lord Curzon to his greatest folly—the **Partition of Bengal.** A booty such as that should have quenched his thirst as an Imperialist, though his tribe could go to any length if only it meant cementing the foundations of the British Empire in India.

In a desperate bid to split India's nascent nationalism, it dawned upon Lord Curzon that a rather convenient way to arrest its growth would be to strike a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims. He gave the plan a good thinking, and successfully herded away the vested Muslim group, treating them as his pampered children by granting them a separate official identity and recognition.[17] The **Partition,** nevertheless, brought about an abrupt change in the course of contemporary political movements. Despite being a retrograde step full of evils, there were blessings in disguise which were later to prove effective catalysts to India's political regeneration.

It is also true that the idea of any territorial redistribution or readjustment did not originate with Lord Curzon. In 1853, the **Districts of Berar** were merged with the **Central Provinces** on grounds of administrative efficiency, even when the suzerainty of the **Nizam** was not allowed to be in jeopardy. The people, however, did not care.[18]

In 1874, on grounds of administrative efficiency again the **Districts of Cachar and Sylhet** were transferred from Bengal to Assam.[19] Even after that, Bengal continued to be the biggest and the most populous of provinces, comprising 48 Districts covering an area of nearly 190,000 square miles and a population of over 78 millions.[20]

In 1891, for reasons of defence, the **Lushai Hills** were added to Assam, and it was recommended that the **Chittagong Division** too might go to Assam.[21] However, the recommendation died a natural death out of neglect and disuse, to remain a mere historical document of little interest.[22]

In 1896, Sir William Ward, Chief Commissioner of Assam, extended the tentacles of Imperial interests by demanding the merger of **Chittagong Division** and the **Districts of Dacca and Mymensingh** with Assam.[23] Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Ward's successor, however, did not agree to such an

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unwanted measure. At least for some time the scheme fell through.

Andrew Fraser, then Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces, suggested in February 1901, that Orissa be severed from Bengal and tagged on to Central Provinces. His official letter hitch-hiked at snail's pace through the bureaucratic set-up. In early 1903, Andrew Fraser (who had since risen to be Lt.-Governor of Bengal) suggested transfer of the **Districts of Dacca and Mymensingh** and the **Division of Chittagong** to Assam.[24] It was not until December 3, 1903, that the question of any territorial readjustments was reopened.[25] Lord Curzon's obsession for **unsuggested reforms** was revived by Sir Herbert Risley, Secretary to the Government of India, in his rather notorious despatch.[26]

The Curzon-Risley Plan envisaged the ceding of Faridpur and **Barisal** areas to the **Dacca Division,** along with a portion of **North Bengal,** and thus to carve out a new and separate province under cover of a hoarse cry for administrative efficiency.[27]

The **Partition of Bengal,** thus conceived, was in no way a reform scheme aimed at the welfare of the people. It was very clearly a blatant and occult design of Imperial marauders of **Province making** and of **Province breaking,** as an anticipated prelude to the ultimate dismemberment of India's national edifice.

II

It was not only the scheme of **Partition** that made the people furious: the manner in which the whims and fads of the Viceroy were muffled at first, and later imposed on an **indivisible people,** made the situation far more explosive.[28]

Till the first week of July 1905, the people were not only kept in the dark about the whole ignominious deal: there were categorical denials by the bureaucracy as to the **Partition.** On July 7,1905. however, **Reuter flashed** the news that proposals to Partition Bengal had received the sanction of Mr. Brodrick, the Stecretary of Sta e.[29]

The proposed plan involved the creation of a new province of East Bengal plus North Bengal and Assam, (area-106,500 sq. miles; population—31,000,000, approximately: 18 millions Muslims and 12 millions Hin... under a separate Lt. Governor, a Legisl... Council and a Board of Revenue. Dacca ... to be the capital, and the jurisdiction of ... Calcutta High Court was to continue.[30]

In the teeth of severe public pro... mammoth memorials, demonstrations ... entreaties, the **Partition of Bengal** ... carried out on October 16, 1905.

The official view and stand point ... volved round the person of Lord Cur... who, if anything, acted like a verita... Joshua.

The **politico-surgery** of Bengal was ca... ried out, from the official and the bureaucr... tic viewpoint, because without it var... problems connected with aspects of popu... tion, territorial redistribution, contact b... tween the ruler and the ruled, econo... prosperity and general development, co... not be tackled effectively. That indeed int... preted what Lord Curzon's administrati... efficiency stood for. As a true cam... follower of his Viceroy, Sir Bamfylde Ful... (first Lt. Governor of East Bengal), decl... that the **Partition** was really meant to ben... fit both the Provinces, Bengal and Assa... and also; both the communities, the Musli... and the Hindus. Bengal, then too big ... charge, would give up the chunk of territo... Assam needed badly. That was a strang... case of anticipated territorial counterpoi... and communal equation with the scare-cro... of Imperialism hovering about.[31]

The situation and arguments unfolde... thus were:

First: the argument that Bengal... population of nearly 80 millions badly need... ed such supervision as only the Partitio... could bring about was utterly unconvincing... The Viceroy in India was never the head ... a patriarchal government, as was the Jewish... practice in the past. The very talk or ana... logy of a Patriarchate, therefore, was co... to mislead the people. The Viceroy, or the... bureaucracy, had no claims whatsoever, ... even pretend being enlightened rulers, ... even shadows. Not even the most mani... among the British supporters could so much ... as suggest that the Government of India was ... a people's government.

If it was intended to find a way out ...

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better administration, the remedy was not in **Partition** but in improving and bettering public utilities; e.g., postal and police departments; by improving the judicial system; by increasing the number and quality of schools; by rationalising the system of liberal and technical education; in short, by making life worth living. By recruiting the really efficient to the Civil Service, Lord Curzon could have brought about the desired effect of giving the people a fair deal.[32] The **Partition** could not, in any other way, work miracles.

Second: the territorial aspect of the official argument was equally inefective. That an efficient control over a vast area needed **Partition** sounded peculiar. The suggestion that the executive-head could not, with any effect and efficiency, look after such an enormous charge was naive. The fact was that the executive-head was never meant to be the direct ruler. He was to plan; he was to decide, broadly speaking; he was to look after execution and co-ordination; and, in fact, he was to see that the whole administrative machinery ran smoothly. Yet, he was not expected to do anything himself. The bureaucracy was to mop up administrative details in its inimitable manner. A territory, big or small, hardly mattered in view of the British set-up of government, and also because the arms of law could reach conveniently, even the remotest corner of the land.[33] Besides, partitioning a people on grounds of increase in population or allegedly unwieldy territory did little to justify British conception of fairplay and justice. It, certainly, did nothing to satisfy a people who looked up to the British for democratic ways and life.

Third: the point that the **Partition** would have resulted in better contact between the people and the rulers was equally hollow. The primary characteristics and essential ingredients of such a high-sounding administrative maxim were conspicuously absent in British India. A **live** administrative organisation, based on the ideal of total development and general welfare of the people, was never the British way or intention. In fact, the bureaucracy in all seriousness declared its intentions to be quite contrary to what was, in good faith, expected. It was correct that the bureaucracy solemnised its existence by a callous woodenness. The officious demeanour; meaningless, wasteful and delaying formalities; and, a stiffness were not conducive to better relationship or contacts between the ruler and the ruled. In such an atmosphere, **Partition** could not have made any difference to the good. What was required was not done; what was done, naturally, was not required. Only a concerted plan of reforms and a change of heart could lift the drooping morale and tone of administration. The constitutional impropriety of dismembering Bengal could not, and in fact did not, bring about the anticipated results.[34]

Fourth: Economic prosperity could not be brought about by slicing territories. To begin with, the scheme urgently required a sum of Rs. 19 lakhs for buildings only. An equal sum was needed, annually, to maintain the pitch of administration.[35] To this if one added unforeseen expenditure on different heads accounted for and otherwise, the expenditure assumed astronomical figures. Two fully entrenched governments further meant at least double the expenditure, and also—double the trouble, to no clear advantage. Lord Curzon's **tinsel** of economic growth and general prosperity, as an after-math of the romance of dismembered Bengal, did not click. Administrative efficiency and economic development Vis-a-vis **Partition** sounded incongruous. Famine and drought demanded a more sensible use of public money, fast being depleted by a policy of pitiless waste. And, yet, Lord Curzon refused to see reason. For him there was glory in the inglorious measure of the **Partition**, which his vanity, thoughtless haste and conservatism concealed so well.

Fifth: the Government declared that only **Partition** could liberate the eastern areas from the domination of Calcutta, which was the capital of both the Province and the country. That enabled Calcutta to take away for itself a lion's share out of every project for development or reconstruction.[36]

Sixth: it was asserted that the Hindus of Bengal, who formed a vast majority, had kept the progress and development of the

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Muslims, in a minority, at bay. Nay, the latter were gradually elbowed out of all the avenues of life and opportunities. To bring them at par with the Hindus, therefore, the Muslims ought to have a separate and exclusive home of their own. That, the **Partition** sought to give them.[37]

Seventh: Since Assam had no outlet to the sea, her economy was throttled for long. With Chittagong given to Assam, an effective step would have been taken for the economic prosperity of the region, hitherto neglected.[38]

It would be modest enough to record here that the charge against the western areas of erstwhile Bengal having exploited the eastern parts was not substantiated by facts or figures. The reasons and causes for the **Partition**, to repeat, lay elsewhere and not in making pretensions about administrative, territorial, economic or racial and communal jeopardy. Lord Curzon was secretly nursing a contempt for the rising tide of Indian Nationalism as such, and fiery regional pride and local pride in Bengal, in particular. Having finally and firmly decided to rule India by a policy of counterpoise of Indians against Indians,[39] Lord Curzon spread his chess-board. Hindu-Muslim unity was the first casualty. He realised that without pampering the Muslims, the British Empire in India might be threatened by a united people.[40] The bureaucracy openly declared that the coming together of Hindus and Muslims was an open invitation to disaster. Nothing could explain the situation better.[41]

Fantastic arguments were advanced to fan the fire of racial and communal frenzy, specially by Bamfylde Fuller. He had a pet theory[42] that the **Partition** was objected to only by the Hindus as they did not relish the prospects and rise of the Muslims. The argument had little to commend itself, except that it was coldly suggestive.[43] Coming from an Imperialist as it did, it only betrayed the evil thoughts and vile designs of the bureaucracy, inciting communal hatred and keeping the two communities divided and estranged.[44] There were sinister meanings involved[45] in such arguments, and all one knows—for sure—is that history has not been so mute in its frantic efforts to [illegible] off the communal demon.[46]

Thus, Lord Curzon's **Partition of B**[illegible] was an unfortunate and retrograde [illegible] He set his own house on fire, and was deed lucky to have escaped the flares choking smoke before it was too late him.[48] The **Partition** looked a desperate by the bureaucracy to save its soul perpetuate its existence because it could not capably and efficiently rise to the occasion and was threatened by the rising [illegible] of nationalism.[49]

III

Against the **lawless law** of the Partition, public opinion gathered spontaneously. A memorial over the signatures of [illegible] 70,000 people was sent to the Secretary of State praying for a revision of the whole question, in the light of the sufferings of the common-folk.[50] A most intensive and extensive agitational movement began.[51] The wronged masses, provoked by the myopia of Lord Curzon and his troupe, organised gigantic processions, meetings, demonstrations, hartals and boycott. A new programme to educate the people also began. **Bande Mataram** was reminiscent of the Marseillaise, and countless Indians—children, youth and the old—had but one secret wish: to attack the British **Bastille** of bureaucracy and repression. Over 2,000 public meetings were held all over Bengal and an unrecorded number all over the country. There was, however, no evidence of any communal feeling among a vast majority of people, who still believed in unity more than any other thing, despite the efforts of the British to undo this ideal.[52] Lord Curzon ridiculed the genuine display of national unity, honour and aspirations by calling all that no more than mere rhetoric and declamation.[53]

Lord Curzon visited East Bengal to conciliate the Muslims. His speeches there showed undesirable conceit. Coming from the Viceroy, the speeches constituted flagrant violations of the unwritten rules of personal and official ethics of conduct. Bamfylde Fuller could talk of Muslims as his favourite co-wife[54] there was little

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explain the character of the flock Lord Curzon, the Oxonian, was sopposed to be leading. As to the utterances of Fulier, little else need be said except that he sounded more like a waterfront hoodlum than the Crown's accredited Lt. Governor.

Patience and faith were virtually exhausted among the youth, especially as the phantoms of a divided people and a divided soul became haunting pantomimes of admisttrative reform. The Townhall meeting in Calcutta, held on March 11, 1905, was an event of unprecedented significance. The Viceroy was openly censured,[55] for the first time in history. That was not done for revenge: it merely showed the will and determination of the people, long held back, to be free.

IV

The Indian National Congress, hitherto rather restrained in its deliberations and pronouncements, echoed the cry in anguish of a suffering humanity, and unanimously backed up immediate unsettling of the **settled (sic) fact.**[56]

Even the usually sober and restrained public-servant, Gopal Krishna Gokhale was disillusioned, and notwithstanding his faith in British justice, he declared that Lord Curzon and Aurangzeb, the Moghul, had many things in common—to cite a notorious parallel—specially, repression, autocratic ways and ego.[57]

The 22nd Congress met at Calcutta on December 26 to 29, 1906, under the Chairmanship of Dadabhai Naoroji amid mounting tensions owing to the **Partition.** The 1,663 delegates were unanimous in their concern and condemnation of the folly of Lord Curzon.[58] The Congress recorded its emphatic protest against the **Partition** and showed its deep-rooted confidence in the British sense of justice by appealing for unsettling the settled (?) fact.[59] **Swadeshi** and **Swaraj** became the loudest notes of the **Symphony of Indian Bondage. Fullerism** got worse as the people were bullied without any provocation. Bamfylde Fuller himself declared that blood would be shed, if necessary, to safeguard British interests.[60] With the advent of the challenge of the **Partition,** a society was established in North Calcutta, called the **Bande Mataram Bhikshu Sampradaya,** for the propagation of the National Ideal and regeneration of the masses. By educating the people through songs and hymns, collectiag voluntary subsceiptions for their programme, the workers earned unanimous public support and approval.[61] Nine patriots were deportet to meet the ends of terrorism and repression; press and public opinion were supressed; and, repression spread all over the land. Lala Lajpat Rai and Sirdar Ajit Singh were deported. The way the bureaucracy worked clearly pointed to the only inference that it was taking a desperate plunge in troubled waters to check the rising tide of nationalism that had swept over the land like a tornado. It seemed that imperialism had gone berserk.

The **Boycott** movement gained momentum as the people began to understand its implications as a weapon of effect.[63] The British rulers and the merchant class thought that by boycott their industries and economy would, sooner or later, be hard hit. They were really nervous and were determined to take such steps as would keep their vested interests safe. What happened to India and the Indians was none of their business.[64] Repressions were the order of the day. But India's march of nationalism could not be arrested like that.[65] Lord Curzon declared, amid the mounting tension and stress, that **administration and exploitation could not be separated.**[66] Bengal's cause became the National cause. Even urchins did not lag behind in their disapproval of the bureaucratic ways of the British. The **Banga Jatiya Vidya Parishad,** led by Justice Sir Gurudas Banerjee, took up the mission of **National Education.**[67]

Bipin Pal, Aurobindo, Lajpat Rai and Tilak, to name only a few, emerged as the brighter stars of India's political awakening. The great liberal, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, however, kept to his eloquently anonymous work of negotiations with officials in India and in England. He also appealed personaly to Lord Morley to undo the wrong of the **Partition.**[68] R. N. Mudholkar from Berar and Subba Rao from Madras were deputed

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to appeal to the Government of India to withdraw the ill-starred measure.[69] By 1907, the less patient among the Congressmen had decided to take over the reins of the organisation so that the policy of moderation and liberalism could be discarded and substituted by that of more vigour, more action and more grit. The **imbroglio at Surat**, in a way, therefore, was a consequence of the new spirit that had stirred India. Also to be noted were sudden bursts of violence and terrorism in some parts of the country. The responsibility of these explosions was exclusively and squarely on the Government that had pulled cotton-wool over its eyes. The Congress had nothing to do with such a policy or programme of action.[70]

V

Yet another fantastic aspect of the Partition was that just as Lord Curzon kept the Indians in the dark about it, back home his own countrymen and the Government were no better placed for their ignorance. The India Office was found helplessly groping in the dark, embarrassed and bowled, as the question came up for discussion in Parliament.[71]

Not only this. As the flares of **Partition** became unbearably hot, Lord Curzon blatantly disowned his pet-child, the whole plan, and threw the responsibility,[72] as if it were a simmering potato, by turns on Lord Ampthill (who signed it as the Acting Viceroy) and on the two Secretaries of State, Messrs Brodrick and Morley.[73] In England, India's trusted friends, notably Sir Henry Cotton, Herbert Paul and Keir Hardy, educated and enlightened public opinion and advocated a better understanding of India's cause in the British Parliament and among the people generally. Lord Ripon, old and trembling, voiced his concern at the wrongs done by the Partition, and Lord Macdonald called Curzon's measure "the **highest blunder committed since the battle of Plassey.**"[74] The role of the Indian National Congress, from 1905 to 1911, was epitomised in the memorable struggle carried on relentlessly by the leadership. Among the galaxy of leader-ship the contributions of Gopal K. Gokhale and Surendranath Banerjea of the very vintage of sacrifice and p ism. Bengal, and India, could not thought of better torch-bearers.[76]

VI

In spite of Lord Curzon,[77] the Par in its wake materially affected l national regeneration. The people with each other in a valiant bid to re freedom and rights. The very fact any more injustice was no longer to tolerated, spoke for itself. Despite re sion, the people did not give up co or confidence. Shivaji festivals organised all over Bengal, as in Ma rashtra.[78] In fact, the more the pe were subjected to the exploiters' anvil more reassured and resolved they c out to face the ever-increasing onsla of repression. The people realised value and power of united struggle ag tyranny and the efficacy of determi resistance against injustice.[79]

From 1905 to 1911, was indeed a pe full of developments and exciting poli activity. A panoramic view would be re vant here:

The **Partition of Bengal** was offici announced on October 16, 1905.[80]

From November 9, 1905 to March 1906, the Prince of Wales along with Princess toured India. The Royal pa received traditional hospitality and w come wherever it went. In the wake o tragedy as grave as the **Partition**, s show of toleration and goodwill had m to it than the eye could see.[81]

On October 1, 1906, Lord Minto re ceived a 35-member Muslim delegation Simla, led by the Aga Khan. The Vic was informed of the Muslims' plight. T pressions of loyalty to the Crown were wanting. The Muslims got some sort of assurance of British patronage in re The result: On December 30, 1906, All-India Muslim League was born Dacca. It was the loyal Muslims' s parate bid to keep the vested Hindu C gress (?) in its place and stand u against such threats to their security life.

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On December 27, 1907, the 23rd session of the Indian National Congress at Surat was adjourned **sine die** amid shocking and sickening confusion and disorder which did little credit to contemporary statesmanship. The imbroglio brought about a split in the ranks of the Party. It also made the **Moderates** more moderate and better organised. It left the **Extremists**, somewhat lonely and confused. The Government dealt with both the sections accordingly.[83] In 1908, an extraordinary meeting of the Muslim League passed five resolutions, confirming its loyalty to the Crown and expressing grave concern at the growing momentum of anti-Partition agitation all over the land. The League thought it was Hindu inspired.[84] About this time also the **Yugantar**, the **Sandhya** and the **Bandemataram** were suppressed. More curbs on public opinion and the press were to follow.

On July 18, 1908, Tilak was sentenced to six years' transportation. Sedition became a convenient excuse to crush national aspirations, activities and personalities. In the same year, i.e., 1908, the **Seditious Meetings Act** and the **Press Act** were promulgated. In 1910, came the **Criminal Law Amendment Act.**[85]

Meanwhile, the London branch of the Muslim League continued its clandestine activities, having thrown all considerations of self-respect overboard. It declared loyalty with little meaning to the term. A relentless propaganda against the **Partition Annulment** activities was carried out by the League. The Muslmis cried for more vigilance to keep a check on the nationalist Congress.[86]

The **Morley-Minto Scheme** of 1909, for which Gopal Krishna Gokhale[87] deserved much credit, was not a complete victory either for Morley or Gokhale. The hostility of the bureaucracy in India and the conservative vested interests in England made all the difference.[88] John Morley, however, repudiated Lord Curzon's naive interpretation of the **Queen's Proclamation of 1858.** The political climate did not change for the better as was expected after the reform scheme.[89] Last, though not the least, Lord Hardinge took over as Viceroy in November, 1910.[90]

VII

Somebody's finest hour had come with the advent of the year 1911, in many ways, India's **annus mirabilis.** With Lord Hardinge as Viceroy and Lord Crewe as Secretary of State, the Coronation year dawned. Indians had some intuition that 1911 might be their year too, to unsettle the wrong of the **Partition.**

Bhupendra Nath Basu was deputed to put up India's demand of immediate annulment of the **Partition.** He went to England and by the help of Lord Reay, succeeded in meeting Lord Crewe. On June 12, 1911, meanwhile, the people submitted to Lord Hardinge a long and reasoned memorial of mercy, grace and hope.[91] Sir William Wedderburn, as President of the British Committee of the Congress, met Lord Crewe and laid before him India's case.[92] In England, thus, the vital process of rethinking had set in. The people there began to appreciate—in whatever measure—for the first time probably, the evil consequences of summary political justice (**sic**) as done by Lord Curzon wilfully and consented to by John Morley rather painfully.[93] It was a strange case of extended retributive justice that just as 1905 brought about the **Partition** so very secretly and abruptly, so 1911 brought about the annulment in an almost similarly muffled manner; the former much to the chagrin of the people; the latter to baffle all.[94]

Lord Hardinge worked quietly on the measure of redress, and it was widely believed that the **Secret Despatch** of August 25, 1911, embodied what was ultimately to be the resolution of redress.[95] The atmosphere was charged. There was a feeling of solemn expectancy among the people as December 12, the **Coronation Durbar Day,** dawned on Delhi. The ceremony itself was pompeus and glittering. There was tension also in the throbbing hearts that expected something more. It came soon. Towards the end of the ceremony, the King Emperor himself made the dramatic announcement that annulled the Partition of 1905. There was

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tremendous jubilation and scenes of wild excitement to reciprocate British justice and fair-play.[96]

With the conciliatory announcement,[97] **Delhi became the capital; the Presidency of Bengal (including the divisions of Burdwan, Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong) was created under a Governor; a new province consisting of Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa created under a Lt.-Governor; and, on the North East Frontier, a Chief-Commissionership of Assam came into existence.**[98]

Unfortunately, in some quarters, there appeared a vile feeling that the annulment of the Partition of 1905 meant a victory of Hindu Congress and defeat of the Muslim League. Perhaps, it was well that the latter body, living a self-imposed phobia and incredulous racist obsession, made no secret of its primary and ultimate designs which, later in history, gave many a trouble.[99]

VIII

Thus, the operation involving the politico-surgery of Bengal lasted more than six years of trying and exhausting patience. The first incision and the final suturing, however, left permanent scars on the body-politic. Whether the Partition of 1947 was a relapse—an inevitable consequence and reaction, a legacy of what transpired between 1905 and 1911—remains a subject fit enough for academicians and researchers. For an inquisitive student of Indian Nationalism, the Partitions, of 1905 and 1947, do pose a number of pertinent problems and questions which posterity is expected to be more dispassionate in evaluating. At this distance, in one case considerable, in the other, not so much, a mere indictment of policies and persons would serve little purpose. The most important aspect, perhaps, is the event and its bequest.

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1. *cf.*, *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, (Madras, 1916), p. 808.

In his Banaras Congress Presidential address, Gokhale said :

"In some respects his Lordship (Lord Curzon) will a always be recognised as one of the greatest Englishmen that ever came out to this country. His wonderful intellectual gifts, his brilliant powers of expression, his phenom... energy, his boundless enthusiasm for work... will ever be a theme of just and unst... praise."

2. Ananda Mohan Bose (President M... Congress session, 1900) declared :

"To Lord Curzon will fall the honour ... carrying for the first time the British adm... tration of a United India to a new century. M... that century open in sunshine and brightness ... hope, free from shadows which linger over ... land, not only from the calamities of Nature, ... also from the weakness of man."

cf., C. F. Andrews & G. Mukherjee, *... Rise and Growth of the Congress in I...* (London, 1938), pp. 196-197.

3. *cf.*, Very Rev. W. H. Hutton, *Lord C... zon—The Life and Some Memoirs*, (From: *... 19th Century and After*, July-December, 1... London), pp. 683-698.

4. Sir Henry Cotton's Estimate : *Indian O... nion*, May 26, 1906, p. 337.

5. *cf.*, Sir V. Chirol, *India*, (London, 192... p. 114.

6. *cf.*, Mary, Countess of Minto, *Ind... Minto and Morley*, (London, 1934), p. 50.

7. *cf.*, Andrews and Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, ... 201-202.

8. Earl of Ronaldshay, *The Life of L... Curzon*, Vol. II, (London, 1928), p. 283.

9. A. C. Mazumdar, *Indian National Evo... tion*, (Madras, 1917), p. 202.

10. Earl of Ronaldshay, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

11. Very Rev. W. H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 6...

12. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 202 ... p. 210.

13. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History ... The Indian National Congress*, Vol. I., 1885-19... (Bombay, 1946), p. 67.

14. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

15. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 6...

16. *Speeches*, *op. cit.*, p. 808.

17. Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League*, (Agra 1954), p. 9. "The sum and substance of Mus... politics after the Mutiny of 1857 was an all-... sorbing effort at emphasising the points of diff... rence between the Hindus and the Musalma... maintaining their separate identity, offering staunch resistance to the Congress ideology ... extending a strongly loyal hand to the British Government which was not slow to accept it."

18. Earl of Ronaldshay, *op. cit.*, Chapter XV.

19. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

20. Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, *India's Fight For Freedom*, (Calcutta, 19... p. 3.

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21. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
22. Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
23. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
24. Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
26. P. C. Ray, *The Case Against The Break-up of Bengal*, (Calcutta, 1905), p. B.
27. *Ibid.*, p. B.
28. *Ibid.*, p. D.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. C-D.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. XVII-XVIII.
31. *cf.*, B. Fuller, *India and Liberal Politicians*, (From : *19th Century and After*, Vol. LXVII, 1910, London), pp. 1-13.
32. *The Partition Riddle*, (Calcutta, 1906), p. 4.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
35. P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. XVII-XVIII.
36. Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
39. Lal Bahadur, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
41. C. Y. Chintamani, *Indian Politics Since The Mutiny*, (Allahabad, 1937), p. 65.
42. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
43. Bampfylde Fuller, thinking wishfully of the good (?) the Partition might bring about, pointed out : "A rearrangement on these lines met the wishes of the Mohammedans, who constituted two-thirds of the population of the transferred districts. It was objected to by the Hindu minority, and by their fellow Hindus across the new border, because it offered the Mohammedans some hope of escape from the selfish domination of the Hindu 'literati' who under British protection had crept to power which they could not have won for themselves." (*Vide* : B. Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 13).
44. *cf.*, Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah*, (London, 1954), p. 24. The author observed : that administrative efficiency was reason enough to have two Governors and two provinces, and *vice versa*. Also, the Partition would enhance the social and economic well-being of the Muslims, who would be spared the inquisitions of the wealthy Hindu landlord and money-lender of Calcutta and West Bengal. The Hindus, naturally, did not like Partition. The author went on thus : "The division of the Province led to riots, and antagonism that was never subdued, even when the Act of Partition was annulled."
45. In this context, Bampfylde Fuller's comment is worth noting : "If the Bengali had succeeded in securing the reversal of the partition, a serious display of force would have been needed to demonstrate that the Government of Bengal was to continue under the British auspices. The more efficient administration which the transferred districts have begun to experience is to the advantage of the Hindus as well as of the Mohammedans, and Hindu opposition within these districts has almost ceased." (*Vide* : B. Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 13).
46. Lord Curzon spoke at a meeting in East Bengal that his object in partitioning Bengal was not only to relieve the Bengal administration, but also to create a mahommedan province, where Islam would be predominant and its followers in the ascendancy, and that with this view he had decided to include the two remaining districts of the Dacca Division in his scheme. The Mussalmans of East Bengal headed by the Nawab Salimullah of Dacca saw their opportunity and took the Bait. (*cf.*, A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 207).
47. *cf.*, Earl of Ronaldshay, *op. cit.*, p. 321. Lord Curzon told Sir A. Godley : "I should like to fix the Provincial boundaries for the next generation." Lord Curzon believed "that the interests of human progress were worth the risk of causing some irritation to Bengali feeling." (*cf.*, B. Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 13).
48. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
49. An interesting comment in this context deserves notice : "The plausible cry for administrative efficiency which was raised by the Government was considered by the educated classes as just a slogan to cover the real intention which was not the genuine amelioration of the Muslim conditions, but to set them up in the new province where they would be numerically predominant against the Hindus ; and to strike at the backbone of the national movement in which Bengal had been playing ever since the days of Rammohun the most valuable and creative role of a pioneer and pathfinder." (*Vide* : Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 17).
50. P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. D.
51. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
52. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
53. Earl of Ronaldshay, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXIV.
54. Lal Bahadur, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.
55. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
56. At the Banaras Session of the 21st Indian National Congress, Surendranath Banerjea spoke thus about the Partition : ". . . the shops were closed, the domestic hearth was not lit, food

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was not cooked," while the Government was busy "forging instruments of repression, laying the foundations for the inauguration of a reign of terror . . . . men fortified by such belief in God and Action) and working under such conviction are irresistible and invincible ; there is no danger which they are not ready to brave, no difficulty which they are not prepared to surmount." (Annie Beasant, *How India Wrought For Freedom*, Madras, 1915, pp. 426-427).

Also : *cf.*, Lal Bahadur, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

57. *cf.*, *Speeches*, *op. cit.*, pp. 807-808. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, speaking about the Seditious Meetings Act, in the Supreme Legislative Council, in November, 1907, thus observed : ". . . . Though Lord Curzon's measures affected all India, they fell with special weight on Bengal . . . . conciliate Bengal. By Lord, there is the root of the trouble : with Bengal unconciliated in the matter of Partition there will be no real peace, not only in Bengal but in any other province in India. The whole current of public life in the country is being poisoned by the bitterness engendered in Bengal over this question of Partition." (*Idid.*, p. 267).

58. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, welcoming the delegates observed :

"The Partition of Bengal was followed by Russian methods of Government, with this difference, that the officials who devised them were Englishmen, while the Russian official is at least the countryman of those whom he governs or misgoverns . . . . it was not cowardice that prevented our youngmen from retaliating. It was their respect for law and order—their loyalty to their much reviled leaders that kept them in check." —(Annie Besant, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-443).

The sprit of the day was reflected in the remarks of Sir William Wedderburn, who said :

"Wait we must; what else can we do ? Waiting upon the will of our rulers has been our lot for the last three centuries. We shall certainly wait; but not in meek submission to the will of our rulerss as the decree of an inexorable fate, but with the firm resolve to overcome that fate, and work out our salvation. Our rulers must recognise the new spirit, born, it may be, of the huge blunder of the Partition, vibrating through our hearts, uplifting us to a higher plane of political effort. We are, Sirs, no longer Orientals of the old type, content to grovel under the weight of an overmastering fate, but we are Orientals of the new school, enfranchise by English culture and English influences, revivified by the example of China, Japan, and last, but not the least, of Persia, and as Orientals of the new school we believe that Nations by [illegible] selves are made."—(*Ibid.*, p. 451).

59. Resolution No. VI, moved by [illegible] Khuja Athikulla of Dacca and seconded [illegible] Surendranath Banerjea, read :

"Resolved—That this Congress again re[illegible] its emphatic protest against the Partition [illegible] Bengal, and regrets that the present Governme[illegible] while admitting that there were errors in [illegible] original plan, and that it went wholly and de[illegible] vely against the wishes of the majority of [illegible] people of Bengal, is disposed to look upon it [illegible] a settled fact, in spite of the earnest and persis[illegible] protest of the people, and their manifest [illegible] inclination to accept it as final.

That this Congress, composed of repres[illegible] tatives from all the Provinces of the coun[illegible] desires earnestly to impress upon the Bri[illegible] Parliament and the presnt Liberal Governme[illegible] that it will be not only just but expedient [illegible] reverse or modify the Partition in such a man[illegible] as to keep the entire Bengali speaking comm[illegible] nity under one undivided administration, a[illegible] thus restore contentment to so important [illegible] Province as Bengal."—(Annie Besant, *op. c[illegible]* p. 460).

60. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 6[illegible]

61. *cf.*, Haridas Mukherjee & Uma Mukherje[illegible] *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

* The Nine Jewels of India thus deporte[illegible] were :

Krishna Kumar Mitra, Ashwini Kumar Du[illegible] Shyam Sunder Chuckravarty, Subodh Chandr[illegible] Mullik, Sachindraprasad Bose, Satish Chandr[illegible] Chatterjee, Pulin Behary Das, Manoranjan Guh[illegible] and Bhupesh Chandra Nag.—(*cf.*, A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

62. *cf.*, A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-234.

63. *The Bengalee*, dated March 10, 190[illegible] commented, (p. 6) :

"The popular feeling against articles of foreign make is even stronger in the mafassil than in the metropolis. Manchester piece goods, foreign sugar and Liverpool salt are being boycotted every where. Swadeshi piece goods are now cheap and abundant, and there is not a village in Bengal where handlooms are not at work."

64. Lal Bahadur, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

65. The times were difficult and trying indeed. And, even under such circumstances the people stood firm and determined as ever. "Virtually a war-situation developed. Gone were the days of prayers and petitions. Gone were the days of the complacent belief in British justice and equity. The bureaucracy had shown its [illegible]

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contempt for the people's opinion and had struck its deadly blow by effecting Partition."—(*Vide* : Haridas Mukherjee & Uma Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 81).

66. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

68. *cf.*, John Viscount Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II., (London, 1918), p. 170: Diary-Entry on May 11, 1906.

In the same context, *The Bengalee* put in an interesting comment, on July 26, 1906, p. 3:

"Mr. Morley's inaction in the matter of partition is in entire conflict with his oft repeated principles . . . . Mr. Morley may appoint a Commission to know the real situation about the partition, and cautious as he is, he may act upon the report of such a Commission and the people of Bengal will abide by it."

In an earlier issue, dated July 8, 1906, p. 8, *The Bengalee* had written :

"We see that in reply to Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Morley has declared once more that the partition of Bengal is "a settled fact" . . . . Mr. Morley has admitteed that the Partition was carried out in a hurry in defiance of the protests of the 80 millions of Bengalees. He has admitted that the Partition was effected on lines not the best that should have been followed.... In fact he has condemned the Partition as a folly and a blunder....Surely Mr. Morley does not mean to say that Liberal principles are suitable for adoption only with the four corners of the British Isles !"

69. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

70. Lal Bahadur, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

71. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

72. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

73. A. H. L. Fraser, *The Changes in India*, (From : *19th Century & After*, Vol. XXI, London, 1912), pp. 48-57.

74. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

75. The Indian National Congress, at its annual sessions, repeated its earlier resolutions demanding justice to an aggrieved people, (*cf.*, Annie Besant, *op. cit.*, pp. 390, 412, 436, 460, 486, 504 and 523).

76. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224.

77. It is interesting to note a few comments on Curzonian exploits :

Minto wrote to Morley, on December 20, 1905 :

"I am quite prepared to admire Curzon's abilities and energy, but I think it is only right that you should know the bitter Native feeling he has aroused against him by the Partition of Bengal and his speeches in connection with it."

Minto wrote to Morley, on March 22, 1906: "I always fight shy of Curzonian history." In the same letter, Minto made a mention of a pithy remark by an official :

"Sense and Sensibility" is certainly preferable to "Pride and Prejudice."—(*Vide* : Mary, Countess of Minto, *op. cit.*, p. 49).

Lady Minto wrote to Lord Minto, on April 4, 1907, from London, wherein she recalled Arthur Balfour's aphorism regarding Lord Curzon's tenure in India. Arthur Balfour confided to Morley:

"I made two mistakes while I was Prime Minister. The first I have forgotten, and the second was allowing George Curzon to return to India for a second term."—(*Ibid.*, p. 115).

78. Haridas Mukherjee & Uma Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

79. *cf.*, Lal Bahadur, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

80. Haridas Mukherjee & Uma Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

81. *cf.*, *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

82. *cf.*, Hector Bolitho, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

84. *cf.*, Lal Bahadur, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

85. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

86. *cf.*, Lal Bahadur, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

87. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

88. C. Y. Chintamani, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

89. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

90. A. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 216-217.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220.

94. "In the secrecy of its plan and abruptness of its execution, the partition met the same fate at its entrance and was equally dramatic at its both ends, with this difference that opening with tragic scenes of thrilling interest it ended in a comedy exposing a series of errors productive of the gravest consequences." *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

96. C. Y. Chintamani, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

97. The Indian National Congress, at its 26th Session held at Calcutta, on December 26-28, 1911, resolved :

"That this Congress respectfully begs leave to tender to His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor a humble expression of its profound gratitude for his gracious announcement modifying the Partition of Bengal. The Congress also

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places on record its sense of gratitude to the Government of India for recommending the modification and to the Secretary of State for sanctioning it. In the opinion of this Congress, this administrative measure will have a far-reaching effect in helping forward the policy of conciliation with which the honoured names of Lord Hardings and Lord Crews will ever be associated in the public mind."—(Annie B. *op. cit.*, p. 543).

98. A. H. L. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
99. Hector Bolitho, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

RACIAL TENSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

By KENNETH L. HILL

Ever since the Negroes staged their dramatic portest in Alabama in April, 1963 much has been written in both the United States and foreign press about racial tensions in America. Unfortunately, a good deal of the newspaper coverage is superficial, inaccurate and frequently tends to focus on the dramatic events because of their headline appeal. The many advances made by Negroes in quiet negotiations often go unreported. In fact, the very success of these negotiations often depends on their secrecy and quiet implementation. If these conferences were conducted in public the extremist elements would do their best to obstruct any compromise agreements. The public demands of the Negroes often obscure the fact that progress is being achieved. Negroes are obtaining the right to vote, the right to eat where they like, and the right to travel on an integrated basis. The advances have not been even or consistent but when it is realized that most of these gains date only from 1954, the record of advance is not unimpressive.

The problem of racial tensions in the United States must be viewed within the context of our legal system and political process. The legal justification for segregation was established in the Supreme Court decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896. Dealing with modes of transportation, the Court argued that separate facilities were constitutional provided they were equal. Although this ruling was subsequently criticized by liberals at home and abroad the decision probably accurately reflected public opinion at the time. If a law is to be obeyed in a democracy it must rest upon a concensus of opinion based upon the prevailing morality and mores of the people. The Volstead Act establishing prohibition in the United States was flagrantly disregarded because a sufficient number of people did not think it either illegal or immoral to drink alcoholic beverages when they wished. In 1896, however mistaken, a majority of people did think the Negro to be inferior. This was accepted as a fact by both the intelligent and the unintelligent. Abraham Lincoln, known the world over for his Emancipation Proclamation, also thought the Negro to be inferior. He, and others justifiably, saw no contradiction in opposing both slavery and integration. He was simply a product of his times.

In the 1930's the Supreme Court began to chip away at the separate but equal doctrine which had been effectively used since 1896 to segregate the Negro and perpetuate his status as a second class citizen. The Court did not confine itself to transportation. In 1944, the white primary was declared unconstitutional although Southern leaders proved their ingenuity by creating such subtle devices as the "understanding test" which required Negroes to "correctly interpret an article of the Constitution" which often the Supreme Court itself could not agree on. Where these subtle devices failed the Negro could always be intimidated by the use of terror tactics.

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In 1954 the Supreme Court struck at the very foundation of the Southern social structure by declaring in the case of Brown vs. Board of Education that "separate facilities were inherently unequal," thus unconstitutional. Few decisions of the Supreme Court have produced such conflicting reverberations. The reason for this is that the Court was attempting to establish a new legal and moral framework which threatened the status quo of social relationships. Evidence of this is the racial tension which has grown in intensity so that today it is America's major domestic issue.

To understand the present racial crisis two questions must be asked: (1) Why has the Negro been denied those basic rights contained in our Constitution and first ten Amendments and (2) Why has the Negro rather suddenly and vociferously demanded that he enjoy the exercise of these rgihts. The two questions and their answers are obviously related.

The answer to the first question is often resented by American Negroes and dismissed by foreign observers. The answer is that the Negro did very little to bring to the attention of the average American the injustices he has had to endure since his emancipation in 1863. There were undoubtedly many reasons why the Negro did not complain but his acquiescence in the status quo prevented him from marshalling public opinion, without which the correction of abuses and injustices is impossible. In fact, one could create a somewhat valid analogy by comparing the plight of the Negro and the efforts of labor unions to win recognition. The labor unions obtained the support of the government in the 1930's precisely because they proved, through their ability to get out the vote, that they were a political factor to be reckoned with in an election. It is, after all, totally unrealistic to expect to be given things you have not asked for. The struggle for independence of the Afro-Asian nations is instructive. I am certain that many people are unaware that India worked for independence from the 19th Century. Indian independence was certainly no gift but rather was achieved because of extraordinary sacrifices by the Indian people for a great many years. To argue that India should never have come under the control of the British is really to miss the point. The plight of the Negro is analogous. To say that the Negro should automatically have enjoyed all the rights of Americans is meaningless. As long as man is fallible injustice will exist and must be fought. It is quite significant that even in places like Birmingham, Alabama, the Negroes have won some important gains in the last few months and the outlook for future agreements appears somewhat hopeful.

Why has the Negro since the 1954 decission been more militant in seeking a redress of his grievances? Many factors are involved. His participation in and contributions to the American war effort from 1941 to 1945 and 1950 to 1953 undoubtedly made him more aware of the cherished values for which Americans believed they were fighting. It should be recalled that the development of citizen armies from the time of the Napoleonic war was a significant factor in establishing the bourgeois democracies after 1830. After World War II and the Korean War many Negroes had the opportunity to obtain a college education under the G. I. Bill and these educated Negroes were most articulate in persuading others of their race that the time had come for militant action. The Negro leaders were also influenced by America's claim of moral leadership in the cold war crisis. The paradox of America's moral dilemma became more apparent as the nations of Africa achieved independence. Also, for a variety of reasons, many Negroes began to leave the South and move to other parts of the country, particularly the big cities in the big states which enabled them to exercise what is known as a swing vote that has a decisive impact on America's presidential elections. The Negro in the big cities outside the South was recognized as a political factor by the New Deal but Negro voting power was regional and hence limited.

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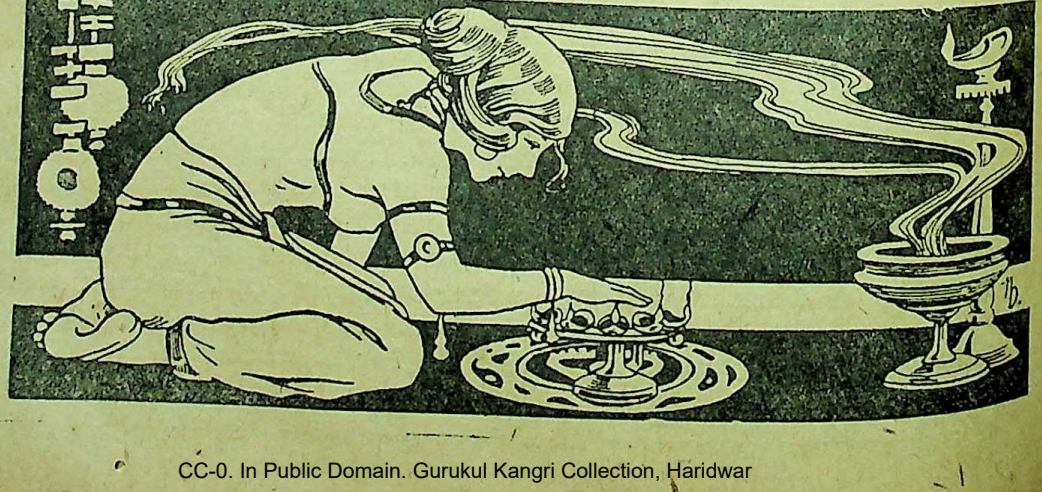
The militancy of the Negro today can also be explained by the cumulative impact of the abuses he has had to endure plus the fact that in any downswing of America's economic cycle the Negro is the first to suffer. His economic opportunities are limited because he is denied political rights. Today the Negro demands encompass both these aspects for, in fact, they are interrelated.

The success of the Negro's efforts to obtain equal rights, although limited, has whetted his appetite. The Negro movement in the South is led and supported by those who would be characterized as middle class. Token integration, which would have been accepted a few years ago as a realistic objective, has today been discarded as inadequate. Differences among Negro leaders is not about goals but means and the time table of operations. Those moderate Negroes who recognize that their goals cannot be immediately realized seek a commitment from the white leadership for the eventual granting of equal rights for all.

Although the Negro has achieved partial success his battle for full equality will last for years and evoke much bitterness. Why are so many white people unwilling to yield? There are a significant number of people who are simply prejudiced and unwilling to admit to the equality of ... But there are others who honestly fe... consequences of integration and the re... for this is to be found in some unple... figures which cannot be ignored. Pr... tionately there are more Negroes in ... than whites, more Negro illegitimate ... ren than white, more Negro drug ad... than white, more Negro juvenile de... ents than white, more Negroes obta... welfare assistance than whites. Prej... against Negroes may help to explain ... of this but prejudice and the concom... denial of equal rights and opportu... does not excuse it. Poverty is not a lic... for immorality. In short, the Negro ha... obligation to do what he can to improve ... own well being, both materially and sp... tually. This would undoubtedly ease ... path toward integration and perhaps ea... the immediacy of the demand. To state ... bluntly and risk being labelled a bigot, ... the middle class Negro seeking escape fr... his fellow Negro? Although I firmly b... lieve in the full equality of the Negro I ... not think his cause is helped by hiding b... hind cliches and easy generalities. T... problem cannot be resolved unless it ... clearly and objectively defined.

Racial tensions in America will contin... but with good-will and intelligence o... Constitutional guarantees of equal rig... for all may yet be realized.



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THE VEDIC SAGE AGASTYA IN MALAYA

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The recent exhibition of Contemporary Paintings from the Federation of Malaya and Singapore—sent by Mr. S. Rajaratnam, Minister for Culture, Singapore, which was opened in Calcutta on the 1st May last by Rai Harendra Nath Rai Chowdhury, our Hon'ble Minister for Education, will help to recall the cultural ties that have existed between India and Malayasia, from very remote times which the present generation is beginning to forget. The name of this limb of Greater India, now known as Malaya Peninsula, is derived from the word "Malava," an ancient Indian tribe, which played an important role in the development and dissemination of Indian culture, principally known from the old culture-seats in Rajputana, famous as **Malava-desa** to which a short reference was made in the writer's article: "New Lights on the Malavas' (**Modern Review,** April 1963). Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sirkar has recently publshed an inscription found in Orissa, which proves that the aitivities of the famous tribe were not confined to Western India, but has stretched across to the Eastern Shores. The Malabar Coast on the south is also associated with this tribe and which may be correctly designated as "Malava-Malaya." For this suggestion there is evidence in numismatic records. For some of the coins of the Malavas bear in the inscribed legend, the form 'Malaya' a variation of the word Malava. Alexander actually refers to them under the title "Malloi" The account of the ancient geographer Ptolemy seems to establish the fact that the Malavas (Malayas) had spread to the Far East before his time. According to Crawford, "in Bastian's Siamese extracts, the foundation of Takkhala (Takka-Kola) is ascribed to the Malayas."

Various scholars (Winstedt, Quaritch Wales and D. R. Singham) have discussed the antiquities of various sites in Malaya and their connection with India, and Indian culture. Kataha (Kodah)—in the vicinity of Perak river (the Kinta)—is an ancient Indian settlement, mentioned in various Chola inscriptions of South India. Nilawantha Sastri has discussed a Tamil inscription at Takuapa, related to one of the later Pallava Kings (Nandivarman III) and has proved the presence at the site of many Tamils, including soldiers and merchants, who founded religious and secular institutions. Of earlier Buddhist vestiges some bronze images of Avalokiteswara (now in the Perak Museum) are of great interest. (**Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology,** Vol. XII, 1937, Plate XII).

But a mild sensation has been evoked by the recent discovery of a bronze statue representing a Brahmin ascetic at a site in Tinkus Valley, Sungei Siput (Perak). This interesting bronze has some affinities with the effigies of the Vedic Sage Agastya, of whom numerous specimens have been discovered at various sites in South India, Java and Ceylon, very fully discussed in my illustrated article: "The Cult of Agastya and the Origin of Indian Colonial Art" (**Journal of the Mythic Society,** January, 1927). It has been proved with the help of some inscriptions that Agastya or some discendant of that Vedic Sage had founded Siva Temples in Java and later on this sage became the subject of a widespread cult under the pictureque title of "Siva-Guru", the 'great preceptor, who taught the worship of Shiva' in Java. He is supposed to have visited Cambodia where he also founded some shrines of Shiva.

But this is the first time that a claim has been put forward of the presence of Agastya in Malaya. In my article, referred to above,—I had already referred to the text of the **Vayu-purana,** which suggests that Agastya had a hermitage at the "Maha-Malaya Hill." "So is Malaya-Dvipa, pretty round in shape, the home of gems and jewels and the repository of gold. There

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stands the auspicious Malaya Mountain, rich in silver, famous as the "Maha-Malaya Hill", full of all varieties of fruits and flowers and inhabited by divine sages, there stands the house of Agastya (**Agastya-Bhabanam**) who is adored by gods as well as by demons."

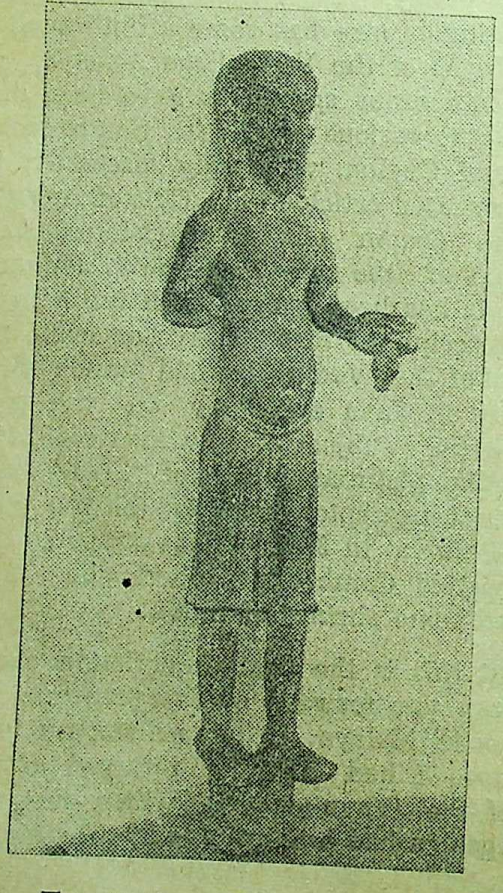
This seems to suggest the existence of a Cult of Agastya in Malaya, as we find it in Java and Cambodia.

The recent find of the bronze image of a Brahmanic ascetic from Perak seems to corroborate such a probability. We reproduce here three photographs of this metal figure (by the kind courtesy of Mr. S. Durai Singham). Sir Richard Winstedt has commented on the find in the following words: "It appears to be that of a Brahmin saint, —a **rishi**,— but the unfortunate loss of the arm (and the emblem held in the hand) makes it impossible to say more. It also appears definitely to be of Indian and not local workmanship."

It is obviously the effigy of a Br... sage, suggested by the holy thread, ... loin cloth, the missing right hand could ... solved the identity, but the vessel h... the left hand—a **kundika**—is one of ... emblems of the image of the sai... proved by several effigies—found in ...

The beard and the ablution vessel ... the only indications that the figure ... represent Agastya. The third character... is the slight obesity of the abdomen. B... all Agastya images, the obesity is very p... **nounced.** The right hand probably held ... (**aksha-mala** (rosary) as in many images ... this sage. In my view, the most deci... mark of Agastya is a high **Jata-Mu...** (Crown of matted locks) present in all ... presentations. The flat head with long loc... running down the back of the head appe... to preclude a **Jata-Mukuta**, an essen... feature of all Agastya images.

Before the Cult of Agastya was ta... to Java, the iconographic characteristics ...



Front view of the bronze

An oblique view

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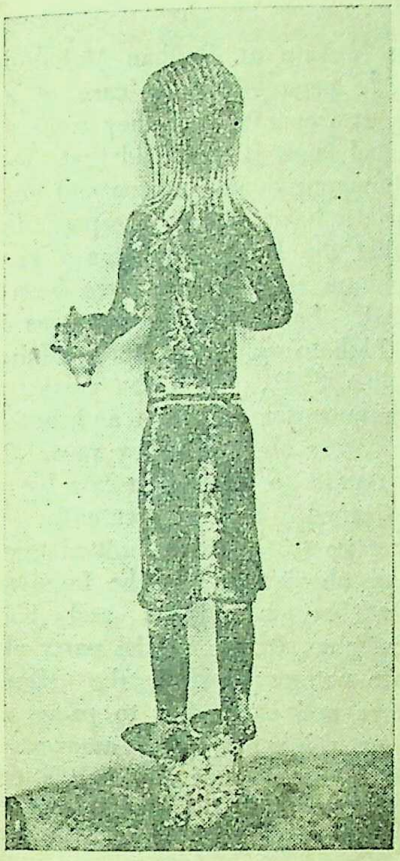
the "Portrait" were definitely fixed, as in the Vedaranya seated metal figure, and, in the standing figure in the niche of the East Gopuram, at Chidamvaram (see Fig. 3 and

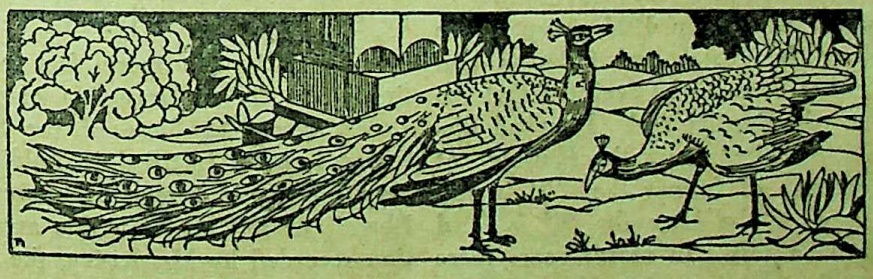


Looked at from the back

Fig. 6, cited in my article). The new find substantially differs from the fixed iconography of the "Portrait" in the absence of the Crown of matted locks and of the pronounced obesity of the abdomen, and of the **Udara-Vanda** (Waist-Band). These points may be met by claiming that this new specimen is "earlier" than all known examples and was executed at a time before it had developed a fixed iconography illustrated in the known specimens. Then there is the question—was the effigy executed in Malaya?—or brought over from South India. It does not agree with the recognized stylistic idiom of the effigies of canonized saints of the South of whom we have numerous specimens, stored in the South Indian and Ceylon temples. If not brought over from India, then it must have been executed by a local Malayan craftsman with no precedents of Indian models before him. Then it could be claimed as an independent formulation without reference to Indian precedents. It may or may not be of a very early date, as it bears no primitive features.

The sage Agastya was associated with Malaya regions as suggested by the text of the Vayu-purana. So that one would expect that a Cult of Agastya could have grown up here, as in Java and Cambodia. But unless similar figures come to light, we cannot at this stage of our knowledge, suppose the existence of an Agastya-Cult in Malaya.

Yet on the basis of this signfiicant piece of evidence we could claim that Brahminism had been planted on the soil of Malaya, an ancient culture area in contact wtih Indian civilization and culture.



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THE KURMI MAHATOS OF MANBHUM

By P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

The Kurmi Mahatos of the old Manbhum district, now split into Purulia district of West Bengal and Dhanbad district of Bihar, are highly Hinduised and almost all of them profess the Hindu religion. They are beginning to claim a better status than they originally seemed to have acquired in the Hindu fold and in point of culture they can be said to be definitely superior to the Santals with whom they might have had some struggle during the ancient past. Mr. Dalton considered them to be akin to the indo-Aryan group of Kurmis in Bihar. In Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal he seemed to have held that they have an Indo-Aryan look. In the original district of Manbhum they were particularly numerous and he notes that they might have had some struggle with the Santals over whom they gained supremacy. Writing later, Mr. Risley found them to be short and of drak complexion and quite distinct from the Kurmis of Bihar. He ascribed to them a Dravidian origin and he had good grounds to do so for they differ anthropometrically very little from the Santals with whom they seem to have lived together for generations in this district. His impression was later confirmed by Dr. Grierson who considered them to be definitely of a Dravidian stock and held that might have had a language of their own which had been replaced by either Bengali or Kurmali, a very corrupt from of Eastern Magadhi with a large sprinkling of Bengali in it. The tribe retained till recent times the Kolarian village system in which the Mahato is the village headman and controls all the village affairs like the *Manjhis* of the Santals.

Mr. Coupland writing in 1911 accepted the view put forward by Risley and Grierson and by and large it has come to be accepted that the Kurmi Mahatos of Purulia and Dhanbad districts were very distinct from the Kurmis of Bihar. In the case of former the 'R' is soft while in the case of the later the 'R' is hard almost verging on a soft. In recent years there have been several cases from Manbhum district where tribal customs were pleaded. The case of Kirtibas Mahato *vs.* Budhan Mahato report... 6 P.L.T. page 604, is a case of a Hin... Mahato. It was said that they were govern... their tribal laws. It was held that the abori... in Chotanagpur denote a race and not a re... It seems to have been accepted by the ... Court that the Kurmi Mahatos were abori... of Manbhum though they have been com... Hinduised. Later this decision was follow... Ganesh Mahato *vs.* Shib Charan Mahato (A.I... 1931 Patna 305). Both the parties to the ... were Chotanagpur Kurmis and both ad... that they were aboriginals by race. The di... was in regard to succession law by which ... were governed. It was eventually held ... where parties to the suit admitted that origi... they were aboriginals but the families had ... sequently become Hindus and had ad... Hindu religion, it was on the party alleging ... they were not governed by the Hindu law ... inheritance and succession to prove any spe... custom or rules prevailing amongst them. ... was, therefore, accepted by such a tribunal ... the High Court that the Kurmi Mahatos of ... area are distinct in race from the Kurmis ... Bihar. Mr. Risley's and Mr. Grierson's rema... have been amply vindicated in these cases. T... fact is further established by the Maha... adherence till the present day to the worship ... *Gramdevata* in the *Jahira* than that in vill... grove closely resembling *Jahirasthan* of ... Santals. Though *Jahira* is not so important ... the Kurmi Mahatos who had been complete... Hinduised as it is to the Santals yet revere... is done to the God residing in the *Jahiras*... by the village priest till this day.

There is one more fact which point ... tinctly to their Dravidian origin. Their l... closely resembles those of the Santals and M... Risley is quite justified in holding that there ... very little to differentiate between a Santal, ... Bhumij or a Mahato in this area. By one tra... tion recorded by Mr. Risley, the Santal consid... the Kurmis as his half brother begotten by ... same father on two mothers and even to ...

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day the orthodox Santals who disdain to take food from any other tribe or Hindu caste will willingly take food cooked by a Kurmi Mahato. Besides, till lately the Bihar contingent of Kurmis referred to the Chotanagpur Kurmis as Kol-Kurmis and in 1931 Mr. Lacey reports that the Superintendent, Purulia Leper Asylum, could not persuade a Kurmi constable from Bihar to take food by the side of a local Kurmi patient. In early 20th century when Risley wrote about the caste he found them to be numerous in the Mayurbhanj and Midnapore and opined that they were like the Santals divided into sub-tribes with definite totems for each of the sub-tribes amongst the Kurmis. At the present day, however, the totemistic origin of the Kurmi *gotras* or sect cannot be traced while the Santal totems can be identified by use of their surname, Soren, Morandi, Hansdak, etc.

In contrast the Kurmis use a common title of Mahato and their original totems, if any, are now practically lost. That the Kurmis had some sort of totem before is gleaned from the fact that the Kurmis pride themselves in having the name of a *Bak*, a bird. With the growing tendency of upgrading themselves into the Hindu fold the Kurmis are shedding their totems along with other essentially tribal traits.

Their efforts in upgrading themselves have been quite successful. In 1872 when Dalton wrote, the Kurmis although Hinduised to a very great extent were not treated as *Jalacharaniva* or a person from whom a higher caste man would take water and drink. This disability is still retained but within narrower limits. The Kurmis of Bihar claim for themselves Kshatriya origin and have started taking the sacred thread. Attempts have been made to encourage inter-dining and inter-marriage between the Kurmis of Bihar and the Kurmis of Chotanagpur. This attempt has not been very successful. Some years back there was a conference of the Kurmis at Ghagrajuri village which was attended by the Kurmis of Manbhum district, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. This was preceded by a meeting of the Kurmis in Muzaffarpur which was attended by three Kurmis from Manbhum district who came back with sacred threads. In spite of a lot of resolutions in both these conferences there have been very few inter-marriages between the Kurmis of Dhanbad and Purulia with their counterparts in Bihar or Uttar Pradesh.

But the impact has been definite on social shifts and the Kurmi women, even of somewhat poor economic incidence, would hesitate now to go to the bazar unchaperoned. Previously there was no such taboo. The Kurmis are now getting more educated and getting into professions. They are also publicly not very anxious to disclose their *gotras* or the sects ending with "ar" such as Korewar, Bunowar, Hastawar, Guliar, etc., which smack of totems. Originally the Kurmis' social organisation was a parallel to the Santal organisation. The Mahato was the Kurmi's headman and the *Deshmandal* a super headman who controlled the Mahatos. There used to be also the *parganait* corresponding to the *parganait* of the Santals. Like their Santal counterpart the Kurmi *parganaits*, Mahatos and *Deshmandals* are fighting a loosing battle owing to the impact of the Gram Panchayats and the Anchals.

The completely Hinduised Kurmi Mahatos of Dhanbad and Purulia districts have not, however, been able to contribute any deity to the higher Hindu pantheon. The *Besaichandi* or *Kudrasiru*, the various *gramdevatas* and the *Mahamai* still remain the indigenous godlings of the Kurmis alone. In this respect they have been unsuccessful as even the Bauris have added their *Mansa Devi* to the higher Hindu pantheon.

The marriage customs of the Kurmis are adopting more and more the rituals and the ceremonies of the higher castes. The Kurmis, however, still have divorce and re-marriage of widows. The general tendency is to adhere to the *Dayabhag* inheritance rules so far as succession is concerned. *Mitakshara* has, however, been claimed in some of the reported cases. It is, however, noteworthy that in very few cases a claim is made that tribal custom is still followed in the area to which a party belongs.

The Kurmis are generally spread all over Purulia district. In Dhanbad district there are heavy concentrations of Kurmis in certain thanas, namely, Belliapur, Jorapokhar, Chandankeari and Chas thanas. The Kurmis of this area are definitely at the cross roads and are under very great strains of human relationships. On the one hand they are torn between different customs among the Kurmis under Bengal influence and those under the Bihar influence and secondly there is an incessant desire to adopt anything which will help in their upgrading and more Hinduisation. They now freely join both *Durga Puja* and *Basanti Puja, Ram Navami* and *Sankirtans*. They, at least

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the older elements, have still regard for their own indigenous institutions and traditions, although many of them may be in conflict with their attempt at Hinduisation. Divorce and widow re-marriage are not liked but allowed to continue. Their feudal affiliations are trying to get adjusted with larger interests as far as possible. The Santals call the Kurmis their elder brother which the Kurmis do not like. The Hinduisation of the Kurmis are putting them in the positi... *Dikkus* (non-tribals) to the Santals. The K... have not yet given up the observance of ... *Karma* festival which is essentially a tribal ... They are very fond of *jhumur* dance and ... observance of *jitia* which have strong tribal ... liations. The educated Kurmis, however, have ... much heart in them and take them as reg... affiliations.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, SIX YEARS AFTER

By The Rev. COLBERT S. CARTWRIGHT,
Pastor, Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, Arkansas

Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1963 stands in marked contrast to the Little Rock of 1957 which made ugly headlines around the world telling of racial disorders.

Today Negro and White pupils attend the same classes in Central High School without incident. Desegregation has spread to other senior high schools and down through junior high schools. Federal troops are no longer needed in the city to protect Negro rights.

Among the factors which have brought about this striking change in a traditionally segregated state of America's Old South are these :

(1). The steady pressure of Federal Court insistence upon desegregated schools, backed by firm enforcement of court decrees.

(2). The fact that Little Rock's reputation for violence dealt a blow to its economic development.

(3). The untiring determination of some Negro members of Little Rock's community to press for non-discriminatory education.

Also of significance has been a growing sense in Little Rock of the moral rights of developing a racially non-discriminatory community.

In 1961, White School Board member Ted Lamb publicly insisted that "it is time we awakened to our moral and legal responsibilities that are a part of participating in and living in the Twentieth Century." He urged the School Board "to rally the forces of Christianity and goodwill in our town to enter into compliance with the Court on a moral basis." He called for voluntary expansion of desegregation in the school sys... Lamb is credited by some observers with spe... heading the movement which led to signific... desegregation of the junior high schools in t... fall of 1961. Despite opposition by a kn... segregationist candidate, Lamb in December 19... was returned by the electorate to a three-ye... term on the Board.

At the Arkansas Art Centre : A white lady teaching a Negro matron how to shape a bow... on the potter's wheel.

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Little Rock Stadium : Negroes and whites enjoying a ball game sitting together

Last winter, Negro students from a local college staged sit-ins at down-town lunch counters. The business community respoded by appointing a committee to negotiate with Negro leaders, who were asked to draft a plan for desegregating down-town Little Rock.

Today, the lunch counters in Little Rock stores belonging to three nationwide companies are open to Negroes. So are the hotels in the Southwest Hotel Chain, as well as some restaurants, all parks, down-town and drive-in movie theatres, public tennis courts and golf courses. "Negroes" and "Whites" signs have been removed from bus and air terminals.

Today in Little Rock several organizations composed of Negro and White citizens are working for better race relations. They meet together in public gatherings without harassment.

One such group is the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, composed of a bi-racial professional staff and counting a membership of almost 400 Negro and White persons. Last January the Council sponsored a public meeting which was addressed by Carl T. Rowan, United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for public affairs. Rowan, a Negro who had a few years before been the object of hostility in Little Rock when reporting the city's racial tensions for a newspaper, spoke to a racially mixed audience of 650 persons. He was introduced by a White member of the city's board of directors who cordially welcomed him to the city.

Another interracial organization is the Committee for Community Unity, a group of 250 persons of both races carrying on discussions of Little Rock's racial problems. A White member expressed the committee's outlook at one of its meetings when he publicly declared racial discrimination to be a "crime against man and God." He said : "We must help our community to see the immorality of our present racial attitudes and actions. . . . . In our desire not to offend our White neighbours we remain an offence to God."

During the past year a professional organization of Christian clergymen in the city for the first time elected a Negro, Dr. Rufus King Young, to be its President.

The bitterness born in the school riots will not disappear quickly. At the end of the 1963 spring term, there were only 69 Negroes among the 7,727 pupils in the formerly all-White system.

However, the old fear is gone. Negroes and Whites know that reasonable and law-abiding men are now working toward harmony. The new temper in Little Rock is reflected in the words of Ozell Sutton, recently quoted in *The New York Times Magazine*. He is a Negro, an associate director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations and a member of the committee meeting with White businessmen. Mr. Sutton spoke from

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experience when h said, "Birmingham is the example of how not to do it. We're far out in front of Birmingham. Here it is slow. . . . But I feel encouraged by the willingness of the White committee members to make these contacts, and to go further and try to persuade others to make the transition. They have their problems, too. We are working together."

An indication of the change of outlook in Little Rock can be seen in Mrs. Adolphine T... a 78-year-old White woman, whose house ... built in days of slavery and which contains ... mementos of that period. She said: "Wh... we like it or not, human slavery and segrega... are dead. We are living through the most exci... time of the world, because the soul of man ev... where is demanding more rights and more re... nition—and, most of all, more human digni...

THOUGHTS ON ANCIENT HINDU IDEAS OF REBIRTH

By Dr. S. K. NANDI

There is an intellectual need to be rid of the notion that we are born by accident. Consequently the basic concept of the doctrine of multi-existence, that the Soul manifests in accordance with law, strongly appeals to our reason. It relieves the soreness of adversity and explains the apparently unmerited good fortune if the conditions into which we are born are determined by our own activities in previous existences. We are where we are and what we are because we require just these conditions for our unfoldment and we are also under the necessity of working out the consequences of past activities.

The *Bhagavad Gita* tells us that the thought, will or desire which is extremely strong during life time, will become predominant at the time of death and will mould the inner nature of the dying person. The newly moulded inner nature will express in a new form. The thouht, will or desire which moulds the inner nature has the power of selecting or attracting such conditions or environments as will help it in its way of manifestation. This process corresponds in some respects to the law of 'natural selection.' The argument that the Vedantists advance in support of the theory of Reincarnation is that 'Nothing is destroyed in the Universe': Destruction in the sense of annihilation of a thing is unknown to the Vedantic Philosophers, just as it is unknown to modern scientists. They say 'non-existence cannot become existence and existence can never become non-existence' or in other words that which did not exist can never exist and conversely that which exists in any form can never become non-existent. This is the law of nature. As such ... impressions or ideas which we now have, toge... with the powers which we possess, will not ... destroyed but will remain with us in some ... or other. Our bodies may change but powe... Karma, Sanskaras or impressions and th... materials which manufactured our bodies ma... remain in us in an unmanifested form. They w... never be destroyed. Again Science tells us th... that which remains in an unmanifested or potenti... state must at some time or other be manifest... in a kinetic or actual form. Therefore we sh... get other bodies, sooner or later. It is for this re... son it is said in the Bhagavad Gita: "Birth m... be followed by death and death must be follow... by birth." Such a continuously recurring series ... of births and deaths each germ of life must g... through. But an objection may be raised again... rebirth on the ground that if we existed before ... our birth why do we not remember? Vedanta ... answers this and other allied questions by hol... ing that it is possible to remember our previous ... existences. We would better recall the 18th ... aphorism of the third Chapter in the "Raja ... Yoga" wherein it is said that by perceiving th... Sanskaras one acquires the knowledge of past ... lives. Here the Sanskaras may mean the impress... sions of the past experience which lie dormant ... in our subliminal self and are never lost. Memory ... is nothing but the awakening and rising of ... latent impressions above the threshold of cons... ciousness. A Raja Yogi, through powerful con... centration upon these dormant impressions ...

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the sub-conscious mind, can remember all the events of his past lives. There have been many instances in India of Yogis who could not only know their own past lives but crrectly tell those of others. It is said that Buddha had remembered five hundred of his previous births. Our subliminal self, or the sub-conscious mind, is the store house of all the impressions that we gather through our experiences, during our life time. They are stored up, pigeon-holed there, in the 'Chitta,' as it is called in Vedanta. 'Chitta' means the same sub-conscious mind or subliminal self which is the storehouse of all impressions and experiences. And there impressions remain latent until favourable conditions rouse them and bring them out on the plane of consciousness. Thus each individual soul possesses this storehouse of previous experiences in the background, in the sub-conscious mind. In the light of this observation we could ask the question: Would love between lovers continue even after death? Vedanta tells us that love would continue; the death of the body will not end the attraction of the attachment of two souls, but as the souls are immortal so their relation will continue forever. The soul is taken to be the centre of energies which require appropriate fields of expression. It would be quite helpful to remember that reincarnation implies both freedom and determinism. We cannot escape the consequences of the matrix of energies and compulsions which result from a long chain of embodiments. On the other hand we are free to use the law to gain liberation.[1] The doctrine of reincarnation further implies that each individual soul is potentially perfect and is gradually unfolding its powers and making them actual through the process of Evolution. At every step of that process it is gaining experiences which last only for a time. Therefore neither God nor Satan is responsible for our good or evil actions. Reincarnation does not teach, as many people think that in the next incarnation, one will begin from the very beginning, but it says that one will start from that point which one reaches before death and will keep the thread of progress unbroken. It does not teach that we go back to animal bodies after death, but that we get our bodies according to our desires, tendencies and powers. Sanatana Dharma makes it plain that the consequences of sin as well as of merit become exhausted, sooner or later, according to the nature of that sin or merit and then soul returns to earth, with sub-and-supra-conscious memories to profit by lessons of past birth and advance or recede in varying degrees on the path of evolution. To the fact of rebirth necessarily attaches the third great truth that, as there is this physical world corresponding to our five senses and waking states, there are other worlds corresponding to subtle senses and other states of consciousness. Through these our souls pass between death and rebirth in this world, even as we pass through dreams between night and day.[2]

Our Vedas tell us that not only may a being be born, live and die and then be born again, live and die, indefinitely within the bounds of a single Universe, but he may also be born again and again into an indefinite series of Universes.

The concept of Usas, the Vedic dawn goddess as found in the Rig Veda is born again and again. The character of Urvasi and her higher form 'Usas' as found in the Vedas may be favourably compared to Ishtar Innanna. She is like 'Usas,' the great mother, an eternal virgin and an hetaera. Both are immortal goddesses, but there is no reference to former Ishtaras as to former 'Usas.' The rebirth of 'Usas' seems to indicate a human representative[3] as rebirth is simply inconceivable as well as unnecessary without death.

Some scholars of late started propagating that Vedas had as their foundation two main tenets, viz., the divine origin and infallibility of the Vedas and the doctrine of rebirth. Swami Dayananda believed in this and on this he differed from the protagonists of the Brahmo Samaj and movement. Thus it may be said that reincarnation was potentially pervading the whole of the Vedas.

The Vedic Aryans were taken to believe that death was not the end of things. Beings who once had been, could never cease to be. They must exist somewhere, perhaps in the realm of the setting sun where Yama rules. The imagination of man with his shuddering fear of death had not yet made Yama into a terrible Lord of vengeance. Yama and Yami are the first mortals who entered the other world to lord over it. When the body is thrown off, the soul becomes endowed with a shining spiritual form and goes to the abode of Gods where

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Yama and the fathers live immortal. The dead are supposed to get to this paradise by passing over water and a bridge.[4] The departed souls dwell in heaven revelling with Yama. They there live an existence like those of ours. The joys of heaven are those of earth perfected and brightened. "These bright things are the portion of those who bestow largeness; there are suns for them in heaven; they attain immortality; they prolong their lives."[5] Stress is sometimes laid on the sensuous character in the Vedic picture of future life. But as Devsen observes : 'Even Jesus represents the kingdom of heaven as a festal gathering where they sit down to table and drink wine and even a Dante or a Milton could not choose but borrow all the colour for their pictures from this world of earth." The gods are supposed to become immortal through the power of Soma. To become like gods is the goal of our endeavour. The blessed gods live for ever. We are childern of a day. The Gods have happiness in heaven above where Yama rules; we have misery for our lot on earth. We may gain immortality by worshipping the Gods. There are indication that the Vedic Aryan believed in the possibility of meeting his ancestors after his death.[6] Now the question may be asked as to what happens to us after death if we are not righteous. Is there a hell corresponding to a heaven, a separate place for the morally guilty, the heretics, who do not believe in Gods? If the heaven is only for the pious and the good, then the evil-minded cannot be extinguished at death nor can they reach heaven. So a hell is necessary. We find the Vedas describing Varuna as thrusting the evil-doers down into the dark abyss from which he never returns. Indra is prayed to consign to the lower darkness the man who injures his worshipped. It seems to be the destiny of the wicked to fall into this dark de... disappear. We do not as yet get the ... mythology of hell and its horrors of ... Puranas, Heaven for the righteous and ... the wicked is the rule. Reward follows ... ousness and punishment misconduct. H... Dr. Radhakrishnan differs from Deussen ... explaining the concept of rebirth in the ... Dr. Radhakrishnan writes :[8] I do not think ... the joyless regions veiled in blind darkness ... which the ignorant pass after death are ... the world in which we live, though ... Professor Deussen's view. We have no ... as yet of Sansara or even gradation of happ... There is a passage in the Rg. Veda ... reads:[9] "After he has completed what he ... do and has become old he departs ... departing hence he is once again born; ... the third birth." This has reference to the ... theory that every man has three births: the ... as a child, the second by spiritual educ... and the third after death. Herein we meet ... the belief in the soul as a moving life prin... But here it may be noted that reincarnation ... rebirth in the modern sense of the term was ... found in the Vedas. They had their own pe... suggestions from which we in modern ti... tried to rear up a theory, round and whole

1. *Myth & Reality* by Prof. D. D. Kosa...
2. Introduction to *the cultural Heritage ... India* by Dr. Bhagavan Das.
3. *The Philosophy of the Upanisads*, p. ...
4. Rg. Veda, X.6.10; ix. col. 2.
5. Rg. Veda, i. 25. 6.
6. *The Philosophy of the Upanisads*, p. ...
7. Rg. Veda, i.24.1; vil 56.24.
8. X.132.4; iv.5.5; ix. 73.8.x, 152.4
9. *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1., p. 115.
10. iv. 27.1.

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THE FOUNDATION OF THE INDIAN BISHOPRIC

By NISITH RANJAN RAY

In a letter dated November 22, 1617, Joseph Salbank, one of the oldest English factors in India, made a passionate plea to the Company asking for the despatch of preachers and ministers so that they could "break" into the English residents in India "the blessed manna of the Heavenly Gospel."[1] For many years the authorities, being primarily concerned with trade and profit, were content to send chaplains with instruction to exclusively look after the spiritual welfare of the factors and residents. The idea of "instructing the Gentoos in the protestant religion" found first expression in the charter granted to the Second East India Company in 1698. By these 'Gentoos' were meant "the servants and slaves of the company." In 1700, the Directors communicated to their agents in India a form of prayer containing the following supplication—"that we, adorning the gospel of our Lord and Saviour in all Things, these Indian nations among whom we dwell, beholding our good works may be won over to love our most holy religion and glorify thee, our Father which art in Heaven." The clause in the character however remained a dead letter and it was not till after Plassey that Protestant missions were commenced in Bengal under the auspices of the Danish Missionary Board. J. F. Kiernander, the first European Protestant Missionary in Bengal, stayed at his post for 28 years from 1758 and the Company's government placed no obstacles in his way. But by the time Carey arrived in 1793 the policy of the Government had changed towards the missionaries. As early as 1781 Mr. Verelest, formerly Governor of Bengal, in his evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, in forceful words, warned the authorities of the danger of interfering in the religious rites and beliefs of the Indians. As Wylie writes[2], "not an individual in India, nor indeed in England who had the opportunity of local observation or the access to Oriental history differed from Mr. Verelest in opinion." The committee thereupon unanimously gave the opinion that any interference with the religion of the natives would eventually insure the total destruction of British power. Since then the authorities began to put every obstacle to missionary activities and deported them back to England on their landing. By the Regulations of 1793 the Governor-General in Council promised to "preserve the laws of the Shaster and the Koran and to protect the natives of India in the free exercise of their religion." Among many non-officials in India and at home too, there were many who clearly held the view that the best policy for the Government would be the policy of non-intervention even to the extent of putting a ban on the entry and work of the missionaries in British-occupied territories. This policy was responsible for diverting in 1799, the famous Baptist missionaries to the Dutch Settlement at Serampore from Calcutta where they had originally intended to settle and serve.

At about the same-time several persons engaged in authorised evangelical work in India became convinced of the need of augmenting the number of Indian Chaplains and of subjecting the whole body to the authority of a Bishop or group of Bishops with a primate at their head. Claudius Buchanan, Chaplain of Bengal since 1797 and destined in later years to be appointed by Lord Wellesley as Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal, wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury stating that "An Archbishop is wanted for India; a sacred and exalted character, surrounded by his bishops, of ample revenues and extensive sway; a venerable personage, whose name shall be greater than that of the transitory governors of the land; and whose fame for piety

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and for the will and power to do good, may pass throughout every regions."[3] Few people, except the missionaries, both at home and in India, seemed to take Buchanan seriously. At any rate the authorities refused to be influenced. The question of setting up a bishopric was invariably mixed up with the political and military situation then prevalent. The policy of the Government towards the missionaries reflects the influence of the much-publicized British policy of neutrality in religious and social matters. It was also moulded by political considerations such as the danger of antagonising opinion in India at a time when the loss of America still rankled in the minds of the average Englishman and a great and furious war was being fought against France on the continent. Even then Lord Wellesley took the bold step of not only appointing Carey as teacher of languages in the Fort William College but of personally subscribing £800 to the building of a church at Serampore, subsidising the translation of the Christian Scriptures into Indian languages to give the learned natives access to the sacred fountain of divine truth' He thought, as he said, "a Christian Governor could not have done less and knew that a British Governor ought not to do more."

The outbreak of the Vellore Mutiny (1806) pursuaded the authorities to review their position and policy with regard to their previous proclamation of neutrality in religious and social matters. Though there was no apparent connection between this mutiny or the rebellion in Travancore that followed and any missionary activities—the Madras authorities stated that "malicious reports had been current that it was the wish of the British Government to convert the people of the country to Christianity by forcible means."[4] Both Mill and Thornton have drawn attention to circular letters in which Velu Tampi, the instigator of the Travancore rising, called upon the neighbouring Rajas "to defend caste and Hindn religion" and expressed "violent apprehension of the extension of the Christian faith." The rising was by no means a protest against missionary activities and the cry of the religious sentiments of the Indian people religion in danger was meant to ... merely as a convenient slogan. But ... event strengthened the hands of the ... tralists. In a despatch dated December ... 1808, addressed to Lord Minto, the Court ... Directors proclaimed :

"It will be your bounden duty vigilantly ... to guard the public tranquility from ... ruption and impress upon the minds ... all inhabitants of India that British ... upon which they rely for the free exercise ... of their religion will be inviolably maintained."

Minto acted upto these directives and ... his successor the Marquess of Hastings ... continued to give effect to them. When ... Rev. John Chamberlain, a Baptist Missionary, was expelled from India on account ... preaching at a great mela at Hardwar ... and complained about it to the supreme ... British authority in the country, the Marquess of Hastings coolly replied "One might ... fire a pistol into a magazine, and it might ... not explode, but no wise man could hazard ... the experiment."[5] Writing in 1812, on ... arrival at Calcutta, Chaplain Fisher gave his ... impression of the general feeling in India in ... the following words :

"The opinion was general even among ... many of the most enlightened British officials in the country that there could be no ... more dangerous means of estranging the ... hearts of the people from the government ... and no surer way of endangering the stability of the English rule than by attempting ... to meddle with the religious concerns of the ... Hindus, however prudently and carefully ... one might set to work."[6]

But while the Government felt justified ... in adhering to the policy proclaimed in 1793 ... a strong under-current of opinion was being ... gradually formed that the demand for augmentation of missionaries and the setting ... up of an Episcopate need be sympathetically ... considered. A fairly considerable number ... of persons now felt that the strengthening ... of the missionary staff would not run counter to the policy proclaimed earlier and that ... the proposal to set up a proper organisation ... for the guidance of Anglican preachers ... could not be interpreted as meddling with

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As the Charter of 1793 was about to expire in 1813, controversy was renewed with greater vigour on the subject of the proposed extension of the church establishment in India. Many were disposed to mix it up with the desire to seek mass converts to Christianity. On March 22, 1813 the House of Commons went into committee on the proposed renewal of the Charter. From the questions put by the committee to persons called upon to give evidence, it would appear that quite a number of committee members were unable to distinguish the proposed extension of the church establishment from the issue of seeking converts in India. Many of them contended that the real question was not whether the people of India should continue to enjoy complete religious toleration, but whether the toleration should be extended to the preachers of the Gospel. In his evidence before the committee Lord Teignmouth, with years of experience of India and her people at his disposal, expressed the unequivocal opinion that if missionaries were permitted to preach publicly, no one would contemplate the conversions of the natives of India by such means but at the same time warned that "if a law were to be enacted for converting the natives of India to Christianity, in such a manner as to have the appearance of a compulsory law upon their consciences, I have no hesitation in saying that in that case, it would be attended with very great danger."[7]

In the circumstances it is understandable that the bill of 1813 was split into two distinct clauses and that Castlereagh, its sponsor, should have been most apologetic in his speech and said that "he hoped that the House did not think that he was coming out with a great ecclesastical establishment, for it would only amount to one bishop and three archdeacons to superintend the Chaplains of different settlements." On June 17, 1813 the House adopted without a division the resolution to the effect that "the Church establishment in the British territories should be placed under the superintendence of a bishop and three archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance."

The other clause, known as the Pious or Missionary clause, gave rise to heated discussions till by a majority of 22 Votes in a house in which 100 members chose not to participate in voting, it was resolved that "it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs." It is significant that the resolution contained no direct mention of missionaries and Christianity.

In pursuance of the Act His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on behalf of His Majesty, issued Letters Patent to the Governor-General in Council on May 2, 1814 and the latter, as required by the Letters Patent, issued a notification announcing the appointment of Thomas Fanshaw Middleton as Bishop of India, Ceylon and Australia proclaming that "the Right Hon'ble Governor-General in Council is pleased hereby to declare and express, that the general control over all clergymen of the United Church of England and Ireland attached to the several presidencies in India, in spiritual matters, is transferred to the Lord Bishop: and that all such clergymen, throughout the Diocese of the Lord Bishop are hereby directed and ordered to take notice of and conform to the same accordingly."*

It might appear curious, though perhaps understandable, that the first Bishop was consecrated privately in Lambeth Palace on May 8, 1814 and care was taken not to publish any sermon. Strict secrecy was maintained with regard to his voyage and landing and in his own words, his arrival on

*The Jurisdiction extended over Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Colombo, Sydney, Melbourne; New Castle, Adelaide, Perth, Tasmania, New-Zealand, Whaipu (New Zealand) Wellington. Nelson, Christ Church and Brisbane. (*The Life of the Rt. Rev. Daniel Wilson.* Vol. I. P. 313).

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November 28, 1814 "was without any eclat, for fear of alarming th prejudices of the natives." Dr. Middleton, the only Anglican Bishop at this time east of Suez, was a classfellow of S. T. Coleridge and Charles Lamb It is interesting to note that in his reminiscences Lamb describes him as "a scholar and a gentleman in his teens, whose manner at School was firm but mild and unassuming." He maintained and improved these qualities in later years. On arrival in India, the Bishop understood his position and duties well. He was convinced that the first duty of the Anglican Church was to bring the European inhabitants under its influence and to set up a high standard of moral and religious life. As his biograper writes, "There is one erroneous view of the episcopal office in India which needs correction, and the prevalence of which in the East was a source of constant embarrasment to Bishop Middleton. It is not unusual to imagine that the president of our Asiatic Church is chiefly to be regarded as a sort of 'head missionary' and that his principal duty is to encourage and keep alive the work of conversion among the natives. To this view of his office Bishop Middleton most firmly and justly opposed himself in the very outset of his administration. The primary object for which he came out was to govern an Established Christian Church, and he conceived that his situation and authority would have undergone no essential change, even if the design of spreading the Gospel among the Hindus had been abandoned without exception. He was uniformly anxious to keep the duties of the clergy and those of the missionaries separate from each other."[8] Bishop Middleton represented the evangelical humanism of his age, but was hardly prepared to carry it as far as Radical interventionists would like it to spread. It is no small satisfaction that the first Bishop of Calcutta won the greatest applause of Raja Ram Mohan Ray, the most eminent personality in Bengal at the be ning of the 19th century. It is of in to note that the Raja, paying his tribu the Bishop on his death, wrote in columns of the **Calcutta Journal**:[9]

"The demise on the 18th of July, of a pe of high rank and dignity, a supporte the doctrine of the glorious Trinity, an a in the principles of pure religion, the ch of the priests of Hindoostan, the gre among the learned of high station, one unequalled celebrity, Thomas Fan Middleton, the Bishop of Calcutta, has cited the surprise of the world. He in was possessed, in a complete degree, of knowledge of many useful sciences, espe ally of the Greek language and learn He zealously endeavoured to preserve degree of rank and was devoted to the exe cise of care. Having been relieved from distress and anxieties of this uncerta world, he now reposes in the bosom of mercy of God the Father, God the Son a God the Holy Ghost." The words refle the height of esteem in which the fi Bishop of India was held by the greate Indian of his age.

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1. Quoted in *The Administration of the Ea India Company* : J. W. Kaye, p. 627.
2. M. Wylie, *Bengal as a Field of Mission* p. 145.
3. Quoted in *The Administration of the Ea India Company* : J. W. Kaye, p. 634.
4. Quoted in *Civil Disturbances in India* 1765-1857, S. B. Chaudhuri, p. 135-136.
5. Quoted in *A History of Missions in India*, J. Ritcher, p. 131.
6. *Ibid*, p. 131-132.
7. Footnote p. 641, J. K. Waye. *The Ad ministration of East India Company*.
8. Quoted in *Handbooks of English Church Expansion* : North India, by C. F. Andrews, p. 15-16.
9. *Calcutta Journal*, dated July 13, 182 and quoted in *Samvadpatre Sekaler Katha*, Ed. B N. Banerjee, Vol. I. p. 469-470.

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PLANNING AND THE RULE OF LAW

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It is a matter of common knowledge that in the present day the functions of the state are far more extensive and numerous than in the nineteenth century when **laissez faire** philosophy was staunchly advocated and faithfully practised. The tendency towards increasing public control over a growing range of social and economic conditions has become a universal phenomenon. National economic planning is but a manifestation of it. A decade or two ago it was a widely debated question whether a central economic plan is compatible with individual freedom. Although the question is no longer in the fore for the simple reason that planning has become inevitable under contemporary stresses and strains, it is nevertheless worth further consideration. This paper examines how far modern planning is consistent with the commonly accepted legal rights of the individual implied in the concept of the rule of law.

I

Though essentially legal in nature and content, the idea of limiting the power of the state by the rule of law was the product of political thought. Towards the end of the 18th century the entire political thought which till then preached ruthlessly and uncompromisingly in the writings of Hobbes, Bodin and others, the doctrine of absolute state sovereignty switched over to a substantiation of the growing surge of liberalism. Locke interpreted social contract in a sense radically different from Hobbes and asserted certain natural rights of life, liberty and property. This development started by him was carried further by the theories of Rousseau and Paine and embodied in the American Constitution. In the nineteenth century, this rising trend of liberalism resulted in the development of the idea of the rule of law, whereby the individual rights are guaranteed by the state.

The rule of law is thus a product of liberalism and individualism. It is a principle of compromise between the struggle of man for a law which is impartial and the desire of those who hold power to use the law as an instrument of domination. The individual is guaranteed by it certain rights against the state by making both the state and individual equally subjec to the impersonal authority of the law. As the great Pitt said, "where law ends, tyranny begins." So long as there is a common control over both the state and the individual either of them cannot dominate the other's leigtimate sphere of activity.

In a sense the rule of law is a vague idea. But because it is essentially a democratic ideal, it is possible to trace the basic tenets which constitute it in a democratic state. There are, thus, at least three principles which are cardinal to the rule of law. The first of these is the recognition of certain fundamental rights of the individual including the freedoms of person, contract, labour, association, property and enterprise. It is these freedoms of the individual that have to be guarded against any encroachment by those who are at the helm of the administration, acting on behalf of the state. The other two principles of the rule of law, therefore, provide safeguards against any encroachment on these fundamental rights of the individual.

Freedom for everybody to do what he wants does not by itself provide the necessary opportunity for every one to enjoy it. As Hobhouse remarked, "liberty without equality is the name of noble sound and squalid result." It is only the recognition of the equality of individuals that opens equal opportunity to all. The rule of law therefore invariably implies that all are equal in the eys of the law without any discrimination. This makes the creation of

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privileged classes, either through the instrument of the law itself or by attributing to them divine rights or inspired leadership, repugnant to it. However, certain natural inequalities, such as the differences between infants and adults, or lunatics and sane persons, cannot be ignored.

Mere recognition of individual equality cannot by itself safeguard the rights of the individual. Unless every person is made responsible for his acts and punished whenever he transgressed on others' rights, the fundamental rights cannot be adequately fenced. Equal individual responsibility therefore is the third criterion of the rule of law. The democratic conception of the rule of law thus balances individual equality with equal individual responsibility.

The mechanism by which the basic principles of the rule of law are made to operate varies from system to system. In the absence of a superior enforcing authority, the rule of law is generally guaranteed through the separation of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government so as to check each other, and an independent judiciary to protect the individual's rights. This may be embodied in a written constitution, or established through customs and conventions, as in England, by subjecting the government and the governed alike to the same rule of common law administered by courts.

II

Is central economic planning compatible with the rule of law?

Planning, as defined by one writer, is "a conscious and deliberate choice by the representatives of the community of the use to which our economic resources shall be put." It involves state interference in the economic affairs of the individuals. This interference may be anything between zero and hundred per cent, the latter limit implying state ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange. The means of achieving the chosen ends can be selected from a wide range of alternatives. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between the effect of the fact of planning and the method of planning on the rule of law. Any undesirable interference with the of law arising out of the method a can be avoided by changing it. What matters is how far the fact of planni fringes the rule of law.

It is the contention of the anti-pla that planning and the rule of law are i sistent. Planning requires the framin rules affecting particular individuals situations as and when the need a instead of a permanent framework of consisting of formal rules within which economic activity is guided by indivi decisions. It therefore implies a metho official action which makes it impossible the individual to foresee what may hap to him. The rule of law which binds cial actions within definite limits is viti by it. But this argument centres round illusory assumption of foreseeability in unplanned economic system. The pres generation is too well aware of the ca trophic consequences of unbridled indivi alism. The uneven progress of an indivi alistic economy, marked by scars of de depressions and the resulting misery a misfortune, are very much experienced it. All this has come to be attributed the high degree of uncertainty in an indi dualistic economy. In a planned econo this uncertainty in individual action is placed by unforeseeability in official acti With that the evils of uncontrolled indi dualism are also dissolved. No new amount uncertainty is brought into existence. The is only a shift of the existing uncertain from the private to the public sphere.

In spite of the inevitable arbitrarines of administrative action in a planned socie there is no reason why the principles individual equality and equal individu responsibility should not exist in it. The is no conceivable connection between ec nomic planning and these judicial righ However, the success of planning depend among other things, on the promptness wi which decisions are taken and implemente Tardy adjudication of disputes between th state and the individual clog the plan pro cess and make it impossible to implem the plan smoothly and uniformly. The

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establishment of administrative tribunals for dealing with tax disputes, labour disputes, etc., is a natural concomittant of planning. The civil court serves only as a last resort after all the other remedies are exhausted. But even in an unplanned society the need for a separate system of justice for bona fide official actions—la droit administratif—has been recognised. If the modern society, with its complex processes, is to function smoothly, official acts must be exempted from the application of the principles of individual equality and responsibility, so long as the personal prejudices of the officer concerned do not enter into the picture. What planning requires is merely a continuance of this exemption without any more abuse of the rule of law.

It is the principle of individual freedom underlying the rule of law that is affected by planning. As stated earlier, there are certain freedoms of the individual whose existence is pre-supposed by the rule of law. In the strict traditional sense the rule of law implied the unlimited freedom of the individual, including the freedom of person, property, contract, enterprise, etc., vis-a-vis the state. Some of these freedoms, at least, need amendment if a plan is to be executed. The planned allocation of resources through a system of licences, controls and inducements impinges on the economic freedoms of the individual.

It is sometimes argued that though actions of the government in a planned society can be legal in a juristic sense, there can be no rule of law. There is no doubt that social justice is no legalistic justice but justice, pure and simple. Indeed, mere legal equality has very little content without economic equality. Even a modicum of economic equality cannot be attained without some degree of public control of the means of production. Equality of civic rights is an illusion, where property qualifications either directly or indirectly govern its exercise. The difference between public interference with private interests, and private interference, is that the former is subject to legal and political control while the latter to only legal control, and legal rights not backed by property and wealth have very little real, practical significance.

The legal institutions, like all other institutions, take their main character from the socio-economic system. Where the latter operates inequitously, the law also operates inequitously. After all, all law is administered by man, and the most objective principle of law becomes tainted by the purposes of those who administer it. Those who dominate the state at any given time naturally equate public welfare with their conception of good and this conception is inextricably interwoven with the preservation of their power. The traditional legal basis of capitalist society treats private property rights as sacrosanct. On the other hand, in a communist society, crime and punishment are so defined as to maintain the authority of the communist party. No single system of law is the embodiment of perfect reason and justice. Those who criticise any system of law as incompatible with the principles of the rule of law in its traditional form, and hence as a system of injustice rather than justice, start from fixed ideologies.

The finality of any legal system as "the beginning of wisdom and the eternal jural order" is open to challenge. Law is a means, not an end. It is the social technique to achieve the end of a just life between human beings. As the social conditions change, law also changes. In a rural economy, uncomplicated by conditions of extreme inequality, with people widely scattered, there is little need or opportunity for government interference. With the extension of industry and the realization of the dangers of unregulated capitalism, the need for government interference has become apparent.

In fact it has been long recognised that unlimited economic freedom for individuals is detrimental to the economy itself. For instance, it is by now widely accepted that for industries the demand for whose products is inelastic, the principle of individual freedom of enterprise has to be sacrificed to the overriding value of just distribution of basic necessities through public ownership, management or control. The principles laid down by the House of Lords in England in the **Moghul Steamship Company v. Macgre-**

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gor (1882 A.C. 25), making it possible for an economically strong combine to destroy the legitimate business of a competitor, are no longer accepted unequivocally even in England. The doctrine of common employment propounded by Lord Abinger in **Priestley v. Fowler** (1857 E.R. 1030) has been so modified by later decisions that the original theory is thoroughly changed. The stand of the Supreme Court of the United States for many years to admit the constitutionality of a legal minimum wage on the ground that it is a violation of contract was ultimately given up. All these are examples where, in the interests of real justice, the interpretation of individual liberty and freedom has been changed. Similarly, Dicey's contention that "the rule of law....excludes the idea of any exemption of officials or others from the duty of obedience to the law which governs other citizens or from the jurisdiction of ordinary tribunals" has been rejected by many constitutional juristis on grounds of expediency in the modern complex social organisation. The legal framework which a planned economy requires therefore is in consonance with this trend.

"To attempt to return to pure **laissez-faire,**" as one writer observed, "is really rejection of the whole trend of modern civilization." The crucial role of planning is so apparent today that it barely needs any iteration. It is the concept of the rule law which should be modified to fit into new picture of society. The recognition individual personality whose development is protected by individual rights can exist. But a distinction has to be made tween the rights which protect the essen personal faculties and spiritual values, those which protect the material condition existence. Rights of the first category are most essential, whereas those of the secon rank lower and are subject to changing co ditions of society. Thus the freedoms of wo ship and thought are of a higher order th the freedom of property. Economic planni at the most only requires a limitation of th materialist freedoms of the individual an a quickening of the process of justice in th interests of the entire community.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF KEATSIAN IMAGERY

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A detailed analysis of Keats's imagery—so essential to appreciating his genius—reveals his amazingly quick and steadily progressive mastery of this important element of poetic expression. The originality and freshness, the intensity and vitality, the evocative power and organic quality of Keats's imagery draw, more than anything else, the attention of his understanding readers. Herein perhaps lies his chief distinction as a poet and it is in this respect that he rivals Shakespeare. Aristotle remarked : "The greatest thing by far is to have a command of metaphor. This alone cannot be imparted by another, it is the mark of genius." Herbert Read in our own time seems to be echoing Aristotle when he says : "We should always be prepared to judge a poet by the force and originality of metaphors." Keats's metaphors even in his earliest poetry strike us by their freshness and concreteness. They are not borrowed or second hand like the images of Gray and they are conspicuosly free from the elusive ideality of the Shelleyan imagery. Keats's images are born of direct personal observation and impress us by their sharp concreteness. Even in the first poem in the volume of 1817—*I stood tip-toe upon a little hill*—we come across images which have the spark of life in them and are remarkably fresh and personal as in the following lines:

> Here are sweet peas, on tip-toe for a flight :
> With wings of gentle flush o'er delicate white,
> And taper fingers catching at all things,
> To bind them all about with tiny rings.

Every thing here is visualized, definite and concrete. The excitement of desired flight is, for instance, suggested by the significant expression "tip-toe", while the soft touch of redness on the principal white colour calling up the picture of a bashful maiden of white complexion is indicated by the phrase "gentle flush of red o'er delicate white". Similarly the thinning ends of peas eager to clasp and entwine all things near about are represented as "taper-fingers". It is pure visual evocation, whatever else it may or may not be.

But while we appreciate the individuality and freshness of Keats's early imagery we cannot be blind to its weakness. His boyish enthusiasm, his overflowing exuberance, make him express a single idea in a profusion of pictures. The images are loosely connected. One image does not grow into another and all do not impress us as an organic whole. We get an abundance of pictures but there is no unifying force behind them. Let us consider, the following lovely passage from *Sleep and Poetry* where Keats speaks of the transitoriness of life:

> Stop here and consider ! life is but a day,
> A fragile dew drop on its perilous way
> From a tree's summit; a poor Indian's sleep
> While his boat hastens to the monstrous steep
> Of Montmorenci. Why so sad a moan ?
> Life is the rose's hope while yet unblown;
> The reading of an ever-changing tale;
> The light uplifting of a maiden's veil;
> A pigeon tumbling in clear summer air
> A laughing school boy, without grief or care,
> Riding the springy branches of an elm.

Here is a plethora of pictures. Though each image is lovely, the co-ordinating impulse behind them is too weak to bind them together into one living whole. There is obviously no logical connection between 'a fragile dew drop', 'a poor Indian's sleep', 'the hope of the unblown rose', and the four other pretty similes that follow in quick succession. There is prettiness but not much of depth. It is clearly a product of Keats's undisciplined genius. One is naturally reminded of the following famous passage in *Macbeth* where the tragic hero bursts forth in supreme despondency and anguish of his soul :

> Out, out brief candle !
> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
> And then is heard no more ; it is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.

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Here one image logically suggests another and they are all interwoven into a living pattern. The image of 'light' in 'lighted fools' in the line preceding this extract logically leads on to the imagery of 'brief candle', which in its turn suggests the image of 'shadow' and interwoven with them is the image of 'a poor player that struts and frets his hour on the stage' which reaches its culmination in the imagery of 'a tale told by an idiot signifying nothing'. No doubt it is unfair to compare a passage from the early work of a poet with some of the maturest lines in Shakespeare, but it brings out clearly the chief defects of Keats's early imagery.

We should not however, forget here that wonderful sonnet which Keats wrote at about the same time—*On First Looking into Chapman's Homer*. Mr. Middleton Murry has shown how the poem is a perfect whole—one single and complex metaphor, as intricate as it is clear'. The organic structure of the sonnet proves that Keats does not always luxuriate in imagery for its own sake but can control himself when need be.

But the hope raised by this sonnet about Keats's capacity for controlling himself is temporarily belied by his next published work *Endymion*. Here again is a bewildering medley of images in the descriptive passages which speaks of an ungoverned imagination. Keats himself admitted that when he wrote *Endymion* his mind was like 'a pack of scattered cards'.

It is in a few stanzas of *Isabella* that Keats shows for the first time his capacity for being economical and precise. His style gains in suggestive power and occasionally shows some strength as well. As an instance of this we may refer to his description of *Isabella* immediately before she started digging the earth in search of Lorenzo's mutilated body :

She gaz'd into the fresh-thrown mould, as though
One glance did fully all its secrets tell ;
Clearly she saw, as other eyes would know
Pale limbs at bottom of a crystal well ;
Upon the murderous spot she seem'd to grow
Like to a native lily of the dell :

Here the image of the lily not only brings out the fixed posture and purpose of the girl and symbolises her personal chastity and the purity of her love but, what is more notable, by its sheer beauty relieves the sense of horror inherent in the scene. Keats here shows the power of a great artist—that of wringing beauty out of the h... ugliness and, pain of life. But the poem do... show a uniform level of artistic excellence... beauties of *Isabella* are occasional and spora...

When we next pass on to *Hyperion*, we... that Keats is no longer a lover of 'soft luxuri... has by this time realized the chief weakness... his early style—its mellifluousness and mawk... ness, its imprecision of diction and looseness... structure. He therefore tries to shake off t... defects by writing in the superb weighty m... of Milton. He chooses a subject grand and ... inspiring and carefully selects images suited... the elevated theme. Miss Elizabeth Holmes ... said at one place : "In this knowledge of prop... tion lies the essential character of great image... which till it embodies fitting conception is ... great. but like that giant's robe upon a dwarf ... which one of the speakers in *Macbeth* compare... the usurper's empty title". The imagery of *Hyp... ion* has this hall-mark of superbness—'this esse... tial character of great imagery'. Mr. M. R. Ri... in his *Keats' Craftmanship* has demonstrated h... fastidious Keats becomes about his diction at th... stage of his poetic development and the congrui... and consistency of imagery of *Hyperion* that w... marvel at do not represent the first flush of h... inspiration but are a product of patient ravail, ... repeated retouching. The illogical and unres... trained heaping of images and the consequent... looseness of structure that marred much of hi... early poetry are now conspicuously absent.

Another distinctive quality of Keats's imagery in *Hyperion* is its human appeal. There is nothing of that inhuman remoteness of Shelley's imagery in Keats's. The titanic figures of Keats's epic fragment have been made human and the imagery itself has a human quality about it. The deep distress of his life has 'humanized his soul'. He has progressed from sensuousness to sympathy. That is why after the typically Miltonic description of Thea's gigantic stature and superhuman strength we suddenly come across the essentially human and the wholly un-Miltonic picture of her face softened with a beauty born of sorrow :

But oh ! how unlike marble was that face:
How beautiful, if sorrow had not made
Sorrow more beautiful than Beauty's self.

Even similes and metaphors of this poem have this human element about them. Consider, for example, this famous simile :

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As when, upon a tranced summer night,
Those green rob'd senators of mighty woods.
Tall oaks, branch-charmed by the earnest stars,
Dream, and so dream al night without a stir,
Save from one gradual solitary gust
Which comes upon the silence, and dies off,
As if the ebbing air had but one wave ;
So came these words and went.

Three images having human associations have been used here—'tranced', 'rob'd senators' and 'dream' and we see the tall oaks standing motionless before us like dignified senators in a state of rapturous vision. The stress is on the human venerableness of their aspect. One obvious difference between Milton's similes and metaphors in *Paradise Lost* and those of Keats in *Hyperion* is that while Milton strives to make them impressive, Keats tries to make them appealing to the human heart.

But though Keats's style in *Hyperion* shows a newly acquired strength and its imagery is exquisitely attuned to the theme Keats soon becomes dissatisfied with his work for it smacks too much of Milton. He does not feel that it is wholly his own. In a letter to Reynolds he expresses his inability to distinguish here between 'false beauty proceeding from art and the true voice of his feeling'. He leaves the poem unfinished and composes *The Eve of St. Agnes* in his own individual style, rich yet controlled, intense yet restrained. What a fine artist Keats becomes at this stage can be realized if we compare Keats's description of bitter winter in the opening stanza of *The Eve* with Shakespeare's description of the same in *Hiems*, the closing song of *Love's Labours Lost*. Keats's arrangement of details of the picture is more artistic than that of Shakespeare and the effect of cold is more keenly felt in Keats's lines than in those of Shakespeare. Keats takes us gradually from the outside to the interior of a chapel. He first speaks of the owl shivering in the cold for all its feathers, next of the trembling hare limping through the frozen grass, then of the silent flock half sheltered in the fold and finally of the beadsman inside the chapel with his numbed fingers and frosted breath, and all the time Keats makes us feel for the suffering creatures. The details in Shakespeare's picture are not as systematically arranged. From the icicles hanging by the wall of a hall we come down and move towards an open field where 'Dick the shepherd blows his nail.' Then there is a movement back to the hall where Tom is carrying logs and frozen milk is being brought in a pail. Then after all this journey from the hall to the field and back there is a belated reference to the 'foul ways' and the 'nipping of the blood' in this season. Then abruptly from this day time picture we are transported to a nocturnal scene. We see 'the starting owl' and hear its 'Tu-whit, tu-who' note and then further get a disagreeable sensation by the sight and smell of 'greasy Joan' keeling her pot. In the second stanza also the details are not artistically arranged. The reference to some comic details such as the coughing of the congregation downing the parson's saw and Marian's nose looking 'red and raw' takes away not a little from the intense effect of cold. (Much of this, of course, is inspired by the satiric purpose of Shakespeare here).

The imagery of *The Eve of St. Agnes* is remarkable for its richness and vitality. So gloriously inspired the poet is that he animates every thing that he touches. Even the carved figures on the walls seem to be endowed with life. The imagery here is richer and more varied than in any of his earlier works and yet it does not appear to be something superimposed. The poem is built upon a series of contrasts which gives a peculiar complexity to it. Images of coldness, silence, old age and goodness are contrasted throughout with those of warmth, revelry, youth and evil.

The poem again is replete with words having a religious association. The 'beadsman counting his rosary', 'pious incense' rising from the 'censer old', 'sweet Virgin's picture', the frosted breath of 'the Beadsman while his prayer he saith', his 'harsh penance on St. Agnes' Eve', his sitting among 'rough ashes for his soul's reprieve', and his keeping awake all night 'for sinner's sake to grieve', 'the visions of delight of young virgins', Made line brooding on love and 'St. Agnes' santly care', and a little later while praying looking, like 'a splendid angel' and on her hair 'a glory like a saint', Porphyro imploring all 'saints' to give him sight of Madeline so that he might gaze and 'worship' her all unseen, Angela 'whose prayers for Porphyro, each morn and evening were never missed'—all elevate and give a religious sanctity to this immortal tale of amorous adventure. Keats takes care to make even the bed chamber of Madeline where the lovers are united

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look like a church with 'triple arch'd gothic window and its stained glass showing 'twilight saints'. Along with these images there are a few suggestive of a feudal castle with its embattlements and secrecies. We hear of 'a shielded scutcheon blush'd with blood of queens and kings', chambers holding 'barbarian hordes of Hyena foemen and hot-blooded lords', 'the Baron' and all 'his warrior-guests'. Even Porphyro's heart is spoken of as 'Love's fev'rous *citadel*'. And interwoven with these two types of images are those of magic and enchantment, of fairies and elves which create an impression of remoteness from the familiar everyday world—so essential to making this romantic story appear convincing. Madeline, we are told is 'hoodwink'd with fairy fancy', Porphyro, according to Angela, can 'hold water in a witch's sieve, And be the liege-lord of all the Elves and Fays' and he himself hopes to win that night a peerless bride when 'legion'd faeries pac'd the coverlet, And pale enchantment held her sleepyeyed'. At the close of the narrative we hear of 'an elfinstorm from faery land' helping the pair of lovers to escape from that castle unnoticed by the blood thirsty knights of the castle who are at that time troubled by dreams of 'witch and demon'. The bolts in the doors of the castle 'full easy slide' one by one and the lovers glide away like 'phantoms' into the storm outside. Thus the imagery of *The Eve of St. Agnes*, which at first appears to be richly ornamental, is found on closer examination to be indispensable to elevating its theme and procuring for this improbable tale of adventure the temporary suspension of disbelief of its reader. As a work of art therefore *The Eve of St. Agnes* is far superior to Scott's *Young Lochinvar* which deals with the same theme.

It is in the Odes that Keats reaches the pinnacle of glory. The language becomes marvellously felicitous and evocative and at the same time vigorous and masculine. His images now acquire the three dimensional roundedness of the Shakespearean imagery. He now shows a capacity for capturing in a single image or a few images the various qualities of an object. For example, in the line—'Mid hush'd, cool-rooted flowers, fragrant eyed' (*Ode to Psyche*)—the stillness, coolness, scent and form of a flower are all wonderfully captured at the same time. This ability to resolve and unify various sense impressions of an object in one image or two images is noticed in all the Odes. A few instances will suffice to bring out this striking characteristic of the Keatsian imagery :

With *beaded* bubbles *winking* at the brim
(*Ode to a Night*...

Nor what *soft incense hangs* upon the bo...
(*Ode to a Night*...

While *barred* clouds *bloom* The *soft* dyi...
(*To Au*...

This power of tapping our different senses at the same time and setting them tingling toge... found in few poets. But apart from this ... Keats's individual images what is more ... noticed is that his imagery in his three great ... —*Ode to a Nightingale*, *Ode on a Grecian* ... and *To Autumn*—is like a living organism ... grows, develops and decays. Keats in his letter ... Taylor dated the 27th February, 1818 ma... significant observation on imagery in ... ". . . . the rise, the progress, the setting ... imagery should like the Sun come natural to ... —shine over him and set soberly although in ... nificence leaving him in the luxury of twili... An examination of the imagery of the three ... reveals this organic growth and dissolution. We may here analyse the imagery of the *Ode to ... Nightingale* to illustrate this. The image of ... 'beechen green,' which 'rises' in the first stan... 'progresses' into the larger 'country green' in ... second, reaches its zenith in the fifth stanza ... the luxurious description of 'each sweet—Wh... with the seasonable month endows the grass, ... thicket and the fruit-tree wild' and finally ... in the sixth stanza with the poet becoming 'a se... to the high requiem of the Nightingale. Similar... the image of the Nightingale singing of summ... in 'full throated ease' in the opening stanza lea... us on in the second stanza to the poet's thr... filled with 'a beaker full of the warm S... which dissolves in the fourth stanza when ... poet decides to give up the agency of wine ... achieving an escape from 'the weariness, ... fever, and the fret' of human life. Once ag... the imagery of the 'melodious plot', 'rising' ... the first stanza 'progresses' in the second ... the 'dance, and Provencal song, and sunbu... mirth', which gradually sinks into 'the m... murous haunt of flies on summer eves' ... finally into the complete 'fading' of 'the pl... tive anthem' in the last stanza. Thus the ...

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images of the Ode 'rise, progress and set soberly although in magnificence.'

In *The Fall of Hyperion* Keats next embarks on a new and astounding stylistic adventure. He had attained such a rare mastery of phrase and so mature a technical skill in the Odes that it seemed almost inconceivable that he could have progressed further. So the stylistic triumphs of *The Fall of Hyperion* come to us as a pleasant surprise. Here is a development in a new direction—a complete renunciation of his early voluptuousness. Now he writes in a rigorously disciplined style. He has learnt the value of economy and precision, of austerity and directness. His thoughts and feelings now find a terribly compressed expression. The verse shows a controlled fluency of movement. Even in the descriptive passages the lines do not seem to linger on as in his early poetry but they move with a rapid though measured motion. We may refer here to the following description of the old temple before which the dreamer found himself on getting back his consciousness :

So old the place was, I remember'd none
The like upon the earth : what I had seen
Of gray cathedrals, buttress'd walls, rent towers,
The superannuations of sunk realms,
Or Nature's rocks toil'd hard in waves and winds,
Seem'd but the faulture of decrepit things
To that eternal domed monument.

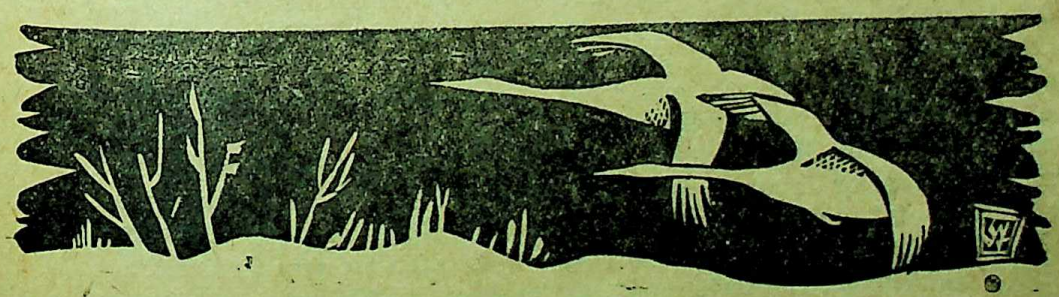
What a difference from the luxuriant diction of his early verse do we notice again in the terse vigour of the following lines :

. . . . for the scenes
Still swooning vivid through my globed brain
With an electral changing misery,
Thou shalt with these mortal eyes behold,
Free from all pain, if wonder pain thee not.

In the lines which describe the unveiled 'wan' but 'bright-blanch'd' face of Moneta, wherein is mirrored the eternal harmony of the universe, Keats reaches the very height of sublimity. If, as Mr. Bradley suggests, astonishment, rapture and awe are among the principal emotions evoked by sublimity this passage is undoubtedly a supreme example of the sublime :

Then saw I a wan face,
Not pin'd by human sorrows, but bright-
blanch'd
By an immortal sickness which kills not ;
It works a constant change, which happy death
Can put no end to ; deathwards progressing
To no death was that vissage ; it had past
The lily and the snow ; and beyond these
I must not think now, though I saw that face,
But for her eyes I should have fled away,
They held me back with a benignant light,
Soft, mitigated by divinest lids
Half-closed, and visionless entire they seem'd
Of all external things ; they saw me not,
But in blank splendour beam'd, like the mild
moon,
Who comforts those she sees not, who knows not
What eyes are upward cast.

The imagery here has got a scorched splendour unparalleled in English poetry. Keats has progressed from the prettiness of the volume of 1817 to the sublimity of the *The Fall of Hyperion.*



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MISSIONARIES AND PRINTING IN INDIA

By P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

Do you know that the world's smallest book measures no more than 6 × 6, 2 millimetre ?

The book, which is printed in Guttenberg's birth-place, Mainz, is so small that it's hardly noticeable, yet the print is so clear that by using a magnifying glass you can read the Lord's Prayer in seven different languages.

Introduction

Printing is evidently an Oriental art ; but the introduction of its modern technique is attributed to Johannes Guttenburg. The earliest specimens of printing are that of the Japanese pictorial type—printed from wood blocks. The Japanese method was improved by the Chinese. A book discovered in 1900, bearing the statement "Printed on May 11, 868 (A.D.) by Wang Chich, for free general distribution in order in deep reverence to perpetuate the memory of his parents," from Chinese province of Kansu is said to be the earliest printed book in the world. The book was printed by using wood blocks for each page. Another name worth remembering is that of Pi Sheng who printed from movable earthenware types in between 1041 and 1049 A.D.

We attribute the invention of printing to Johannes Guttenburg, because he was the first man who used movable metal types in 1454 A.D. The name of this Mainz-born German conjures up in everyon's mind his famous 42-line Bible. It is generally believed that the invention of Guttenburg was independent of Chinese or Japanese influence. The Dutch claim of Laurens Janszoon Coster's (1370-1440) invention of printing is disregarded generally, for his technique was not better than that of the Chinese.

The impetus given by Guttenburg had immediate perceptible effects all Europe. Printing was started in Ita 1465, in France by 1470, in Spain by 147 in England William Caxton set up his pr ing press in 1476.

Early Attempts of Missionaries Toward Printing in India.

The modern technique of printing is contribution of Western civilization. first colonial power to introduce printing India was the 'Feringhee'. The Je fathers who followed the original Portug settlers in Cochin had only one-aim—conv sion of the 'heathen' population and th salvation. Quick ways and means of dis mination of the Gospels were needed. attempts of the Jesuits were crowned w success when the Spanish lay-brothe Joannes Goansalvez was able to cast, the first time, a set of Malayalam-T characters in 1577.

Gonsalvez—Pioneer of Printing in India

Joannes Gonsalvez joined the Jes Society in 1555. He was a man of outstan ing qualities and his contributions in oth fields of arts are forgotten. His sudde demise in 1579 was an ireparable loss printing in Malabar. He has published m books to perpetuate his memory as Father of Indian Printing.

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Early Missionary Publications

The first book ever printed in India in the native tongue from the 'printing press' of Gonsalvez situated near the present Cochin Port was entitled "The Rudiments of Catholic Faith." The Title page reads: **'Principes on elemens de la Religionchtne en langue de Malabar imprime a Cochin 1579'.** A copy of this earliest printed book is believed to be treasured at the Library of the University of Sorbonne in France. This seems to be a reprint of the 1577 volume.

The second book that was published from the Cochin Press is **Christiana Wanakkam** or 'Christian Worship'. This book was inspected at Pulicat by the Protestant missionary Sartorius who mentions it in his diary under the date of February 22, 1732. All the books printed at the Cochin Press are marked as printed at Cochin in the 'college of the Mother of God' **(Collegis da madre de Dios)** and they were meant for the propagation of the Gospels among the Natives of the Pearl Fishery Coast. **Christiana Wanakkam** and **Doctrina Christao** were published in 1577. Sartorius's reference to another book seems to be the translation of St. Francis Xavier's **Doctrina Christao** which is said to have been printed in the Portuguese language as early as 1557. The authorship of the Tamil version of St. Xavier's book is attributed to his native follower P. Marcos Iorge and the translator in Malayalam was none other than the famous Jesuit Henrique Henriquez. The Bibliotheque Nationale has treasured the 1579 reprints of these 1577-edition books.

Henrique Henriquez

We shall rather be doing some amount of injustice to this missionary, if we fail to mention at least some of his important contributions. A prolific writer, Henriquez (1520-1600), is credited with having written the first Tamil grammar entitled the **"Arte da lingua Malabar."** This book consist of 160 pages, written in Portuguese, a copy of which is available at the **Biblioteca nacional da Lisboa** of Portugal. Unfortunately we have not come across a copy of his Portuguese-Tamil dictionary. Most of the Henriquez's books were printed at Chennamangalam, 5 miles south of Cranganore. The present writer tried his level best to see whether people of Chennamangalam still retain their memory, but was equally unable to locate the exact position of the site of the press.

Unnoticed Malayalam Books

The claim of Rev. Bernadiono Feras, who is said to have written the first religious book in Malayalam and published from Chennamangalam, rests on the authority of Simon Rodelas, the author of the Spanish book **Imprintas Jesuitos. Biblioteca nacional** of Lisbon also possesses a rare Malayalam book, the Latin title of which reads as **"Compendiosa legis explanatio omnibus Christanis scita necessaria malabarico idiomate."** The presumption that the copy ought to have come from Cranganore cannot be dismissed altogether, since a note in ink on the book states—**'Ex libris Archiepiscope Cranganorensis, Donum Congregationi missionis Lisboni'.**

The Punikael Press

Another press which need passing notice is that of the Punikael (a village in the Tinneveli district) Press, which was estabishd in the year 1578. Fr. John de Faria, S.J., was the first European to cast types of Tamil characters common to the Coromandal and Fishery coasts. The first book that was printed at the Punikael was **Flos Sanctorum.** Father Paulinus adds that a Christian Doctrine, a copious Confessionary and other books were printed at Punikael." Ignatius Aichamani, a Tamilian, is believed to have preceded Fr. Faria, who cut Tamil types in wood for printing a Tamil-Portuguese dictionary about which we know nothing.

Vypicotta—Another Landmark in the Printing in the South

The name of Vypicotta deserves mention here. This tiny village, 3 miles away

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from Cranganore, had the unique privilege of getting the first complete press sent by Pope Clement VIII in 1602, through Fr. Albert Laertius S.J. The Jesuits of Vypicotta were requested to co-oprate in the reform of the ancient Syrian liturgical books of the Malabar Christians of the St. Thomas, in accordance with the disciplinary decrees of the Holy Synod of Diamper, 1599. An effort was made to procure authentic liturgical books from Rome. Instead of sending copies of missals, Pope Clement VIII sent a press with Chaldean types to Vypicotta. The first books printed in this press were written in Syriac (or Chaldean) with explanations and notes in Malayalam, using Syriac script. The press of Vypicotta was shifted to Cranganore in 1605.

The Ambalakkadu Press

With the establishment of a press at Ambalakkadu (a village 20 miles south of Trichur in 1679, we come to the modern age of printing in India. This place-name and the books that were printed here are well-known to the students of Indian printing. The Tamil-Portuguese and Portuguese-Tamil dictionaries compiled by Fr. Antan De Proenza, published from Ambalakkadu in 1679, are treasured in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris under index numbers "Indien 222 and Indien 223". The title pages of these read : **'Vocabulario Tamulico Lusitano'** and **'Vocabulario Lusitano Tamulico'. Vocabulario Tamulico Lusitano** has got 220 pages of folio size. About 70 words occupy each page, printed in two columns. **Vocabulario Lusitano Tamulico** has got 127 pages of folio size, divided into two columns. These are the first scholarly dictionaries in Tamil.

Conclusion

Doubts are entertained in certain quarters as to whether Tamil or Malayalam should have the honour of being the language in which printing was Most of the early books that came fr presses of peninsular India were wri 'Malabar' tongue. By the term "M tongue,' missionaries meant the pre nant languages spoken in the present of Kerala and Madras. The types use these books are common to Tamil an cient Malayalam. The books were for propagation of gospels among heathen population. Malayalam, the guage of the people of Kerala, had not its present form by the end of the 16th tury. The resemblance of the earliest ted types to that of the present Mala script is not perhaps accidental.

The present writer entertains the that the characters used in the early ted books at Cochin could not be under by the Tamilians ; for if it were so, t was no need on the part of Aichamari Fr. Faria to cut the Tamil types.

Lack of specimens of early pri books is attributed to Tipu Sultan, who ing his depredations in Kerala destr whatever he could lay hands on. Mugh seem to have not been interested in furtherance of printing in India as could get first class calligraphists.

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THE MODERN REVIEW FORTY-EIGHT YEARS AGO

"The War that shall End War"

People talk of fighting to a finish; as if there could be a finish reached that way. There have been wars of extermination, whole peoples and tribes have been exterminated in this way. But war has gone on.

Some people are said to have resolved to make the present European war a war that shall end war. They might as well think of extinguishing fire by fire. Just as hate cannot destroy hate, oppression destroy oppression, or crime destroy crime, so militarism can not destroy militarism or war destroy war.

Let us take the chances of the war. If the allies win, they will certainly deprive Germany of her colonies of Alsace Lorraine and of German Poland. They will also deprive Austria of Austrian Poland and of Bosnia and Herzegovia. It may also be taken for granted that Turkey in Europe will cease to exist an independent power. But it is not probable that Germany or Austria-Hungary would cease to exist as independent nations. European opinion still allows the annexation of whole countries in Asia and Africa; but in Europe the total extinction of nationalities, as of Poland in days gone by, is now improbable. So if Germany continues to exist, in however weakened a condition, she would continue also to nourish thoughts of vengeance; and vengeance sleeps long but never dies. That feeling would bring on war in course of time. Enemies become friend and friends enemies, making a re-grouping of the powers always a possibility. Feeling as Germany would do, that she had been defeated by a combination of seven against three, she would not admit her inferiority but would try to regain her place by a fresh grouping of the powers.

If the allies be defeated, which in the long run does not seem probable, they would never take their defeat as a finality. So war would follow sooner or later.

Even if Germany and Austria-Hungary were so thoroughly crushed, even if their independent national existence were put an end to and they were disarmed and industrially and commercially ruined, there might be in the future various causes of war among the victorious powers themselves or between some of them and some of the neutral countries. The Balkan powers defeated their common enemy Turkey but fell out among themselves. At the conclusion of a war, each nation on the winning side expects to be a gainer in proportion to its sacrifices; for it is only the angelically simple-minded who can believe that nations fight other people's battles from wholly selfless motives. It is human to belittle the sacrifices of others and magnify one's own, as well as to think one's gains inadequate. This is always a fruitful source of disagreement.

But let us suppose that all the European belligerents in the present war would be so utterly exhausted as to be incapable of fighting ever afterwards, though this is really improbable. Japan would still remain formidably full of fight, and she has her imperialistic ambitions. She is not negligible. Italy, Greece, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, all the Balkan states except Servia, all these would remain unexhausted. Before the Balkan wars few thought the Balkan States to be such formidable fighters. So let none think of the small countries of Europe incapable of waging war, or, at least, of initiaitng a conflagration. It can not be taken for granted that these countries do not cherish racial hatreds, historic animosities, commerceial jealousies and rivalries, or that their rulers cannot have dynastic ambitions. All these causes may lead to war.

Except Japan, it is only Western countries that can at present put up a good fight. Most of these countries look upon all countries not yet inhabited colonized, conquered or otherwise annexed by white

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men as no-man's-land, to be taken possession of by the strongest arm. So long as this sentiment prevails, the right to annex and commercially exploit these territories would keep alive rivalrics and jealousies that must inevitably lead to war. European writers may talk of the United States of Europe; but so long as Asia and Africa are excluded from the field of international law and ethics, the United States of Europe would remain a mere dream. If, however, the dream became a reality without including Asia and Africa within the purview of international law and ethics, then the United States of Europe would be the most terrible engine of oppression to the non-white races that the world has yet seen.

The root causes of war are in the human mind. National greed, national jealousy, race hatred, sectarian hatred, the consigning of people of a different faith to hell, the patriotism which teaches men to make their own country great at the expense of others,—if we can imagine a time when these will dsiappear to a very great extent or be brought under sufficient international control, then we can also imagine the end.

(From **The Modern Review**, Jan., 1915)

India's Political Future

A few years ago absolute independence was publicly held up by a small section of Indian politicians as the political goal towards which India should and could move forward. The other goal was self-government of the colonial type within the British empire, adopted by the majority of Indian politicians. The first propaganda has ceased. The second is the prevailing political cult upheld by the Congress party, which speaks of equal partnership with Great Britain as India's political objective. But the two things are not identical. Self-government of the colonial type means that Great Britain sends out only a governor for a particular part of the empire, the people of that part having perfect freedom to manage their [illegible] affairs. But when England makes [illegible] peace, concludes a treaty or an [illegible] increases the navy or the army, or [illegible] a new departure in commercial poli[illegible] acts independently of the views of [illegible] colonies, dependencies and protec[illegible] Imperial conferences may he held to [illegible] sult colonial opinion, but the conc[illegible] if any, arrived at by the conferences [illegible] not binding on the British Parli[illegible] There are no constitutional means by [illegible] the outlying parts of the Empire can [illegible] fluence its foreign policy. Colonial [illegible] government, then, is not the same thi[illegible] equal partnership.

Equal Partnership and Federation

Equal partnership represents a hi[illegible] stage of political evolution than the ex[illegible] ing colonial type of self-government. E[illegible] partnership involves some form of fede[illegible] tion, with a federal parliament. To [illegible] representative body all parts of the Em[illegible] should have the right to return membe[illegible] As regards the franchise, it is necessa[illegible] here to say only this that it should be e[illegible] joyed by the inhabintants of all parts [illegible] the Empire, irrespective of race, dom[illegible] and creed. From the members [illegible] the federal parliament the imperial fede[illegible] cabinet should be formed. Under such [illegible] state of things the cabinet ministers m[illegible] come from India and all other parts of [illegible] Empire. Governors need not all co[illegible] from England. They may be Indians [illegible] Australians or Canadians. India wou[illegible] both give and receive governors to an[illegible] from Ireland or the colonies. At pres[illegible] the British empire is a hereditary cons[illegible] tutional monorchy; but he British citiz[illegible] is not less free than the citizen of any [illegible] public. The king may be called the he[illegible] ditary life president of this crowned repu[illegible] lic. The British people have all the su[illegible] stantial advantages of a republic. Whether [illegible] in the remote future the inhabitants [illegible] the Empire as a whole would, for the sa[illegible] of both the substance and appearance [illegible] equality, hanker after the name and fo[illegible] of a republic, need not exercise the bra[illegible] of any practical politician now living.

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Independence

There are many forms of dependence and independence. It a country is ruled by a monarch of the same race as its people, having his permanent and ancestral residence in that country, it is thought to be independent. But this independence may not mean any degree of citizenship for the people. The king may be a despot and a tyrant, and all the highest officers may belong to a particular clan or caste. This king and his officers may all be oppressive, and the people may suffer from injustice and poverty.

There may be independence of another description, in which the people are not oppressed, but in which the king is so overawed by some powerful foreign nation that his people are practically the subjects of the latter.

Real and perfect political independence exists only where all classes and sections of the people of both sexes enjoy perfect citizenship in a republic presided over by their own eleced president or hereditary crowned president styled king or emperor. All the inhabitants of Great Britain cannot be said to be independent in this sense. The women there labour under many political and legal disabilities, and the working classes have only recently begun to exercise civic rights.

There are also kinds and degrees of dependence. A people may be dependent on an indigenous king or on a foreign king or nation. But the people under their own king may have few or no civic rights, and under a foreign king or nation may have some civic rights. There may also be differences in the economic condition of the people under indigenous and foreign dependence, such differences may also exist in the facilities for education and enlightenment which they have under either kind of dependence. There are also to be taken into consideration the comparative possibility of amelioration in different kinds of dependence and the rapidity or slowness of such amelioration where such a possibility exists. It is difficult, therefore, to pronounce any opinion on the political condition of a people from the label "dependent" or "independent" unless at the same time the exact contents and connotations of these terms, as applied to them, are known.

Interdependence on Equal Terms

But the question is, is there or can there be any nation really and absolutely independent of every other in every respect? We do not know of any such. Some nations are politically dependent on others, some depent on others for their food supply, some for import other commodities from others, some countries draw the whole or a part of their supply of skilled or unskilled labourers from other countries, and other countries again are dependent on foreign countries for spiritual and scientific or other forms of secular instruction. As different kinds of independence are not equally advantageous, so dependence of all the different kinds mentioned above are not equally disadvantageous. To have to import labour, manufactured articles, or raw materials for manufacture from a foreign country is not as great a drawback as to have to import the governing caste from a foreign country.

The interdependence of nations promotes the solidarity of the human race. For this reason it is good that no country is or can be entirely self-contained. At the same time it is not good for either of the parties concerned that one country should control the destines of another permanently. The ideal status for all countries, a status which is consistent with the self-respect of each and all, is that of interdependence on one another on equal terms.

This is the ideal towards which India and every other country ought to work. As to the power of the people of India to become the equals in every respect of any other nation, we have not the least doubt. Let us seek the inspiration and the opportunities, and we shall surely receive enlightenment and knowledge of the means to be adopted.

We have faith in the strength and destiny of India. We believe we shall yet

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be able to become the arbiters of our own destinies so far as it lies in human power to be so, and rise to the height of our full possible stature, realizing the possibilities of our being. It is in that faith that every Indian ought to live and work.

(From **The Modern Review**, Feb., 1915)

Free Speech

Sometime ago the newspapers in America resounded with a story that a former student of Harvard, Clarence Wiener of the class of 1900, had threatened to cut out of his will a bequest of 10,000,000 dollars, more than three crores of rupees, to Harvard University, unless Professor Munsterberg, who had expressed himself freely in defence of his native country, should immediately end his connection with the University. It was subsequently announced that the German professor had tendered his resignation.

People were eager to know what the University should do. Soon came the official announcement from the University that "at the instance of the authorities, Professor Munsterberg's resignation has been withdrawn, and that the University cannot tolerate any suggestion that it would be willing to accept money to abridge free speech, to remove a professor, or to accept his resignation."

Harvard Alumni Bulletin observes that "this whole performance has served as a useful reduction et absurdum of the question of personal neutrality during the European war. Personal neutrality is ought to be, as far beyond official as personal neutrality during the war. Personal neutrality is and ought as far beyond official control as opinion of any kind. Official neutrality a different matter. It is the policy of national government, and loyalty to government apart from all other demands it of representative institu like Harvard. But there would be an mediate violation of official neutrality Harvard should begin to say that this or the other opinion should or should be held or expressed by any individual friend of Germany is no more to be silenced when he speaks as an individual than friend of the Allies: and there are among men of conspicuous association Harvard."

The Bulletin is of opinion that sentiment which has actuated the authorities in dealing with this widely advertised matter accords entirely with the Harvard tradition of freedom, and is, we believe, the sentiment of Harvard men in general. There must be even greater unanimity among them regarding such a procedure as that with which the suddenly famous Mr. Wiener is credited. It has been well said, to effect, that if he thinks so meanly of Harvard as to believe she desires an accession of millions on the terms proposed he should certainly look about and bestow them elsewhere."

(From **The Modern Review**, Mar., 1915)

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

***Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati* :**

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

L'AVENTURE INTELLECTUELLE DU XXe SIECLE : PANORAMA DES LITTERATURES EUROPEENNES 1900-1959 : *By R. M. Alberes. (editions Albin Michel, Paris, 1959, 444 pages)*

THE INTELLECTUAL HERO : STUDIES IN THE FRENCH NOVEL 18800-1955 : *By Victor Brombert. (Faber and Faber, London, 1962, 25/-, 255 pages)*.

In Europe at any rate by the turn of the nineteenth century there was a disillusionment about the inevitability of the progress of human intelligence and about the rational nature of man. What took its place was a passionate desire for finding again life's spontaneity which had been stifled by rationalism. There came mysticism and a leaning towards aestheticism and beauty, towards adventure, towards nature—in fact, towards anything which promised escape from the sterility of intellectualism. The mood of Europe was life revolts against explanations of life. By the nineteen-thirties the serious novel took a further turn—from being a pure literature of the imagination to being a means of expressing inner truth. At the same time it became intensely concerned with ethics and politics, with the place of man in history. The ivory towers of aesthetic detachment were demolished and there sprang up a literature of revolt—life was an adventure leading man out of himself into the stream of history, to action, to the concrete.

After the second war he marriage between philosophy and literature was consummated. The novel not merely presented, as in the earlier period, philosophical problems but it itself became involved in philosophical speculations. The sufferings of war and the moral problems of collaboration brought about a contempt for the traditional values and for the facile demarcation between good and evil. The erstwhile psychological novelist had assumed that human behaviour was susceptible of rational explanation. Novelists now rejected psychological analysis as they became aware that relations between human beings are full of contradictions based on false sentiments and inauthentic representations. As Arnold Toynbee has remarked "an intelligentsia is born to be unhappy"—Sartrean heroes live in an agony of self-torturing guilt with no illusions—victims of their own lucidity. Theirs is a despair born from the knowledge that only is the world absurd but man himself is a lie and absurd.

The anti-novelists who appeared in France about 1950 mark a further departure. To them the novelist must evoke man's direct experience of the world—a world full of objects and gestures to be seen not explained. It is for him to scrutinise the inanimate objects and according to Claude Mauriac to "try to convey a vision—both inner and outer—which resembles no other."

This dehumanization of fiction is not entirely non-philosophical, it has close links with existentialist themes and techniques. In the 'fifties, in France, however, there sprang up an anti-intellectual movement. The fashion started with a group of writers nicknamed "the Hussars" (from "Le Hussard Bleu" by Roger Nimier) who affected a relaxed, ironic and aesthetic attitude towards life; who dedicated themselves to seeking an individual way of life after the bankruptcy of collective causes and of ideas. They wanted above all to express themselves in "pure" fiction. Their heroes are not intellectuals but neo-epicureans; cynics equally who do not consider it worth their while to take seriously a society which borders on the ridiculous.

The book by Monsieur Alberes, who is a well-known writer on European literature is more

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than a history of literature. It is a history of the "life of the spirit" in Europe. Says he "more than in the writers I am interested here in their inspirations, and I sacrifice not only the man to the work, but the work to the meaning of the work and to its themes." It is an adventure in ideas because in the contemporary novel and drama, particularly in France, philosophy is alive. Monsieur Alberes has drawn mainly from the five main languages of West Europe—French, English, Italian, German and Spanish with collateral reference to works in the Scandinavian and Slavonic languages.

MARGARET BASU

PHOTOGRAPHS : *From the Original Bengal Paintings of the Celebrated Artist, Sri Chaitanya Dev Chattopadhayay, with several pages of letter Press in English and Bengali Fourteen Photographs. Bound in Leather, Published by S. K. Banerjee, Eastern Camera Stores, 9A, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 50/-.*

Most of our Readers will welcome this neatly printed and beautifully produced Album of the Paintings of Sri Chaitanya Dev Chattopadhayay, a senior disciple of Acharya Abanindra Nath. Several years ago the Calcutta University had published his famous cartoons of the Durga-Puja Festival which at once established his reputation as a telented artist. A few years ago some of the pictures in this album were exhibited at the Howard University (U.S.A.) where they were hihgly admired. This gave him an international status. There is now an organized conspiracy to throw mud on the works of Dr. A. N. Tagore and his disciples. But the high merits of the Paintings of Chaitanya Dev will provide very able protests against the campaign of abuses,—current in Bombay and Delhi. The pictures in this album easily put to shade the acrobatic jugglery of the so-called Progressives—which are absolutely devoid of any intellectual or spiritual appeal. We are sure the solid reputation of the Bengal School is sure to be retrieved, enhanced and justified by the sparkling studies of actual life — glowing with a new vision and shining idealism, collected in this album and presented with fine taste and discrimination. The illustrations are actual photographs and not reproductions in clumsy half-tone block.

O. C. GANGOLY

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA : *By Anil Chandra Ghosh, Presidency Library, Calcutta-12. Pages 90. Price Rs. 2.50 nP.*

This book is a translation from original Bengali of the author. Birth Centenary of Swami Vivekananda is being celebrated in India and over the world this year. Born on 12th January 1863, the great Swamiji lived only for 39 years and died on 4th July 1902. As a maker of modern India, his life cannot be measured by the number of years he lived. After the passing away of his master Ramkrishna Paramahamsa in 1885, Vivekananda organised the disciples of the Guru at Baranagore and himself left for a pilgrimage all over India. Thus, he gained a first hand experience of the poverty, and backwardness of his beloved mother country, once great now fallen and down-trodden among the nations of the world. He was determined to end this sort of things and with the help of his admirers went to America in 1893 and his speech at the World Conference of Religions at Chicago marked him out as an outstanding man of that great gathering. Thus, he built up a bridge to connect the East and the West, which was of benefit to both. Founder of Ramkrishna Mission, Vivekananda was a great architect, builder of social services in this country. His services to education, women's education in particular, poor and neglected, his clarion call to the youth of the country to serve the motherland will ever inspire the people for the noble cause he preached and worked for. Following the words of the English poet we would say that "Vivekananda you should be living at this hour, India is in need of thee."

This small book deserves wide circulation among the youth.

A. B. DUTTA

THE SOLDIER : *By Richard Powell : Published by Hodder and Stoughton. Price 16s. net. 1961 in Great Britain. pp. 376.*

Richard Powell was born in Philadelphia in 1908. He was educated in Philadelphia schools and at Princeton University from where he graduated in 1930. He then worked as a reporter on the *Philadelphia Evening Record*, writing short stories in spare time. In 1940, he left the newspaper to join the Public Relations department of a large advertising Agency in U.S.A. Then he joined the war when U.S.A. was attacked. After war service, he returned to the agency in 1952 became its Vice-President until 1958 when he resigned to devote himself to writing. He produced two novels—*The Philadelphian* and *Pioneer, Go Home*. He is also the author of popular 'Arab and Andy' series of humousous detective stories.

(The New York Hesald Tribune describes *The soldier* as quite different from, but just as exciting as his other two novels *Pioneer, Go Home* and *The Philadelphian*.)

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The time of action of the novel is late 1942 and is in the background of the Island of Zoanga in the lower Pacific Command of the U.S. forces. Gilbert Islands are 500 miles to the North and Fiji Islands are 550 miles to the south. To the East there is Rota Island where the Japanese had a base. To Port Solo in the said Island there arrived by plane Lt. Col. William Farralou as a subsidiary staff officer and also the first Woman's Army Corps under a woman Lieutenant.

As a matter of fact, there is no island of Zoanga. The area in Asiatic-Pacific theatre of war is the author's own creation. Also there was no Lower Pacific Command. The area had to be created in order to write the story of the upper echelons of a Commanding General's staff. In order to write a story, there have been intentional departures from fact, but the technical details are correct, so the author himself describes.

In such a theatre of war to William Farralou this is the end of a promising career. He obeyed the order which he might have ignored, he deserted his last command at a moment of crisis, leaving the force to be annihilated by the relentless Japanese advance. And it is a woman's courage and faith in him which resurrected his failing conscience and put him beyond the scorn of his fellow officers. The novel thus deals with a turning point in a man's career. It is a readable novel, well-planned and well-written.

RAJANI MUKHERJI

DOCTRINE OF SRIKANTHA, Vol. I. *By Dr. Mrs. Roma Chaudhri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), F.A.S., Principal, Government Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta. Published by Prachyavani, 8, Federation Street, Cal-9. Rs. 20/-.*

The long awaited first volume of the invaluable series on the comparatively less known system of the Saiva-Vedanta School of Srikantha, composed by a modern Brahmavadini of India,—well-known, veteran scholar Principal Dr. Roma Chaudhuri will be welcomed by all. The work is a unique one from every point of view.

First, though a highly scholarly one, it is by no means a mere dry statement of facts, or a collection of data from other sources, as ordinarily found, but a moment of absolutely original thinking and realisation. In the field of research, recapitulation of what others have thought and said before is really the first step only. The real or the final step is revaluation, re-orientation, rejuvenation of the same. But unfortunately, now-a-days, recapitulation has become all-in-all, making for a regrettable dearth of original thinkers in the holy field of learning. Dr. Roma Chaudhuri is one of those few original thinkers in the field of philosophy and has discussed every problem of the monotheistic Vedanta Schools in a manner at once scientific and unparlelled. In fact, it is an absolutely original work on Monotheism in general, which from its very nature has to face many difficulties from the logical point of view regarding the nature of God, the process of creation, the relation between God and the world and so on. Dr. Roma's original views, bringing out the real implications of the Vedanta, on these matters, will undoubtedly, be very helpful and stimulating to all. Her long discourses on the Law of Karma and Niskama Karma-Vada are specifically welcome.

Secondly, though a strictly scholarly and scientific one, it is also a great work of art, written as it is, in a very sweet and lucid language. According to our Indian view, a scholar is also a poet, both being designated by the same term Kavi. Dr. Roma Chaudhuri has once again proved the truth of the same.

This, with its companion second Volume, and equally scientific and lucid Englsh translation of the very rare commentary of Srikantha on the Brahma-Sutras, already published (Rs. 32/-) will be a most valuable addition to every general and college Library.

SATKARI MOOKHERJI

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Indian Periodicals

How Poor, The Poor ?

Writing editorially in its issue of September 14 last, what the *Economic Weekly* has to say on the current controversy between the Union Government and the Socialist Leader in Parliament, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, should be found not merely interesting by our readers, but the periodical's observations most apposite.

The great income controversy is at last at rest. Lohia, who brought up the subject in his speech in the debate on the no-confidence motion in the Lok Sabha, has been proved wrong—though, we may be sure, not silenced. Nanda has quoted chapter and verse of National Sample Survey reports and Planning Commission studies to establish that the people of India, even the poorest of them, are not as poor as Lohia makes them out to be.

But how poor are the poor ? According to Nanda, the poorest ten per cent of the population have an average monthly per capita expenditure of Rs. 8 in the rural areas and Rs. 10 in urban areas, or 4.3 annas and 5.3 annas respectively ! What does that mean ? The most asutere balanced diet with a minimum consumption of other items would, it has been estimated, cost something like Rs. 35 per head per month. For the poorest ten per cent of the population, over 40 million people, to be able to aspire to this standard by 1976, that is, by the end of the Fifth Plan the rate of growth of per capita income would have to be 12 per cent compared to the Third Plan target of 4 per cent and the slight fall in per capita income actually acheived in the first two years of the Plan.

There is more to all this than the growth of per capita income. How deep do the scanty benefits of development percolate ? Income distribution is a subject about which much is suspected, little known (and the Mahalanobis Committee seems to be in no mood to oblige). The precise arithmetic of precise *average* per capita consumption is not, therefore, really very meaningful. What is meaningful is that from all available accounts the under-privileged sections of society have very little to show for the 15 years of Independence and a decade and more of planned economic development.

Once again, abandoning percentages, let us consider two sections of the population, the unemployed and the agricultural labourers who, it may be assumed, are among the most under-privileged. Now, no one may know for sure the state of unemployment in the country, but even those who still get enthusiastic about the Plan know that the most it claims to do is to provide employment to fresh entrants to the labour market, leaving the backlog of 9 million unemployed carried over from the Second Plan untouched. It is not likely to do even this and in fact the Planning Commission now appears to be reconciled to the Plan ending with more people without jobs in the country than there were when it began.

What then has gone wrong ? Did not the Third Plan promise a "comprehensive programme of rural works" which it was expected would not merely create additional employment opportunities, but also be the means to harness the latent manpower resources in the rural areas for economic development ? To admit that unemployment will increase over the Plan period, is that not an admission of the Government's incapacity to devise and put into operation economic policies and programmes which can turn into productive use the idle manpower of the countryside which is, after all, India's greatest asset potentially and the greatest responsibility at present ?

If statistics of unemployment are, at best, impressionistic, even less is known about another part of the population which is perhaps only just better off than those who have no means of livelihood at all. Allowing that confusion over definitions and concepts vitiated the data thrown up by the Second Agricultural Labour Inquiry, the conclusion that incomes of agricultural labour families actually *declined* by 11 per cent between 1950-51 and 1956-57 cannot be ignored. What is important is not the exact decline in incomes or even whether there was a decline at all, but that the benefits of an outlay of almost Rs. 300 crores on agriculture and community development in the First Plan had gone to sections of the rural population other than this, the weakest. Economic concentration and the tendency of the rich to get richer have not found the rural soil infertile.

The powers that be, to which gods do they offer oblation ? Certainly, not to Vivekananda's God, the poor.

[We are, however, not at all convinced that Mr. Nanda, having quoted "chapter and verse of National Sample Survey reports and the Planning Commission studies" has been able to "establish that the people of India, even the poorest of them, are not as poor as Lohia makes them

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to be. Until the actual level of the *disposable income* of the poorest sixty per cent of the population has been established, the figures of *consumption expenditure* provided by the ex-Planning Minister merely proves, as far as we are able to judge, that it was the absolute minimum on which they were able just to subsist. If the disposable income falls short, by whatever margin it may be, of this minimum consumption expenditure, as we suspect it is bound to do, then the obvious conclusion, a very dangerus one to our way of thinking, is that the poorest in the country have been subsisting partly on their slim capital resources or by hypothecating their future labour, in the absence of any such resource. In either case Dr. Lohia's accusation that the poorest are actually much poorer than Mr. Nanda would make them out to be, would then seem to have been conclusively proved. Editor, *M. R.*]

Problems of Leadership and Democracy in South Asia

Writing in the *India Quarterly* of April-June, 1963, Mr. Sisir Gupta's following summary of the "Young Leaders'" conference recently organized in Lahore by the Quakers, would seem to be interesting :

On the issue of democracy there were, by and large, three sets of opinion. One held that democracy tended to slow down the process of development and the task for these countries being primarily that of economic development and social change, political forms and institutions must be considered as matters of secondary importance. A second view also found the democratic institutions as they existed inadequate for other tasks and pleaded for "repairs to the institutions of democracy in Asia." A third view related the problem of democracy with that of expanding the political processes in these countries to bridge the gap between the alieanated elite which exerts power and the vast masses of the population. It was not, according to their view, either the procedural or the institutional changes that could make democracy meaningful in these countries, nor did it believe that it was correct to ascribe the slowness of development to the democratic system. The root of the problem was the inability of the westernized elite to identify itself with the people which had reslted in a situation of growing irrelevance of political parties and political system for the masses of the people. According to the second view mentioned above, it was not possible through institutinal changes, by adopting more suitable methods of election and more effective techniques of parliamentary organization, to solve the problems of democracy in Asia. They assumed that the functions of rapid development could only be undertaken by a determined leadership, unhindered by the pulls and pressures generated by the democratic process. The core of the differenc between the first and the third points of view was that according to the latter it was wrong to expect modernization from the existing power elites in these countries. Their identification with the West—particularly with the amenities of life which prevail in the West—has led to an increasing alienation of this group from the rest of the people. It was not possible for this alienated elite to function meaningfully in the context of Asia, unless they realised the need for their identification with the people.

There was a difference of opinion as to the capacity of the westernized elite to bring about the form of identification with the people. One view was that the creation of an awareness of this problem among the intellectuals, a change of social attitudes and codes of conduct, and a persistent appeal to their higher senses, might result in ending this alienation. The other viewpoint denied this possibility and held that the western-oriented elite was not only alienated, but vitally interested in sustaining this alienation and hence it was not possible for them to rise above their interests as they defined them. It is only when out of the existing political processes, a new elite, which is neither exclusively Western, nor exclusively traditional, arises that a potential modernising elite would become available. . . . The role of the western educated in the modernization of their countries would only be marginal and the sooner they were relegated to that status, the better. Those who were of the opinion that institutional reforms were needed neither accepted the gloomy predictions of the votaries of economic progress as the supreme goal, nor the total change stressed by the thrid group. . . . The very fact that in all these countries, the Governments, howsoever undemocratic, swear by democracy, is an indication of the immense potentiality of the idea. . . . Without upsetting the existing structure of things, it was possible to bring about changes by reforming the institutions of democracy or 'tinkering' with them.

One view stressed the *libertarian* aspects of democracy. Democracy was partly an end in itself and partly a means to an end. The values of freedom of speech and association, of thought and action, were ends in themselves, and no matter what democracy meant for development, it was important to keep the faith in these values.

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It was also held that dictatorship was not conducive of rapid economic development and that in the field of agriculture particularly, dictatorships have resulted in stupendous failures.

One trend of opinion feared that in the present situation in some of these countries, complete political freedom for unscrupulous elements might lead to an added emphasis on religion and traditional values which would defeat the process of modernization. Others said that since such issues happened to be some of the most intelligible issues in politics, their free play might lead to the growth of a new leadership which would be more meaningful in social terms than the existing leaderships. The view that the Western attitude to these matters based on the assumption that the westernized elite is the modernizing elite, may not be the correct one. A certain amount of use of traditional symbols and values may be necessary for the growth of the new elite which could perform its modernizing role.

Some experts on rural development agreed that Governments in these countries tended to by-pass the rural sector and that the problem of rural leadership and rural progress became acute because of the inability of the national governments in these countries to identify themselves with the needs of the rural people. One point of view particularly stressed the multi-national character of most of these countries and the need for effective federalism as an integral part of political democracy. Both from the point of view of democracy and leadership, it was important to recognize the principle of federalism in these countries, since popular participation in governmental as well as developmental processes and functions could take place only when linguistic and cultural groups had been accorded a degree of autonomy. Others stressed the need for centralization in view of the problems of planning in these countries and pointed out that federalism might have detrimental effects upon central planning which was the primary need of these countries.

On the problem of the foreign-educated, one of the controversies was whether the individuals educated abroad had a fundamental right to ... cide where they should settle and whether ... assertion of cosmopolitan values demanded ... granting of this right to those who studied abr... Some held that it was only right and proper ... scientists, for example, should begin to con... themselves as members of an international ... and that it was very wrong to expect from ... foreign-educated a kind of behaviour as if ... were cogs in a machine. Others held that ... whole programme of foreign education is ... ceived in terms of the development of these co... tries and that often precious foreign exchange ... spent on getting people educated abroad. Soci... and the community, therefore, has the right to ... mand from those whom it sent abroad that ... come back and help their countries, no matt... what the relative difficulties in these countri... Some held that the foreign-educated usually ... velop frustrations and hence become problems ... their societies. In the discussion the question w... raised as to how creative the foreign educa... was in the context of the societies to which th... return. It was felt that the foreign-educated ... presents in a somewhat aggravated form th... basic problem of all those who are English-edu... cated, namely, their alienation from the peop... Much as they might explain their urge to se... employment opportunities abroad, as the res... of their devotion to cosmopolitan values, in rea... ity it represented a growing attachment on the pa... of these people to the amenities of life in th... West. *Lacking the real content of culture*, th... become attracted by certain forms of Weste... culture.

By and large, the discussions in the confer... ence left the impression that there was a growing ... impatience among the intellectuals of this region ... and that they were trying to come to grips with ... the more fundamental problems of the societies ... than what had so far been tackled. It was also ... interesting to see how there was a large degree ... of commonness in the pattern of thinking in ... these various countries which illustrates, perhaps, ... the fact of the commonness of the problems that ... face.

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Foreign Periodicals

Admonitions from Comrade Mao

Writing for *The New Leader*, G. F. Hudson, Director of the Center for Far Eastern Studies at St. Antony's College, Oxford, analyses the Moscow-Peking ideological rift thus :

Ethics has been defined as the theory of what other people ought to do. The definition is very applicable to the Sino-Soviet dispute, which is essentially a matter of the Chinese telling the Russians what they ought to do and the Russians denying that they ought to do it.

As conducted in Moscow, the bilateral talks between the two adversaries have been a debate between two teams of highly skilled ideological lawyers with no judges and jury present to give a verdict. But of course both sides are aware that there are judges to whom the case must ultimately be referred, and they are the 80 or more Communist parties of the world who collectively make up what is known as the international Communist movement.

Until Stalin dissolved the Comintern, the movement had a formal unified organization, but since then it can only utter its ecumenical voice when specially summoned for a world Communist conference. Two such conferences have met since Stalin's death—that of 1957, which gathered primarily to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution, and that of 1960, which was called to resolve the first great crisis in Sino-Soviet Party relations.

Now that their quarrel has again reached a point of crisis, the Chinese want a third world conference to deliberate on the issues, but the Soviet leaders have so far been unwilling, and offered bilateral talks instead. The Chinese have agreed to hold them, though as a preliminary to the world conference which is their main objective and which the Russians cannot indefinitely postpone, unless they are willing to see a final split in the world movement. The Chinese hope, and the Russians fear, and not without reason, that a third world conference of Communist parties would be considerably more favorable to the Chinese than was that of 1960.

The trouble is that Mao Tse-tung has become the keeper of the Marxist-Leninist conscience. He is powerful not because Communist China is strong economically and militarily—which it is not—but because he can convincingly claim that he stands for the teahing of Lenin against policies and doctrinal adaptations of a definitely revisionist tendency. He is strong also because undiluted Leninism appeals today most persuasively to the revolutionary militants in the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa, of which China is a more natural leader than European Russia.

In moving in a direction which diverges in a marked degree from the path mapped out by Lenin, the present leadership of the CPSU can suppress criticism—though not entirely critical thoughts—within the Soviet Union. But it cannot stifle voices of denunciation from Communist parties which are also sovereign governments, or from Communist party members in countries where CPSU censorship and discipline cannot be imposed. The Russians and Chinese might, however, agree to differ and go their own ways without scandalous public polemics, were it not for the fact that the Russian errors in theory and practice are in the Chinese view imperiling the whole cause of Communism by weakening the revolutionary impetus of the movement and disregarding opportunities which may not recur.

To some extent, Khrushchev himself encouraged the line which the Chinese have taken since 1957 by his inordinate boasting and propaganda exploitation of the first intercontinental ballistic missile and the first Sputnik, which were the great events of that year. From these successes of Soviet military-scientific technology—which were advertised all the more by the near-panic they produced in certain Western quarters at that time—the Chinese drew the inference that the "Socialist camp" was now stronger than "imperialism," or, in Mao's own meteorological metaphor, that "the east wind prevails over the west wind."

Mao combined this conviction that there had been a decisive change in world power relations with his belief that "imperialists are paper tigers." This was derived from his experience in the Korean War, when he fought the United States for three years without receiving a single bomb on Chinese territory. The conclusion he drew from these premises was that the time had come for the Communist bloc to adopt hard forward policies.

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The assumption was that the Western Powers would probably not dare to wage full-scale (including nuclear) war, and that if they did, they would be beaten. Clearly China, being herself without nuclear weapons and liable to American nuclear retaliation for any forward move, could not act on her own, since it was on Russian nuclear armaments and their supposed superiority that the proposed new strategy must depend.

Khrushchev, however, quite failed to come up to expectations. Having made the most of his rockets and Sputniks through a high-pressure advertising campaign, he did not blockade Berlin or move troops into Iran. Instead he began a campaign for a summit conference and the ingratiating approach to America which finally led to his conversations with President Eisenhower at Camp David. Flying to Peking after his return from America, he informed the Chinese in a speech that "when I spoke with President Eisenhower I got the impression that the President of the United States, and not a few people support him, understands the need to relax international tension."

Mao Tse-tung did not then contradict him, but it was significant that he made no speech of welcome. Khrushchev could not have concealed from Mao the fact that, whereas he had got what he thought was a hopeful start in negotiations on Berlin, there was nothing in the packet for China. For in America Khrushchev had prudently not made the going harder on Berlin by raising in addition the vexed question of American policy toward Communist China.

The first crisis in Sino-Soviet relations developed rapidly from this point. It was aggravated by the neutral position taken up by the Soviet Union with regard to China's border conflict with India : China, struggling with great economic difficulties, was already resentful at Russian economic aid to India (in receipt, additionally, as China was not, of economic aid from the West), and neutrality in a clash between a Communist and a bourgeois state seemed an unpardonable betrayal of Communist solidarity. The Chinese anger was first plainly expressed in K'ang Sheng's speech at the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Powers in Moscow in February, 1960.

In April of the same year the dispute was raised to the ideological plane by articles in *Red Flag*, the Chinese Party's theoretical journal. It was now declared, though still without any direct personal attack on Khrushchev, that Soviet policy was going wrong because of doctrinal deviations.

There was something in this contention. Khrushchev and his associates had in fact modified Leninist doctrine in two important respects. In the first place, they had accepted the view that strategic nuclear war would be too destructive for both sides to be risked by a too provocative policy—and had probably also been told by their military advisers that if there were to be a nuclear showdown, America would still have the strongest hand for it. They therefore rejected Lenin's belief that wars were inevitable as long as imperialism existed.

Secondly, the Russians saw no prospect of revolutions on the classic model of workers' insurrection in the industrialized Western world. They were more inclined to put their stake on parliamentary coalition tactics whereby Communist parties might wriggle into governments and take over power from within. more or less in line with the Czech *coup d'etat* of 1948. This however contrary to any principles of genuine democracy, was also far removed from the hitherto established Leninist conception of the violent seizure of power, and involved a rejection of Lenin's teaching on the inevitability of class war on the road to Socialism. The Chinese claim that all this amounted to a betrayal of the international Communist movement.

But it is not enough in such a situation for the adherents of the true faith merely to denounce error ; there must be a political strategy for casting it out and bringing those who have been led astray back on to the right road. From the Chinese point of view this can now only be done by getting rid of Khrushchev. He is incorrigible. He appeared for a time to be mending his ways last year, instead of relying on the Camp David spirit to get West Berlin, he smuggled ballistic missiles into Cuba to exert a nuclear blackmail on the United States in next round of negotiations. In the Chinese view this was how a Soviet leader ought to behave, and they gave the Soviet Union enthusiastic support during the Cuban crisis, as well as taking the opportunity to annihilate a division of the Indian Army while Western attention was diverted by dangers nearer home.

But, having been found out while his missile bases in Cuba were still not yet operational, and being faced with an American determination to eliminate them even at the risk of nuclear war, Khrushchev backed down and took his missiles back to Russia. For the rules of the Soviet Union this experience confirmed their apprehensions about the consequences of pursuing a hard policy; the United States turned out to be "a paper tiger with nuclear teeth."

The Chinese, however, were quite unconvinced by this demonstration; they accused Khrushchev of two distinct Marxist-Leninist sins

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—of "adventurism" in putting missiles into Cuba without estimating the consequences, and of "capitulationism" by taking them out again when challenged by the United States. All this, according to the Chinese, has shown that Khrushchev is unfit to lead the international Communist movement.

Free Enterprise Economy Not for the Lazy

The following quoted from the *German Weekly News* should be of keen interest to the country :

Prof. Ludwig Erhard's Philosophy of Individual Initiative

The social-market policy is not for the easy-going. No, it is not for the lazy, points out Professor Ludwig Erhard, Federal Minister of Economic Affairs, in an article explaining his philosophy of free enterprise, individual initiative and planning by Government.

Prof. Ludwig Erhard writes :

All parties and almost all groups in the Federal Republic of Germany say that they are in favour of a free economic order, as if it were a matter of course. Yet, at the same time, there is an ever-increasing call not only abroad but here for State measures, for more State "activity", and finally the desire for a "plan." This makes it clear that the idea and conception of a free economic and social order has not yet sunk sufficiently deep roots.

We need not look far to see a working comparison of a rigidly planned economic and social system on the one hand and a free system on the other. We need only look at the Soviet-occupied Zone of Germany and compare conditions there with the way of life in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Across the Iron Curtain in that other part of Germany, the people are certainly as hardworking as the people in the Federal Republic are. If, nevertheless, they do not enjoy the fruits of their labour, and the total production of their economy is very much less than in the Federal Republic, there is a clear explanation.

Collective System Vs. Free Order

The reason for the difference between the position over there and that here is that the collectivistic system of the Soviet Zone of Germany, based on State planning, has failed, while during the same years our free, liberal, social economic order here in the Federal Republic has brought forth a rich harvest.

The social-market policy that we founded 15 years ago—we founded it on a basis of ruins and rubble, want and misery—is certainly not for the easy-going. Our way of life encourages people to compete and thus produce to their utmost capacity. No, it is not for the lazy. On the other hand, consider what it has done : It has created in this destroyed country a highly developed economy, which can compare favourably with that of the most advanced industrial countries in the world.

I am not saying this in order to district attention from the fact that there is still want here in the Federal Republic of Germany, too, and that we still have big tasks ahead of us. But it is certain that our many successes to date have been achieved because we have combined freedom with responsibility.

More Than an Economic Recipe

The constantly rising output of the German economy is proof of the economic soundness of our approach. But it is more than that—more than a recipe for prosperity. An economic order that guarantees a maximum of personal freedom in all aspects of life is at the same time one of the essential bases of a democratic State founded on the rule of law.

Anyone who has experienced as thoroughly as the Germans have the devasting influence of excessive State direction, with its destruction of the individual's freedom, anyone who has gone through that and then experienced the joy of freedom regained will be clear about his philosophy.

The Role of Individuals

But a social-market system—by which I mean a maximum of free enterprise combined with a determination that nobody's exercise of freedom must infringe on the

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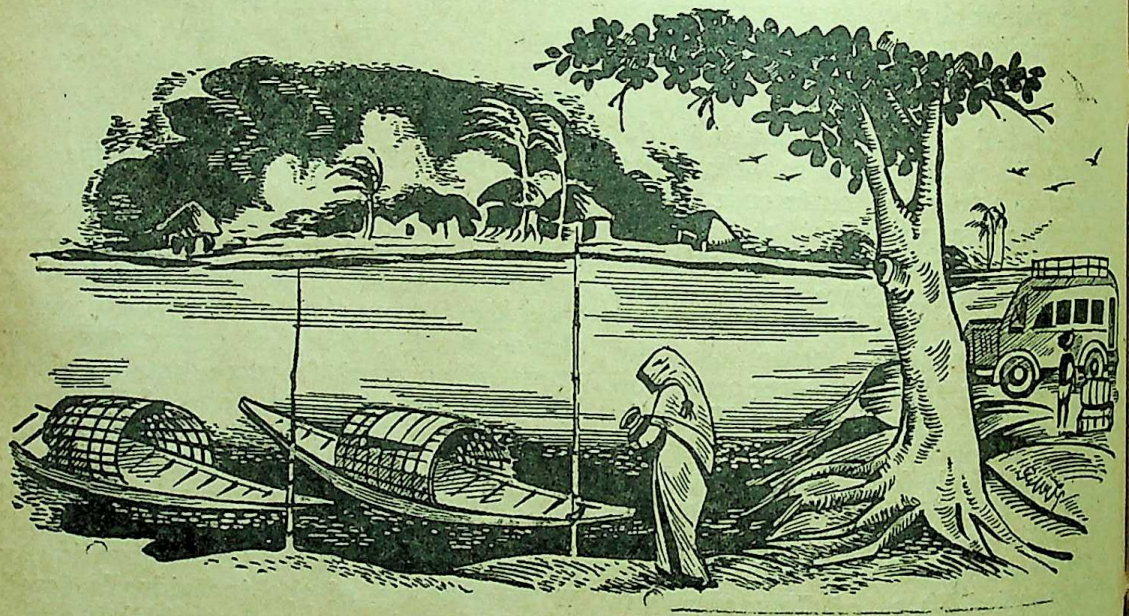
general welfare—is also good for a highly practical reason. We have seen above that a free economy like ours gives wide scope to the activity of all concerned. Yet, even in the act of granting this individual leeway, a free market economy does itself a favour. It solves the problem of how to direct a highly complex economy—an economy that in its totality is nowadays not even approximately comprehensible to any one person..

Critics contend that while a social-market policy might have been the right recipe for a time of shortage, from now on State planning alone can guarantee steady growth and provide a standard for suitable investments. They argue that to prevent over-production the State should set economic goals, fix standards, keep down prices and keep the economy competitive. Answering these critics, Prof. Dr. Ludwig Erhard points out :

"All experience teaches that particularly in a situation of State planning there is exceedingly great likelihood of ri... investments—for planning and reality ... ever coincide."

Role of the States

Prof. Erhard, however, agrees that ... State has a role to play. He conc... "The State, to be sure, has an impo... role to play. That role is to make ... that the economy remains in ... shape. The State provides a sound ... for prosperity, not by creating pr... rity but by making sure that it is mai... ed. The State can ensure that the curr... remains stable, that there is fair compe... and that all income groups have ade... purchasing power. These factors ta... care of, the liberated energies of all the ... viduals that make up the public are ... best assurance that the upward trend ... continue toward a better life for all."



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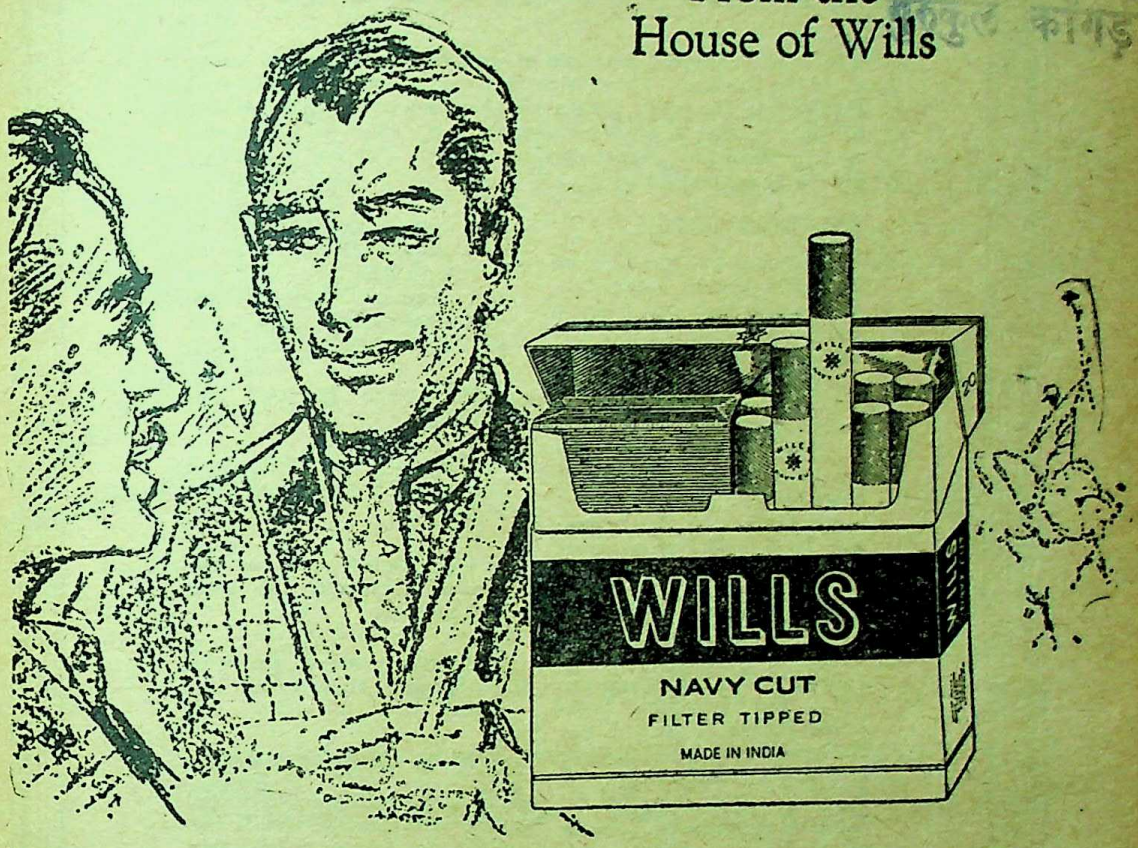

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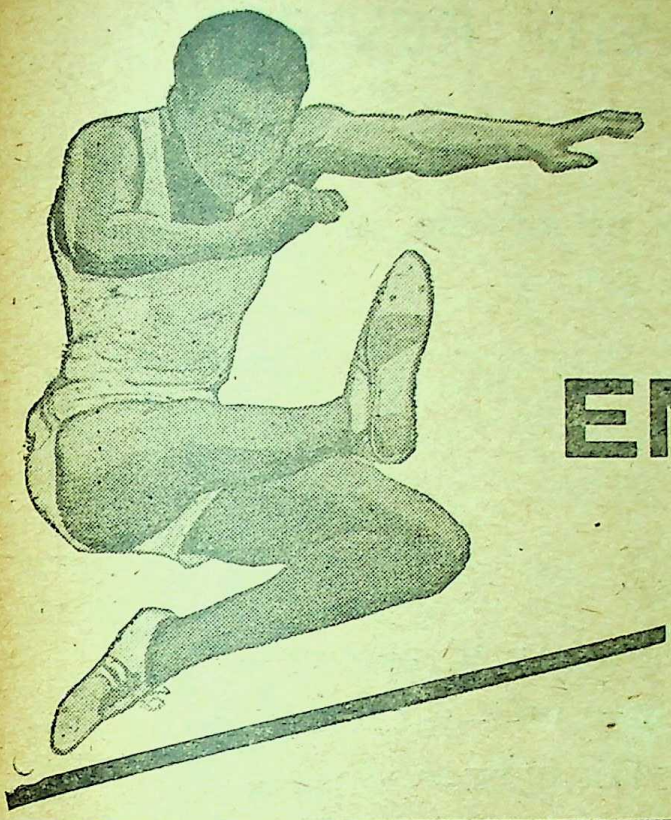

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1963

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NOTES

The World

At the time of writing these, the only shooting war in this troubled world, was on the North of Africa in the countries on the Mediterranean sea. The war was between the two Arab States of Algeria and Morocco. The dispute was principally based on the suzereinty over a vast tract of the Sahara which the French had kept attached to Algeria to the last and when the transfer of power took place all that area was taken over (virtually with a small area reserved for exploitation by the French, where the oil-wells are situated) by Algeria. Morocco claims a portion of it and finding that Ben Bella's government was unwilling even to discuss the claim, the Moroccan authorities have taken an equally hostile attitude. Sporadic fighting broke out about the second week of October and there are reports of hostilities flaring up and down on the common frontier areas between the two countries. Reports from Marrakesh, sent on the 16th, described fighting going on between Algerian and Moroccan troops "in full combat conditions" in the disputed desert border areas south-east of that city. The official who gave the news said that the Algerians launched a counter attack in force on that day but the 4,000 Moroccan troops held their own.

Strangely enough he added the statement "there is no state of war between Algeria and Morocco" to that bit of news! Earlier there have been reports of bombing by an Algerian plane.

The causes of this outbreak lie on the rival claims of the two States to the rich iron-ore and coal deposits in the desert area under contention. The Arab League has called for a cease-fire, return of the troops to their respective bases and a meeting to discuss the situation and M. Bourguiba, the President of Tunisia has also offered to mediate.

Apart from that flare-up, the troubles in the Latin Americas held the world's attention during the beginning of the month.

On October 3, the civil Government of Honduras, a small republic of Central America, with the Caribbean Sea on the North, the State of Nicaragua on the East and the South, El Salvador on the South and West and Guatemala on the West as boundaries, was overthrown in a swift coup by the military. The State of Honduras is 43237 sq. miles in area and has a population estimated at about 2,000,000 mostly of Indian and Spanish extraction. It is a very fertile though mostly uncultivated and richly afforested and mountainous land with abundant though undeveloped mineral resources.

Nine days previously the military took over in the Dominican Republic, which is a State that forms the eastern two-thirds of the Island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean

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Sea, the other third being the Republic of Haiti ruled by the dictator Duvalier since 1961.

Honduras is the sixth State to be taken over by military coups within the last eighteen months, and the quick succession in which it followed the take-over of the Dominican Republic has caused serious concern to the U.S. Government. It threatens to undercut the U.S. organized Alliance for Progress to its very foundations. The following extracts from the editorial columns of the **New York Times** Weekly Review for October 6, give an idea of the whole situation as viewed from the official standpoint of the U.S:

The coup, following hard upon the military take-over in the Dominican Republic the week before, caused grave concern in Washington. It threatened to undercut the basic premise of the Alliance for Progress—the premise that the best hope for the impoverished Latin-American peoples is economic reform under democratic rule and with United States aid. The fear is that the military roadblocks against reform will persuade Latins to turn instead to the revolutionary course of Castro of Cuba.

The classic ingredients for political instability are present in virtually every country in Latin America. Illiteracy is widespread, ranging as high as 90 per cent in some of the Latin countries. Poverty is the rule; per capita income is below $100 a year in a number of areas.

These problems are compounded by the predominantly agricultural economies of the Latin countries. There is heavy reliance in many of the countries on one crop. A season of bad weather can mean economic disaster. Fluctuations in world market prices drastically affect annual incomes.

In such circumstances, it is clearly a herculean task for democracy to take root and to flourish. The informed electorate essential to effective democracy simply does not exist. Wealth tends to be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals.

The Alliance for Progress, initiated two years ago by President Kennedy "to build a new hemisphere," is designed to promote stability and progress in Latin America.

The Alliance seeks through a program of substantial economic aid to combat the hemisphere's political and social ills. It makes such aid contingent on internal social and political reforms on the part of the recipient governments—reforms such as the redistribution of land and more equitable taxation. The hope is that the combination of aid and reform will create a climate in which viable democracy can flourish and resist the pressures from right and left.

The threat from the left comes in part from indigenous Communist movements, in part from the efforts of Premier Castro to export the Cuban revolution. Since the Latin masses for the most part have a stake in the **status quo**, the Communist appeal with its promise of land reform, distribution of wealth and improved standard of living, falls on fertile ground. The Communists' strategy is to provoke the military to overthrow democratic governments in the hope that the masses of the people eventually will turn to the Communists.

The threat from the right is primarily a threat from the Latin military, either acting independently or allied with powerful elements of the old ruling classes, who oppose the reform aspects of the Alliance for Progress or reforms initiated by democratic regimes in the Latin countries.

And in continuation of its commentary the editorials give a birds-eye view of the situation in Honduras:

Honduras contains all the elements that have produced conflict among left, right and center in Latin America. It has been called the "country of the 70's—70 per cent illiterate, 70 per cent rural, 70 per cent illegitimate." It has a history of political strife and frequent intervention by the military.

In 1957, the country began a brave experiment in democracy. A constituent assembly elected a President, Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales, now 54, a surgeon who early in his career developed a lively interest in politics. Under Dr. Villeda Morales Honduras made some hesitant steps

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ward. New schools were built, at rate estimated by the Government at 232 a year for five years, and unpaved roads were stretched into the mountains and forests. The President became a firm friend of the Alliance for Progress, which thus far has committed $18.2 million to Honduras.

This progress notwithtanding, fears mounted in recent weeks that Honduras was ripe for military coup d'etat. The main reason was the probable outcome of the Presidential election set for October 13—a week from today. The expected victor was Modesto Rodas Alvarado, 43, the presiding officer in Congress and the candidate of President Villeda Morales's Liberal party. In his outspoken campaign, he pledged to reduce the powers of the military, which in turn charged that he was "soft" on Communism.

It should be noted incidentally that merely a flood of dollar-aid cannot stave-off military dictatorships, as should be clear from what has happened in South Korea and South Vietnam and Pakistan.

In Asia the Cold War tensions are chiefly felt in India and in South Vietnam. In Malayasia the intransigence of the Indonesian Government has kept up the tensions that followed the birth of Malayasia on September 16. It is hoped, however, that the good offices of the Thailand Government will help in smoothing down the ruffled feelings of the three parties to the trouble, all of whom seem to have grievances!

In the Himalayan areas, on the frontiers between Tibet and India, the Chinese are still actively building strong points and roads, massing troops, heavy artillery, armour and transport. The build-up is undoubtedly warlike, though the Chinese are telling the World that unless India gives "provocation" there would be no fresh outbreak of active warfare.

Red China's new soul-mate Pakistan, has not been slow to take-up the unprincipled methods of her new-found partner. Mendacious propaganda and double talk have been Pakistan's customary procedure, ever since her birth, in her dealings with India. To that she has now added nibbling at Indian territory by means of encroachments on unguarded Indian territory by her armed forces. The latest adventure of this type is taking place on the borders of Assam, where Pakistani armed forces are building bunkers on Indian territory under cover of fire from small arms. Unarmed Indian police have been attacked, and an outpost has been looted in characteristic Pakistani fashion and unarmed Indian peasants have been fired upon in an attempt to drive them away from their fields, so that Pakistani infiltrators might seize and occupy the cultivated lands.

The most curious aspect of the affair is the posting of unarmed police by the Indian Government in such disturbed areas. It seems New Delhi really needs primary lessons in such matters as Defence even to-day!

China, through Mr. Chou-En-lai, has evinced willingness to resume direct pourparlers with India, according to an interview that has been given to Mr. Gerald Long, The General Manager of Reuters. In that interview the Prime Minister of Red China had stated that China and India should reopen negotiations at any level, including that between the heads of Governments, but there should be no pre-conditions. He is reported to have said "If Prime Minister Nehru finds it inconvenient to come to China, the Chinese Premier is willing to go to India. And this proposal has not been taken back by us." The rest of the interview, extracts from which are given below, contain passages which tend to lay emphasis on the pose of injured innocence affected by Red China's Premier. The extract is from a report in the **Amrita Bazar Patrika**:

The Sino-Indian border situation was now relaxed due, Mr. Chou claimed, to a series of measures taken by China.

"We did not carry out provocations in the first place and neither will we conduct provocations in the future. Unless the Indian armed forces again intrude into our side of the line of actual control, the situation cannot become tense again," he said.

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He said there were constant reports from New Delhi that China was massing troops and planning an invasion and that Chinese planes were violating Indian Air Space.

"I can tell you definitely that all these allegations are absolutely baseless." Mr. Chou said.

Colombo Proposals

Mr. Chou said some foreign friends were worried that the conflict might start again, "but our stand is definite. We wil never start any conflict. So long as India does not start new provocations, the situation will continue to be relaxed."

Mr. Chou said, "With mediation by the six Colombo powers, should India create tension again, even then the six powers can play the role of dissuading India."

Mr. Chou also made references to the India-China conflict when asked about China's attitude to peaceful co-existence.

He recalled the numerous treaties of non-aggression and friendship and boundary agreements which China had concluded and said: "In all these we have declared our adherence to the five principles of peaceful co-existence. When we make such declarations we abide by them in deed.

"It is regrettable that India provoked the boundary conflicts and sabotaged the five principles of peaceful, co-existence," Mr. Chou added. "But we don't despair, confident that the day will surely come again when China and India will live together in friendship under the five principles of peaceful co-existence."

The External Affairs department dismissed Mr. Chou En-lai's offer to come to New Delhi for talks with Mr. Nehru as a propaganda move. The following statement was issued by the External Affairs Department:

This is not the first occasion that the Chinese Premier has offered to come to New Delhi. The sole purpose of making this offer is to disengage China from the Colombo proposals which, to a degree, have attempted to undo the results of China's massive invasion of India and provide basis for peaceful negotiations.

If Mr. Chou En-lai is anxious for resumption of peaceful negotiations India, he has merely to respond to I initiative of accepting the Colombo prop fully without any reservations. If he co nues to spurn the efforts of six frie non-aligned Afro-Asian countries, we sh have to conclude that any other effo made by him are desgined to bypass Colombo proposals and continue to re the fruits of aggression.

The Chinese Note of October 9, in b its tone and contents indicates no desire any kind to solve India-China differenc by peaceful methods. If the Chinese a tude to constructive measures suggested India is indicated by their statement—l us waste a little ink and paper as India pressing for a reply—surely the other e treme of the Prime Minister of the count offering to come to Delhi could hardly-mak any sense unless it was purely a propa gandist move.

It is evident that Heads of Governmen cannot meet and discuss without adequat preparations at various levels between th Governments concerned. The tone and con tents of the Chinese Note of October 9 coul not, by any stretch of imagination, be re garded as conducive to a meeting of the tw Prime Ministers.

The tense situation on our Northern Frontiers is likely to continue therefore and our preparations to meet the Chinese assa on our frontier defences—if and when it materializes—must go on in an accelerated pace, without any relaxation whatsover.

Pakistan's latest feat also took place in a press meeting. Pakistan's ambas sador to the U.A.R., Mr. S. K. Dehlavi attacked India's foreign policy at a press conference held in Cairo, about the middle of October. **Statesman's** report gives the following details:

The Indian Ambassador has pointed out that Mr. Dehlavi had committed a gross breach of diplomatic conduct by his unbalanced and intemperate outburst, an External Affairs Ministry spokesman said.

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Dr. Dehlavi on Tuesday criticized India's policy of non-alignment, non-violence and secularism. "They are shouts from housetops. India does not believe in them, nor does she assimilate them," he said.

He alleged that India's treatment of the Muslim minority, "31,000 of whom escaped to Pakistan" violated India's secularism and the rule of law, and her seeking of Western aid, the air umbrella and the Voice of America transmitter showed that India had given up her non-alignment policy.

The Pakistani Ambassador, also alleged that Indian leaders, including Dr. Radhakrishnan, Mr. Nehru and Mr. Sanjivayya, had recently referred to the use of "force when time and opportunity comes." This amounted to renunciation of the policy of non-violence, he argued.

Mr. Dehlavi's attack on India violates the UAR Foreign Ministry's directive disallowing diplomatic missions in Cairo to conduct hostile publicity againstt another country with which the UAR has freindly relations.

The outburst had to be "unbalanced and intemperate," for how else could one bolster up mendacious propaganda laced with unmitigated lies ? Further, Pakistan's beautiful scheme to manouvre the infiltration of hundreds of thousands of Pakistani Muslims into India, after about 20 million Pakistani Hindus had been looted and deprived of all their possessions and then driven into India, has misfired to a great extent. Thus the Pakistani plan to shift the load of starving peoples from her own shoulders to that of India and planting a network of spies, saboteurs and fifth column leaders all over Assam, Tippera and West Bengal, stands to be foiled, Hence this typical Pakistani reaction!

There have been notable changes in Government in West Germany and in United Kingdom, along the accepted democratic procedure followed in those countries.

In West Germany the 87 year old Chancellor of the Federal Republic, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, who had held the post for 14 years, voluntarily stepped down and his successor, the second Chancellor in the Federal Republic's history, was elected on the 16th of October. The new Chancellor is Professor Ludwig Erhard (66), who is acknowledged to be the architect of West Germany's post-war "economic miracle", was elected by 279 votes in the Bundestag, the Lower-House of Parliament. He needed 250 votes for election as Chancellor.

In the United Kingdom, where Mr. Harold Macmillan, the Prime Minister of U.K., who has had an emergency operation and would need quite some time to convalesce, had sent in his resignation to the Queen on October 18, thus ending a Premiership that had lasted six years and nine months and had weathered many storms within that span. With his resignation the Cabinet automatically goes out and a new one has to be formed by some one who has been invited by the Queen to form a successor Government.

Wide Speculation has been going on, in Britain and abroad about the likely successor to Mr. Macmillan. Contrary to the "believed wishes of a good half of the outgoing Cabinet, the majority of the Tory M.P.s and probably the overwhelming preference of the Tory voters in the Constituencies"—as put by the **Statesman's** correspondent—Lord Home was invited by the Queen to form the new Government and he accepted it.

The new incumbent—at least the man chosen by Mr. Macmillan as his successor and invited by the Queen accordingly—is Lord Home, Foreign Secretary in the outgoing Cabinet. It is the first time that a peer of the realm had been named to the highest office in the U.K.'s poiltical set up since 1902, when Lord Salisbury's Premiership (1895-1902) ended. There is nothing in British Law to prevent Lord Home from serving as Prime Minister. But as a peer he cannot enter the House of Commons when it is in session. There is some talk therefore about the possibility of his relinquishing his title. Prior to his succeeding to the earldom he had served for many years in the House of Commons.

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National Solidarity Day

Sunday the 20th of October was observed as Solidarity Day in order to give the people an opportunity to pledge their all in the defence of the Motherland. The pledge, as read out in Hindi by Prime Minister Mr. Nehru before the 20000 school children of Delhi gathered at the Ferozeshah Kotla grounds, has been translated thus:

"I reaffirm the solemn resolve of our people to preserve the freedom and integrity of my mother-land however hard and however long the struggle and however great the sacrifices."

"I pledge to work with determination for the unity and strength of the nation."

Mr. Nehru said that this day, October 20, was being observed as the National Solidarity Day because it was on this day a year ago that the Chinese had launched a major campaign of aggression on India's Northern borders. "Today" he said "should be described as "Victory Day" since a pledge was being taken to give victory to the nation."

He also said that the Unity of the country was the basic need of the day. This oneness should break down the walls of caste, religion, State and language which has been created in the country. Whatever State one may belong to, it should be remembered that all were Indians first and it was the duty of every one to protect the freedom of India.

Mr. Nehru laid emphasis on the oneness of the nation. "All of us should learn and teach in our homes the significance of being one. The strength of a nation lies not in arms but in the spirit of the people," he said.

Every word of what Mr. Nehru and the other leaders of the nation have said is true, and we hope that all of us will remember the pledge, to work for the unity and strength of the nation and thereby to uphold the liberty and integrity of our mother-land, in the days to come.

This pledge, which is that of service to the cause of the Indian Nation as a whole, should be printed in bold letters on good, tough paper, in all the languages of the people, the mother tongues of the ch... of the soil and should be sold at a fair ... by the Government or some auth... oranizatoin and the proceeds or the ... should be put in the Defence fund. E... home, every school and every place w... the public congregate should have ... pledge, thus printed, framed and promin... ly displayed. We are putting forward ... suggestion in all sincerity, as pledges ... this type have a tendency to being ta... lightly and then being observed mainly ... the breach thereof—particularly by th... who hold high office and wield great po... in the State and in their parties.

To our leaders we would suggest ... they also take the pledge and further ... order to demonstrate their dedication ... the cause of the Nation as a whole, th... make an open declaration that they wo... put India and the Indian nation first, a... the "Party" after that. The solidarity ... the nation is breached only too often ... those who abuse the privileges of their offi... for the fulfilment of personal, party or pr... vincial interests.

The spirit of service and that of t... complete dedication of one's self, body a... soul, to the cause of liberty and integrity ... the Nation, was once the shining glory ... tens of thousands of the Children of o... motherland. They in their turn inclin... millions of our people to rally to the ... call and to back them up with all the su... port that they could lend in those days ... travail and endevour. Leadership in th... days meant exemplary service and comple... dedication, and not merely long speeche... filled with empty platitudes and exhort... tions, the hollowness of which are mo... often than not demonstrated by the action ... of the speaker when the occasion arise... If those, on whom the country and th... Nation depend for the carrying out of the ... pledge taken solemnly on the day o... National Solidarity, can hold out equall... shining examples through their every-da... activities, then they can expect the Nati... to rally to their call, again and again, as ... did when the call come, on that day a ye...

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ago, to stand fast to resist the aggressor and to fight him every inch of his way. If the leaders fail to carry out the pledge or if they are unable to maintain the standard of dedication and service it calls for, then it would be better to end this tamasha

The Rice-Muddle in West Bengal

The Government and its officialdom, both at the Centre and in the States, is very fond of ladling out statistics in support of all its statements and contentions. Indeed, so much so that the common citizen now regards statistics as being a variety of plastics that can be shaped, moulded or stretched to fill or fit any official requirement.

It is not so very long ago that the unfortunate people of West Bengal—unfortunate because they are the most "preached at" of all the peoples of India—were told definitely and positively that there was no power on earth that could supply them with rice, and further they were told that whatever rice they got they would have to pay for at the rates asked by the dealer, since there was no way to control prices unless there were sufficient stocks of rice available.. Statistical figures were served out in support of the statements, and the Tomnoddies at the Centre intensified their looks of annoyance and boredom at the troubles in West Bengal and then shifted their atttention elsewhere, as they have done all these years where West Bengal was concerned. Perhaps that was their way of observing National Solidarity !

But the patience of the people was exhausted. The outrageous prices extorted by the unprincipled and rapacious traders who infest West Bengal passed all reasonable limits and the all-suffering Demos started getting restive. The Leftist Groups saw that the chance of a lifetime—where their political status was concerned—was in the offing and they did not let the grass grow under their feet. Very soon the public demand for rice in ample quantity and at a fair price, rose to a threatening roar all over Calcutta and echoing calls came from the district towns and villages. Even New Delhi's somnolence was rudely shaken.

Well ! Prices came tumbling down and rice appeared in plenty at almost all the shops. And we are told that the needs of the people would be met in full and, further, that prices would fall to a lower level with the new crop coming in at the end of November !

Will the Government now give the people the figures of the rice-muddle, the enormous sums that the people were mulcted of by the dealers ?

PUJA HOLIDAYS

The Modern Review office will remain closed, on account of the annual Durga Puja holidays, from the 24th October to 6th November, 1963, both days inclusive. Correspondence, remittances, advertisement instructions etc., received during the holidays, will be acknowledged and dealt with on the reopening of the office on November 6, 1963.

Manager

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

By KARUNA K. NANDI

FOOD CRISIS IN WEST BENGAL

With the approach of the Durga Puja season in Bengal, it is usual for price pressure on most essentials to increase marginally. This also is the period, usually, when there is a slight increase of additional seasonal pressure on rice prices preceding the impending *aman* harvest, which is the largest rice harvest of the year. This year, however, there was practically no downward readjustment of the price level of rice over the last harvest season—the marginal fall of aprpximately 2.8 per cent computed by the Government of India not merely did not merely compensate the unusually steep rise of 7.3 per cent over the immediately preceding months (this was stated to have started rather early from about the middle of March, 1962 and lasted until about the middle of November, of the same year ; the rise over the corresponding period of the preceding year was computed to have been only 1.5 per cent), but lasted for only about a month between mid-November until mid-December, and was again on an upward rampage thereafter. Thus, rice which was selling at between Rs. 23 and Rs. 24 during November-December had already risen steeply to Rs. 37|38 per maund by about the 3rd August, this year. Between early August and until about the end of September, rice prices remained more or less stable with, perhaps, slight regional variations here and there, at this high level but over the first two weeks of October rice prices were again on the rampage with a steeply and steadily rising incidence from day's end to day's end and the coarsest rice by about the 12th-13th of October was fetching as high a price as about Rs. 50 per maund on an average. It was extraordinary, and the prevelance of so-called scarcity in supply could not possibly explain the incidence of the rise, which would appear to have been of the order of approximately 54 per cent by August compared to the level prevailing during the preceding November-December ; and the rise compared to the price level prevailing upto the third week of September, this year, would appear to have been of the order of a further 35 per cent approximately, or approximately, 108 per cent of what it was [illegible] less than a year ago.

Chief Minister's Irresponsible Statements

What would appear to have more than [illegible] ordinarily helped to not merely maintain the [illegible] pressure at the unaccountably high level it [illegible] already reached by about mid-August this [illegible] but also to encourage a further and very [illegible] price-spurt, would appear to have been the [illegible] sumably panicky, but wholly wild and irresponsible statements that the West Bengal Chief Minister started to issue from his perch in the Writers Buildings, from day to day. When one recalls that Food and Supply were the responsibilities of the Chief Minister's own personal Ministry, even apart from the joint responsibility of his Government, the statements that Shri P. C. Sen continued to issue from day to day would appear to be merely extraordinarily irresponsible, but could even be read into to have a wholly sinister content. One recalls in this connection the [illegible] boastful claims that the Chief Minister had made during th last Food Debate in the West Bengal Assembly, that his Government's "mobile rationing system" was already supplying rice and wheat and sugar to 63,00,000 persons of the State's 3,70,00,000 population, which could be progressively increased to 1,00,00,000 persons his Government could, at a pinch, even undertake to feed 1,20,00,000 persons which actually [illegible] did during the 1959 floods. Even at that [illegible] complaints were not infrequent that supplies to Fair price Shops were not adequate to meet the full requirements of the 63,00,000 ration card holders and that so far as rice was concerned the requirements of only less than half of the card holders could be met from supplies that were being made available to these shops from the Government godowns. During a recent press conference the Chief Minister held at his office, he was reported to have dismissed the question posed to him by a press reporter in an obvious fit of bad temper that his modified rationing system had already been covering 85,00,000 persons and that his Government could undertake to do more. How the requirements of these 85,00,0[illegible]

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persons were being met would be obvious from the supplies to a particular Fair Price Shop in Calcutta about which we have taken pains to apprise ourselves. In this shop there were 4,072 adult units registered for supply of rations. During the week ended 30th September last, the total supply of rice of all varieies made available to this shop aggregated 21 quintals, or roughly about 2,100 Kg. During the following week the supply was further curtailed to just about 14 quintals or 1,400 Kg. and during the week ended 20th October the total supply to this shop aggregated 15 quintals or 1,500 Kg. This short supply, amounting to just over a third only of the demand that this particular shop was required to cater to, has not merely been causing near-riots at the spot but, if this was symptomatic of the general condition of supplies to all fair price shops—and there is no reason to believe that it was not—this was obviously calculated to force even the ration-card holders who comprise just over 23 per cent of the State population, to go to the open market for their minimum supplies which would be bound to give profiteers additional advantages over their customers.

This was an obvious admission of failure on the part of the Government to maintain the fractional supplies that they had undertaken to make available at reasonable and fair prices to only about a fifth of the State's population and which, naurally, provided corresponding encouragement to the open-market dealers to reap additional harvests of profits for themselves at the people's cost. This breakdown was stated to have been caused by the timely non-arrival of supplies from the Central Government and from other sources to make up the deficit in the State's foodgrains supplies. If the Government of India had really failed to honour their commitments to the State, it was obviously the business of the State Government to put necessary pressure upon the former to ensure that supplies were made available on good time, and not to create a panicky condition in the market by admissions of failure and by all sorts of associated and wholly wild and irresponsible statements to boost the panic.

The Chief Minister next comes out with a statement which had an element of hope and reassurance in it. His Government and their agricultural experts were stated to have made an estimate of the prospects of the on-coming *aman* harvest, which was said to be especially encouraging and that if nothing untoward happened to vitiate this estimate, it was said that the yield would be 5,000,000 tons of rice which, together with the estimated 400,000 ton yield from the *aus* crop, would aggregate a total local production of rice of the order of 5.4 million tons. This, according to the Chief Minister, would reduce the deficit previously estimated by him, which was computtd to have been of the order of 2.2 million tons, to just 900,000 tons ; in other words his previously estimated 37 per cent deficit would thus be reduced to just about 13 per cent.

But even when this rather hopeful news wholly failed to arrest the still rising trends of rice prices, the Chief Minister came out with a further statement which, for its wildness and callous irresponsibility outpaced all his previous pronouncements by unimaginable lengths. He said that rice prices were still rising—and he frankly repudiated his Government's responsibility to do anything to arrest the trend—because encouraged by the prevailing high prices, farmers were holding their paddy stocks and would not sell except at extraordinarily high prices. He said that in certain areas in Burdwan paddy was selling for Rs. 25 per maund and it was impossible for the mills to sell rice at anywhere below Rs. 42 per maund if they had to buy their paddy at this rate. It seemed as if the Chief Minister had assumed the role of the publicity agent-*cum*-advocate of the rice trade in the State and was endeavouring to find all sorts of wild excuses and extenuations for the sky-ricketting rice prices which his Government would do nothing to arrest.

Supply and Need

It appears that relations of minimum needs of food cereals in relation to the quantum of production within the country has never been very fully and factually estimated. It should be remembered in this context that a former Food and Agriculture Minister of the Union Government had publicly given expression to the view that food should be looked upon from a total national point of view and not merely regionally in the context of regional production and needs only. This was stated to have been the Government's considered policy and the reported reluctance by some States to release surplus stocks for use in deficit areas would seem to be wholly at variance with such a declared policy.

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According to the 1961 census figures, the gross population of the country comprising all ages and sexes, aggregated 43,93,00,000 persons. With a net 2 per cent annual rise in the population, the present strength of the national population should be of the order of 45,66,00,000. Of these, those in the age group 0 to 4 years comprise 6,16,00,000 or 13.5 per cent of the total population ; those in the age group 5 yars to 14 years and above 65 years, comprise 12,47,00,000 or 27.3 per cent of the population ; those in the age-group 15 years to 65 years comprising 27,03,00,000 persons account for 59.2 per cent of the total. The minimum daily food-cereal need of an adult has been computed by the Planning Commission at 16.5 oz. If the need of those in the age group 0-4 years were to be computed at approximately 10 per cent of an adult (which should not be considered unreasonably low), the cereal requirement to feed this particular age group in the country should, at the present level of the population, aggregate 37,095,520,000 oz. ; allowing a 75 per cent of the adult quota to those in the age groups 4 years to 14 years and above 65 years, the gross cereal requirement to feed this category of the population should be 1,88,795,580,000 oz. ; and at the full rate of 16.5 oz. per day to feed the balance of the fully adult population, an annual cereal supply of 16,27,746,600,000 oz. would be needed. The gross would work out at 18,53,637,-920,000 oz. or 52,327,180 tons. Adding 10 per cent for seed grains and unavoidable wastage, the aggregate gross minimum cereal supply needed would be 57,559,898 tons or roughly about 58,000,000 tons.

According to the Planning Commission's published estimates, the following were the figures of actual production of cereals in the country in 1960-61 :—

Rice ..	..	32,000,000 tons
Wheat ..	..	10,000,000 ,,
Other Cereals ..	..	22,000,000 ,,
Total : All Cereals	..	64,000,000 tons

According to several accredited Union Government spokesmen, the gross cereal production in the country has remained static at approximately the above level, during the two following years also. If our food cereal needs are to be computed in terms of all cereals, there would not seem to be any shortage in production in relation to our basic minimum needs. But if food cereals are to be computed in terms of rice and wheat only, our present supplies would seem to be short by approximately 16 million tons, or roughly 25 per cent.

There does not seem, however, to be any reasonable ground for such a view of the matter. Certain regional preferences for certain kinds of food cereals other than rice and wheat have always been in vogue. For instane in certain areas in Western U.P. and in the Punjab and Rajasthan the radiness to cover a fairly liberal proportion of the total cereal need of a family by *bajra* has long been in vogue; they would do so not merely under compulsion but willingly and with obvious pleasure because they are known to have a preference for this particular grain-flour. Similarly in certain other areas there has always been a ready preference for a certain measure of maize flour and parched maize as part of the daily food intake. In certain other parts of the country, from where a great proportion of Northern India's plantation labour and other manual workers are derived, there has been known to be a distinct preference for gram-flour as part of the people's food, not merely because they seem to like the taste of it but also, perhaps, because this particular food gives a sense of repletion over a longer period and so is supposed to have a better sustaining value than other foodgrains. It should not be difficult, in the circumstances, to popularise the use of these other kinds of food cereals in addition to merely wheat and rice, especially in view of the fact that their gross production aggregate roughly over 34 per cent of our gross cereal output of all kinds and could, therefore, if more widely used as an essential food cereal, fill a very substantial part of our minimum food cereal requirements.

True, one had to account for the rather phenomenal net annual increase in the population which would also correspondingly increase the pressure on food supplies. At the same time one has also to take into account the unfulfilled targets of progress of food production envisaged in the Plans; in the Third Plan a gross cereal output of 100 million tons per annum at the end of the Plan period has been accepted as the target and although no progress towards this direction appears to have been achieved during the two initial years of the Third Plan, it may be

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presumed that at least progress enough to cover the increased additional pressure derived from a 2 to 2.6 per ent annual population increase would at least be fully covered? Basically, therefore, there would not seem to be any shortage of food cereals even in the context of production within the country, if our needs can be distributed over all kinds of cereals produced. In addition we have also been importing quite a substantial quantity to ereals from abroad, principally wheat under PL 480 from the U.S.A., currently some rice also from the same source, and additionally rice from Burma, Vietnam. Nepal and elsewhere. These should enable our Government to have a substantial buffer stock to provide against lean years, so that minimal needs may not have to be repudiated and, principally so that no extortionate price-pressures may generate on food cereals.

Cereal Supply and Need in West Bengal

Let us now view the matter in the particular context of the West Bengal State. The 1961 census disclosed West Bengal to have a gross population of roughly 3,49,00,000 persons comprising all ages and sexes. With a net 2 per cent increase per annum, the level of the population should now be about 3,63,00,000. Computing the number of those in the age group 0 to 4 years to be of the order of 13.5 per cent as in All-India, they should aggregate 50,01,000 and their cereal need at 10 per cent of that of an adult, should comprise 3,011,602,000 oz.; of 99,10,000 persons in the age group 5-14 years and above 65 years (comprising 27.3 per cent of the total) at 75 per cent of an adult, the cereal need would aggregate 44,733,740.000 oz.; and of the balance comprising 2,13,89,000 persons in the age group 5 years to 64 (59.2 per cent) years at full 16.5 oz. per head per day, the annual cereal need would be 128,804,558,000 oz. or a total of 176,549,900,000 oz. or 4,983,960 tons. Adding 10 per cent for seed grains and unavoidable wastage, the gross minimum cereal requirement of the State on the basis of her present population, should be 5,482,316 tons or roughly about 5.5 million tons.

The Chief Minister of West Bengal, in course of his statement in reply to the food debate in the West Bengal Assembly about two months ago, computed the gross need of the State at 6.2 million tons, on what basis he had not cared to explain. On the other hand, his own Food and Supply Directorate provided figures to supply a written answer to a member's question in the Assembly, which computed this need at the same level as our above estimate and according to which and against the estimated yield of 4,000,000 tons of rice harvest of the last season, the deficit was calculated at 1.5 million tons. During the current year between 1st January and 30th September, the total wheat import into the State has been of the following order according to a Government source from which we obtained these figures :

Govt. A/c.	Trade A/c.	Total
198,000 tons.	447,800 tons	645,800 tons

During the preceding two years, when, according to this Directorate, the State had a deficit of 1.1 million and 1.2 million tons respectively, wheat imports were stated to have been of the following order during each of those years :

Year	Govt. A/c.	Trade A/c.	Total
1961	80,900 tons	459,800 tons	540,700 tons
1962	128,800 ,,	496,000 ,,	624,800 ,,

We have been unable to obtain figures from Government sources of the quantities of rice imported into the State during any of these periods, either by way of subventions from Central stocks, or from other sources. At the same time that there has been some rice imports, there cannot be any doubt about. In any case, what would be significant is that the figures of estimated deficits (and one can only take into consideration the more realistic estimates provided by the Food and Supply Directorate and not the obviously fanciful one trotted out by the Chief Minister) demonstrate that the current year's deficit has never been very substantially higher than in any of the two preceding years. Peculiarly enough, while prices remained more or less stable during the two preceding years, even during the period between late-March and mid-November, last year the average price rise did not go beyond 7.3 per cent at the maximum, prices from early January this year started on an unusual rampage; by mid-April they had assumed already dangerous proportions ; in August they had assumed an altitude which had never before been reached except during the 1943 famine and by about the 10th

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October, they had reached already the 1943 famine proportions. Marginal shortages cannot explain these symptoms; we have already seen that a very substanntial part of the shortage has actually been covered by imports of wheat and a further part, whetever its extent, would also have been covered by rice imports. Besides, the estimate of deficit is annual, and the latest price spurt occured with 3 month still go before the year had run out.

Invitation To Profiteering ?

Apart from that, what would seem all the more extraordinary, is that prices still continued to sky-rocket even after the announcement that the impending harvest, which was due in only about a month or five weeks at the outside, showed every promise of a bumper yield and would be likely, under normal conditions, to force down price levels correspondingly. That this was possible would be accounted for by several successive statements of the Chief Minister : first that his Government had no powers to interfere with the trade to curb its obvious profieering activities ; secondly his obvious anxiety to find extenuation for the high rice prices on the supposed ground of a corner in paddy by farmers with a view to squeezing out a very high price for their produce ; and, finally, by his curt statement that his Government had already been covering 85,00,000 persons in the State under the modified rationing system—it is significant that he disdained to reply to the complaint that supplies at fair price shops have not been covering more than about a third of the ration card holders so far as rice was concerned—which he had earlier boasted would be able to progressively cover 1,00,00,000 persons and even upto 1,20,00,000 persons at a pinch the number which was actually catered to during the 1959 floods.

Even if one were to be very indulgent of the Government's failings and were prepared to concede the difficulties they had to contend with, and were to accept the situation as regards supply with requisite patience and forbearance, there would not seem to be any excuse for the very wild and irresponsible statements by the Chief Minister all of which were calculated to add fresh strength to the elbows of the profiteers and the blackmarketeers. Even if one were to accept that the price level of rice at an average of Rs. 37/38 per maund, which was ruling between August end of September, this year, as a normal ment between demand and supply, the subs jump to somewhere around Rs. 45-50 per had absolutely no other explanation except most conscienceless kind of profiteering. And Government't role in the process, especially Chief Minister's positively mischivous state on the subject, could only be taken as a direct vitation to the profiteers to squeeze as much they could out of their helpless customars wi the least apprehension of the slightest offici terference in the unholy racket. It might be esting if realistic investigations could be car out by some socio-economic researcher as to gross amount of additional profits that have flowed into the pockets of the trade !

Repetition of 1943 Famine ?

The entire build up in the West Bengal market, to those who were acquainted with processses that led to the food holocaust of 19 would appear to have had unusual points of larity with the latter tragedy. The Woodhead Committee made no secret of the fact that the 19 famine was a deliberately engineered tragedy with *direct official connivance and participation*, in which several million unfortunates lost their lives and many more millions were reduced to a stage of no more than mere suspended animation. That there was any serious scarcity in supply of food-grains was categorically denied by the Woodhead Committee. Very much a similar situation appears to have been building up currently in West Bengal again. Having regard to the fact that any quantity of rice of any variety was being freely available all over the State if only the customer was able and willing to pay the price demanded, the supposed scarcity in supplies would appear on the present occasion also to be quite as mythical as it was in 1943. The way the Government was allowing the price racket to build up with callous unconcern and even went out of their way to declare that they had no part to play in the matter on behalf of the ill-used public, it would seem that very much the same official connivance and participation in the profiteers' racket has been enabling it to grow on the present occasion also.

Protests, cajolements appeals to their conscience that were being repeatedly made to the Government and the Chief Minister had been

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not the slightest avail and would not move them to take a positive hand in the matter to bring down prices to somewhere near a reasonable level. On the contrary the Government of the State through sundry statements of the Chief Minister made it amply clear that they would do nothing to help. Knowing the infinite and fatalistic patience of our people even in the face of the most obvious oppression and the inevitability of the direst fate, it seemed as if nothing could prevent another massive famine.

The situation on the prsent occasion would seem to be materially different from what it had been in 1943 in one respect. At that time the large war spendings of the Government had placed additional buying capacity into the hands of at least select categories of the population, and price levels had not yet risen to any considerable extent except only in rice. There were no doubt large numbers of landless labourers, daily wage earners, who had no staying powers at all and who eventually became the inevitable victims of the tragedy. On the present occasion effective buying power in the country, thanks to our Government playing at so-called development planning, has become concentrated within a microscopically limited area ; for the rest although there may have been some visible rise in money incomes in certain sectors of the working classes, continuous price rises all over the consumer market, with especial emphasis on essential consumables, all increased buying power which might have otherwise emanated from the progress in the national and per capita incomes, would appear to have been wholly mopped up. In addition there is the unconscionably heavy burden of taxes which would seem to have maintained a corresponding pace with the price rampage.

We have already discussed at some length the level of poverty of the poorest 60 per cent of our people in these columns ; Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia insisted that their daily per capita income (presumably disposable income) was only 3 annas a day ; Union Minister Gulzarilal Nanda tried to counter the thesis by proving that the consumption expenditure of this category of the population was as high as 7.5 annas per capita per day which, by implication, would seem to prove that *disposable* income must also, *ipso facto*, be more or less of a corresponding level. A recent press report yielded the information that an up-to-date estimate of per capita distribution of income has been worked out in a preliminary report by the Mahalanobis Committee at around 5 annas per capita per day for the poorest 40 per cent of the population. Whether it is 3 annas or 5 annas or even as high as 7.5 annas, the cost of procuring a 16.5 oz. cereal supply even when the wheat content is as high as a third of the total daily ration, would leastwise be 74 nP. at the present reduced price of rcie at Rs. 35 per maund. In West Bengal especially where the total wheat supply is no more than about 6.5 lakh tons, which is about a seventh of the present gross rice supply as estimated by the Governmnt themselves, would be about the optimum wheat content of one's daily ration of 16.5 oz. for, despite the insistent advice of the Chief Minister to eat more wheat instead of rice, that would be about the utmost that the Government could possibly undertake to supply. This, on the face of it, would cost far more than a good 60 per cent of the State's population could afford for their daily food which would not contain anything more than a bare cereal supply only. The build up towards a repetition of the 1943 tragedy would, thus, appear to be as real as it possibly could be, especially having regard to the Government's complete repuidation of any responsibility towards bringing down the present wholly unjustifiable sky-rocketted rice prices which they would do nothing to alleviate.

The People Take A Hand

Rice prices, during the first few days of October, it has been seen, sky-rocketted once again by anywhere between Rs. 8 to Rs. 13 per maund and Government's wholly callous indifference to the alarming situation, even the obvious anxiety on the part of the Chief Minister as demonstrated in his various recent statements to find all sorts of wild justification for this fresh price spurt from the already unconscionably high level it had reached earlier, would seem to have been making the situation even more additionally explosive. What would seem to have been adding to the alarming contents of the situations was the obvious indication that, perhaps alarmed by the inevitably widespread public clamour, supplies of rice to the open retail market, which had already been fetching prices as high as between Rs. 45 and Rs. 50 per maund depending on the quality, and which was so long readily available so far as the price demanded was being paid, had started

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to evince unmistakable symptoms of going underground. Simultaneously, as if to assist the trade in its nefarious design, supplies of Government rice to fair price shops had also started to further dwindle in quantity, on the hardly acceptable plea of timely non-arrival of Central subventions to the State. It seemed as if nothing could now avert the eventual onset of another devastating famine and an inevitable repetition of the 1943 tragedy in which so many unfortunate millions lost their lives as the result of an unholy conspiracy between an avaricious trade and a corrupt and graft-ridden administration.

Fortunately, however, obviously goaded by sheer desparation and conscious of the dire fate that would otherwise inevitably overtake them if they continued merely to look upto an obviously incompetent, wholly conscienceless and patently corrupt Government to provide succour in one of the worst crises of their lives, the people seemed to suddenly wake up to a realization of what they must do to make even bare existence possible. It did not take long, once they had done so, to organize themselves effectively, to march in strength upon rice shops and godowns and to begin to enforce the very legitimate demand that rice must be sold to them at comparatively reasonable prices. There have been inevitably instances of initial resistance from the trade which have not been of much avail ; attempts have no doubt been made to divert stocks to hidden caches without much apparent success ; evasions have been tried which the people have been in no mood to indulge. The sudenly aroused determination of the people baffled all these usual tactics. What would seem to have made the people's demand in this behalf wholly irresistible, was the obviously well-organized manner, by and large, in which they went about the business and the exemplary discipline and restraint that they seemed to exercise over their own ranks. Even where rice could be looted with impunity—and considering the criminal manner in which rice-racketeering had been going on it might have been a very normal reaction to do so, the provocation was, indeed, of the gravest possible nature—they forebore, but patiently waited unconscionable hours in orderly queues while their spokesmen went on negotiating that each of them could *buy* a certain fixed quota at a mutually agreed, but certainly far lower than the then prevailing open-market price. Dum Dum showed the way and the cue was taken up by other areas and shop after shop, godown after godown had to be opened up for transactions all over the city and suburbs far into the night, sometimes all through the night and next morning. The prices at which rich sold varied somewhere between Rs. 35 and Rs. 37 generally, but at places it was still lower and at a shop near the Bagha Jatin Bazar on the southernmost ouskirts of the city, it sold at even as low a price as Rs. 25 per maund. Although shopkeepers and godown owners insisted that they had thus been incurring very large losses as they had to buy their stocks at much above these prices, it does not seem likely that our rice traders who had been wholly impervious to the evil they had been perpetrating had suddenly developed a conscience and were out to expiate their earlier sins by selling their rice stocks at substantial loss to themselves. What would be more reasonable to assume in the circumstances is that, leastwise, the margin between their present selling price under duress and at which they have been selling earlier represented the additional profits they have been making out for themselves.

It is significant that the Government, both here in Calcutta and at the Centre had so long remained wholly callous and indifferent onlookers. But when the people began to take a hand to help themselves and commenced to effectively force the hands of the trade to release their stocks of rice at mutually agreed but comparatively more reasonable prices, the Government could not naturally remain unconcerned. There was, no doubt, the potentials in the developing situation, of a possibly explosive law and order problem, although nothing had eventuated so far that might be described as anything like so toward. But what would seem to concern the Government even far more than their so-called law and order responsibility, was the public reaction to their role in the entire situation. It was almost like a spontaneous, well-disciplined and orderly parallel administration that seemed to have suddenly sprung up and which would, if left wholly to itself, be bound in the long run to cut away the very earth from under the feet of the Government and the Party. It was obviously these very disturbing considerations that must have induced the Governments both here and at the Centre to belatedly move in to take what hond hey could in the matter. They

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would do nothing before, possible because they would not consider the people as more than merely worms fit to die the ignoble and earthy death they were then facing. But when, to their confusion and consternation they found that even the *worm had turned*, they could no longer remain indifferent. The West Bengal Government made a great show of enforcing conformation by the trade, at its various levels, to the profit margins, compulsory display of price lists, inspection of stocks etc., which they had previously promulgated under the DIR and which had never before before been enforced or, perhaps, even been meant to be enforced. They posted police pickets at all centres of rice sales and announced an agreement between themselves and the trade that rice would now sell at no more than Rs. 35 per maund retail. It should be underlined, however, that what they have done has been merely to bring the Government's lines of action (from complete earlier inaction) down to conform with those that the people had themselves been already enforcing.

The Union Government also would not be left behind in this new official bid to woo the people whom they had so long been treading under their heels. The Union Deputy Minister of Food, accompanied by the Secretary to the Food Ministry, flew down to Calcutta ; earlier their spokesmen in Calcutta announced assurances that additional rice stocks would be immediately made available to West Bengal and, generally, the situation would be immediately brought under reasonable control to ease the position regarding supply of food grains to the people of the State. The Chief Minister had already announced that a so-called "gentlemen's agreement" had been concluded between the trade and himself and that rice would continue to be offered for sale at Rs. 35 per maund until the next harvest, and ample quantities would be released to the retail market to cover basic demands. At a conference, later, between the West Bengal Government, the Union Deputy Minister and a number of members of Parliament from West Bengal, this same "agreement" was confirmed by the Chief Minister which, he said, he would, if necessary, enforce. As we write the still further announcement by the West Bengal Government, that the number of people covered by the modified rationing system in the State, which was, so far, at approximately 8.5 million persons, would be immediately raised by a further 1 million (the deadline announced by which this would be made effective is the 21st of this month) and that the State Government hoped to be able to further increase this number eventually to 10.5 millions. This announcement is hardly reassuring in the face of the woeful shortness of supplies so long made available to fair price shops to cater to the needs of the ration card holders which, as we have already endeavoured to demonstrate earlier in this discussion, presently covers only about a third of the actual quota. So that of the 8.5 million people who, the Chief Minister claims have been receiving their rice supplies through fair price shops, hardly more than 2.75 millions would actually seem to have been receiving their requisite supplies and the rest have had to resort to the open market to cover their minimum needs. From the Centre also comes the rather wishful news that the Union Government had learnt their lesson from the present West Bengal situation, and that effective steps would be taken everywhere to avert such crises in the future.

"*Gentlemen's Agreement*"

But so far as the situation in West Bengal is concerned, the State is far from being yet out of the woods, as we write on 19. 10. '63. The official optimism that appears to have now sprouted out would seem to have their foundations upon two distinctive conditions. First, that the Centre speeds up supplies of stocks to the State in adequate quantities and on good time to enable the local Government to keep the fair price shops fully supplied which have, so far, been demonstrably most inadequately fed. Secondly, and this is the more overwhelmingly important factor in the situation, that the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" between the Chief Minister and the trade is fully and adequately honoured. Already rice stocks appear to have run dry in large areas of the metropolis and fresh supplies do not seem to be flowing in. The people may have, the apprehension is not quite without reason, found themselves both hoodwinked and utterly defeated in the ultimate analysis by allowing the Government to wrest the initiative away from themselves. Judging by past results and events, the reliability of the so-called "gentlemen's agrement" may not be very great. For, who is the fentlemen in the agreement ?—The trade, or Mr. P. C. Sen ?

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Need For Accelerating Rate of Growth

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the recently reinstated Union Finance Minister, disappointed most of his more discerning auditors when he spoke recently over the AIR notwork on the need for accelerating the rate of growth in the national economy It has been estimated that the approximate rate of growth over the first decade of development planing covering the First and the Second Plans has been of the order of 3.5 per cent compound per annum which, although not very substantial in itself, was at least more than the rate of population growth by a margin of very nearly 1.5 per cent. During the first two years of the Third Plan, however, this rate appears to have considerably slowed down to somewhere around 2 per cent per annum which, according to the latest assessments of the rate of annual population growth in the country, is just below bare maintenance level.

It is not really because Mr. Krishnamachari's auditors do not agree with him on the question of the rate of growth and the obvious need for stimulating it to a more accelerating tempo that disappointment would seem to have ensued. What would appear to have caused disappointment is the apparent lack of policy on the part of Mr. Krishnamachari's Ministry in particular and that of the Union Government in general on the vital need to enunciate a rational, healthy and effective price policy. While frankly agreeing that the rather alarming rate of price rises over the past few years and, especially over the last one year since the emergency arising out of Chinese invasion on the Northern borders of the country has been posing questions of far-reaching consequences which, obviously would be bound to bear upon the growth of the economy, Mr. Krishnamachari had no more to say than Government, pending the growth of a co-operative public opinion, had no policy to lay down in this behalf. One recalls in this connection the contentions of the former Union Planning and Labour (now Home) Minister, Gulzarilal Nanda, some time earlier, that rising prices had correspondingly attenuated the achievements of the Second Plan and the continuing upward trends affecting the price structure, in his opinion, would similarly affect the implementation of the Third Plan also. The need for an effective price policy would, on the face of it seem to be vital for the growth of the economy the Finance Minister, while more or less ing with the view, merely produces arg to condone this process of rising prices than to find effective means to deal with All that he would concede is that with the pects of "a better crop, the price situa the coming months may not to cause much concern . . . But this qu of a stable price policy will remain with *years to come* (emphasis ours) as it has with us . . . for at least the past two de He goes on to add that a "price polic essential consumer goods must reconcile opposing interests of producers and cons The producers must get a fair price, both a reward for their labour and as an inc for increasing production. At the same time consumers must not be required to pay cessive prices out of line with their inco But how can we reconcile these two inte without reducing in some way the role profits of the middle men?

Mr. Krishnamachari further elabora "There is a widespread feeling that with de in competition the margin of profit in tribution has increased in recent years. if this margin is to be reduced it cannot done without a measure of regulation or in vention by the State in the machinery of tribution . . . I think all of us should ask ourselves whether reasonable stability prices should be assured to all sections of people irrespective of their incomes, or whe it should be assured only to the more vulnera sections of the community. I do not propose answer these questions or to lay down the p of the Government in this regard."

The Finance Minister, with his us adroitness is evading responsibility for w must be done by Government in such circu tances with the rather platitudinous state that that "the discipline that goes with concept of the policy of maintenance of st prices can only be enforced by a strong back of public opinion." The present drift, so far rising prices are concerned, would appear continue also under the new Finance Mini and any light of hope, that the country m have been looking forward to under his n newed regime appears to have been thoroughly extinguished.

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THE SUPREME COURT AND THE INDO-PAK AGREEMENT ABOUT BERUBARI AND CERTAIN ENCLAVES

Some Constitutional Questions

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE

I

The object of this article is to discuss, in the context of our Supreme Court's views thereon, some constitutional questions connected with the well-known problems of Berubari Union and the proposed exchange of certain Enclaves between India and Pakistan.

It appears from the Opinion[1] of our Supreme Court on a reference[2] made by the President of India, under Article 143 of our Constitution, on the question of the implementation of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement relating to what are known as "Berubari Union and the Exchange of Enclaves", that "in accordance with the directives issued by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, on September 10, 1958, the Commonwealth Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, and the Foreign Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth, Government of Pakistan, discussed 10 items of dispute between the two countries and signed a joint note recording their agreement in respect of the said disputes and submitted it to their respective Prime Ministers" ; and that "with a view to removing causes of tension and resolving border disputes and problems relating to Indo-Pakistan Border Areas and establishing peaceful conditions along those areas, the Prime Minsters, acting on behalf of their respective Governments, entered into an Agreement settling some of the disputes and problems in the manner set out in the said joint note." This Agreement had been called the Indo-Pakistan Agreement. This is also popularly known as the Nehru-Noon Agreement. We may refer to it hereinafter simply as the Agreement.

Reference to the Supreme Court by the President of India was concerned only with two items of the Agreement.

It further appears from the Opinion of the Supreme Court alluded to before, that a doubt had arisen as to whether the implementation of the Agreement relating to Berubari Union required "any legislative action either by way of a suitable law of Parliament relatable to Article 3 of the Constitution (of India) or by way of a suitable amendment of the Conssitution in accordance with the provisions of Article 368 of the Constitution or both" ; that a similar doubt had "arisen about the implementation of the Agreement relating to the Exchange of Enclaves" ; and that there was a "likelihood of the constitutional validity of any action taken for the implementation of the Agreement relating to Berubari Union as well as the Agreement relating to the Exchange of Enclaves being questioned in Courts of law involving avoidable and protracted litigation". These were the reasons why the President of India thought that questions of law which had arisen were of such nature and of such importance that it was expedient that the opinion of the Supreme Court of India should be obtained thereon. Therefore, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by Clause 1 of Article 143 of the Constitution of India, he "referred the following three questions" to the Supreme Court "for consideration and report thereon :—

"(i) Is any legislative action necessary for the implementation of the Agreement relating to Berubari Union ?

"(ii) If so, is a law of Parliament relatable to Article 3 of the Constitution sufficient for the purpose or is an amendment of the Constitution in accordance with Article 368 of the Constitution necessary, in addition or in the alternative ?

"(iii) Is a law of Parliament relatable to Article 3 of the Constitution sufficient for (the) implementation of the Agreement relating to the Exchange of Enclaves or is an amendment of the Constitution in accordance with Article 368 of the Constitution necessary for the

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purpose, in addition or in the alternative?"

As noted before, we are not here concerned with "the historical, political and constitutional background of the Agreement". We shall only deal with certain constitutional questions relating to it.

II

Before we proceed further, we may be permitted to make a personal reference here. In a brief article[3] entitled *The Problem of Berubari and the Constitutional Position : A Note*, published in *Law Journal*[4] : *University College of Law, Calcutta*, June, 1959, we had stated, among other things :—

"Is there any provision in our Constitution under which any portion of the territory of India may, if necessary, be *lawfully* ceded or transferred to a foreign State ? This question has been raised in connection with the issue of the proposed transfer of a part of Berubari Union in the District of Jalpaiguri, West Bengal, to Pakistan under what is popularly known as the Nehru-Noon Agreement. It has been seriously argued by many people, amongst whom there are, strangely enough, some lawyers, that under the Constitution of India as it is to-day, no part of the territory of India can be ceded or transferred to any foreign State by any authority in India. It is diffiiult to agree with this view.

"Whatever may be the moral and political aspects of the particular question of Berubari—and we are not concerned with them here,—juristically speaking, there is, it is submitted, no *constitutional* bar, subject to the special requirement in the case of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and notwithstanding anything in Article 1 of the Constitution, to the cession or transfer of any part of the Indian territory to any foreign State under an international agreement duly entered into on behalf of this country by a competent authority. This will be evident from the following express provisions of our Constitution, considered along with what is known in connection with the construction of constitutional documents as the doctrine of implication or implied powers, namely, Article 253 and Entries 10, 13 and 14 in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution. Thus, we find in Article 253 of the Constitution :—

'Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions[5] of this Chapter,[6] Parliament has power to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any treaty, agreement or convention with any country or countries or any decision made at any international conference, association or other body.'

"And Entries 10, 13 and 14 in the Union List referred to above, are as follows :—

'10. Foreign Affairs ; all matters which bring the Union into relation with any foreign country.

'13. Participation in international conferences, associations, and other bodies and implementing decisions made thereat.

'14. Entering into treaties and agreements with foreign countries and implementing of treaties, agreements and conventions with foreign countries.'

"These express and unambiguous provisions of our Constitution, quite, we submit, sufficient in themselves for declaring the intention of the framers of the Constitution, may also be construed according to the accepted rules of construction. And here comes in the doctrine of implication or implied powers. Now, what does this doctrine really mean ? Let us see what some eminent jurists say in regard to it.

"While delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, Chief Justice Marshall stated in 1819:

'The government which has a right to do an act, and has imposed on it the duty of performing that act, must, according to the dictates of reason, be allowed to select the means. . . . We admit, as all must admit, that the powers of the government are limited, and that its limits are not to be transcended. But, we think the sound construction of the Constitution (of the United States) must allow to the national legislature (*i.e.*, Congress) that discretion, with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into execution, which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it, in the manner most beneficial to the people.'

"Justice Story has observed[8] :—

'Where the power is granted in general terms, the power is to be construed as co-extensive with the terms, unless some clear restriction upon it is deducible from the context. . . . A restriction founded on conjecture is wholly inadmissible. . . . Every form of government unavoidably includes a grant of some discretionary powers. It

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would be wholly imbecile without them. It is impossible to foresee all the exigencies which may arise in the progress of events connected with the rights, duties, and operations of a government. . . . In the interpretation of a power, all the ordinary and appropriate means to execute it are to be deemed a part of the power itself. This results from the very nature and design of a constitution. In giving the power, it does not intend to limit it to anyone mode of exercising it, exclusive of all others. It must be obvious . . . . that the means of carrying into effect the objects of a power may, nay, must be varied, in order to adapt themselves to the exigencies of the nation at different times.'

"Justice Cooley has said[9] :—

'The implications from the provisions of a constitution are sometimes exceedingly important, and have large influence upon its construction. In regard to the constitution of the United States the rule has been laid down, that where a general power is conferred or duty enjoined, every particular power necessary for the exercise of the one or the performance of the other is also conferred.'

"Justice Cooley quotes in this connection an extract from the judgment of the Supreme Court of Illinois in *Field* v. *People* (3 Ill. 79, 83) to say[9a] :—

'That other powers than those expressly granted may be, and often are, conferred by implication, is too well settled to be doubted. Under every constitution the doctrine of implication must be resorted to, in order to carry out the general grants of power. A constitution cannot from its very nature enter into a minute specification of all the minor powers naturally and obviously included in it and flowing from the great and important ones which are expressly granted. It is therefore established as a general rule, that when a constitution gives a general power, or enjoins a duty, it also gives, by implication, every particular power necessary for the exercise of the one or the performance of the other.'

"Referring to the system of government in the United States, Professor Willis has remarked :[10]

'While the federal government is a government of delegated powers, yet these powers include not only the powers expressly granted, but also those implied as a fair implication from the express powers granted . . . . This means that the federal government has all the incidental and instrumental powers necessary and proper to carry into execution all of its express powers. The people who established the federal government did, it is true, limit the sphere of action of the federal government, but within that sphere they undertook to make it move with supreme authority. Thus, the power to incorporate a bank of the United States has been implied from the express powers of the federal government to collect taxes and to borrow money (M'Culloch v. Maryland 1819, 4 Wheat, 316). The power to issue legal tender notes was first implied from the express powers to make war, to borrow money, to coin money, and to issue bills of credit (another implied power) (Legal Tender Cases, 1870, 12 Wall. 457).... The power to punish officers of elections at which representatives are chosen for violation of duties imposed by state or federal law was implied from the express power of Congress over elections (*Ex parte* Siebold, 1879, 100 U.S. 371)[11] . . . . The power to pass an employers' liability act was implied from the express powers to regulate commerce (Second Employers' Liability Cases, 1912, 223 U.S. 1) . . . .'[12]

"Finally, we find in Maxwell :[13]

'The object of all interpretation of a statute is to determine what intention is conveyed, *either expressly or impliedly*,[14] by the language used so far as is necessary for determining whether the particular case or state of facts presented to the interpreter falls within it.'

"Again—

'Where an act confers a jurisdiction, it *impliedly*[15] also grants the power of doing all such acts, or employing such means, as are essentially necessary to its execution . . . . when powers, privileges, or property are granted by statute, everything indispensable to their exercise or enjoyment is *impliedly*[16] granted also . . . .'

"We have shown above at some length, with reference to the views of some eminent jurists, what the doctrine of implication or implied powers really means. It should be evident from what we have shown that under this doctrine powers specifically or expressly conferred upon any authority in a State automatically involves, in the absence of any clear constitutional provision to the contrary, such other powers as are necessary and proper for the

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effective exercise of the powers specifically or expressly granted to it. Now, under the express provisions of our Constitution referred to before, and the doctrine of implication explained above, the Centre in India can, subject to what we have said before in regard to Jammu and Kashmir, and in spite of Article 1 of the Constitution, certainly, if necessary, cede or transfer any part of the territory of India to a foreign State under an international agreement to which India is a party. Of course, by the word 'Centre' here we mean not merely the Central Executive but also the Central Legislature, that is, the Parliament of India. The Central executive may, under Article 73 of our Constitution, take the initiative in an international negotiation, but the implementing of any treaty, agreement or convention resulting therefrom, requires necessary legislation by our Parliament. This appears to us to be the law of our Constitution.

"The sovereignty of the State of India has been established over every part of its territory since the 26th of January, 1950. That sovereignty cannot be destroyed now in any part of the territory by a mere executive action. Necessary legislation by our Parliament is required for this in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution. Otherwise, there will be a flagrant violation of the Constitution, leading ultimately to the establishment of executive despotism in the country. If necessary, there may be permanent Acts of our Parliament providing for the adjustment, by our Executive Authorities, of boundaries, from time to time, between India and Pakistan in border areas through which what are known in International Law as 'boundary rivers' flow. It has also to be borne in mind in this connection that the requirements of Article 3[17] of our Constitution have to be duly fulfilled when the area or the boundaries of a constituent State of India are going to be adversely effected, or altered, by any proposed cession or transfer of territory. But these are all, more or less, procedural matters.

"The object of this Note is to combat the view that under the present Constitution of India no part of the terriory of India can be ceded or tranferred to any foreign State by any authority in India. As we have shown above, there is no constitutional bar to such cession or transfer in certain circumstances. We may even go so far as to say, for the sake of argument, that even if the express provisions referred to before, were not there in our Constitution, [illegible] the Residuary Powers of Legislation vested in [illegible] Article 248(1) of the Constitution and Entry [illegible] in the Union List (Seventh Schedule), [illegible] along with the doctrine of implication, [illegible] Parliament could by necessary legislation [illegible] or transfer any part of the Indian territory [illegible] (minus Jammu and Kashmir), to a foreign State [illegible] under an international agreement. Juristically speaking, there would be no difficulty. Recourse to the adoption of this extreme view, however, is not necessary in view of the express provisions in our Constitution quoted before."

As will appear from what follows, we still adhere to our views as originally expressed in our article in the *Law Journal*.

III

Let us now pass on to the Opinion of the Supreme Court on the Reference made to it by the President of India in connection with the questions of Berubari Union and the proposed exchange of Cooch-Bihar Enclaves.

(Before, however, we proceed further, we may say, parenthetically for the convenience of the reader, a few words[17a] in regard to Berubari Union and Cooch-Bihar Enclaves. According to the Opinion of the Supreme Court, "Berubari Union No. 12, with which we are concerned, has an area of 8.75 sq. miles and a population of ten to twelve thousand residents. It is situated in the Police Station Jalpaiguri in the District of Jalpaiguri." Ever since what is known as the Radcliffe Award, dated 12th August, 1947, to be referred to hereinafter as the Award, "Berubari Union No. 12 has in fact formed part of the State of West Bengal and has been governed as such." What is known as the Bagge Award was made on 26th January, 1950. Two years later "the question of Berubari Union was raised by the Government of Pakistan for the first time in 1952," but no issue had been raised about the Berubari Union before the Indo-Pakistan Boundaries Disputes Tribunal over which Lord Justice Bagge presided. As a matter of fact no reference had been made to the District of Jalpaiguri at all in the Proceedings before the Tribunal. "During the whole of this period (since the partition of India), says the Supreme Court, "the Berubari Union continued to be in the possession of the Indian Union and was

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governed as a part of West Bengal. In 1952 Pakistan alleged that under the (Radcliffe) Award Berubari Union should really have formed part of East Bengal and it had been wrongly treated as a part of West Bengal. Apparently correspondence took place between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan on this subject from time to time and the dispute remained alive until 1958. It was under these circumstances that the present Agreement was reached between the two Prime Ministers on September 10, 1958." This is the background of the dispute in regard to Berubari Union No. 12.

We may also briefly refer here to the "background of events" which, according to the Supreme Court, "ultimately led to the proposed exchange of Cooch-Behar Enclaves between India and Pakistan." "It appears," says the Supreme Court, "that certain areas which formed part of the territories of the former Indian State of Cooch-Behar and which had subsequently become a part of the territories of India and then of West Bengal became after the partition enclaves in Pakistan. Similarly certain Pakistan enclaves were found in India. The problem arising from existence of these enclaves in Pakistan and in India along with other border problems was being considered by the Governments of India and of Pakistan for a long time. The existence of these enclaves of India in Pakistan and of Pakistan in India worked as a constant source of tension and conflict between the two countries. With a view to removing these causes of tension and conflict the two Prime Ministers decided to solve the problem of the said enclaves and establish peaceful conditions along the said areas. It is with this object that the exchange of enclaves was agreed upon by them." This in brief is "the historical and constitutional background of the exchange of enclaves.")

We may now resume the consideration of the Opinion of the Supreme Court referred to above. At the outset I may observe that it is gladdening to note here that the Supreme Court has held[19] that "it is universally recognised that one of the attributes of sovereignty is the power to cede parts of national territory if necessary," and that "there can be no doubt that under international law two of the essential attributes of sovereignty are the power to acquire foreign territory as well as the power to cede national territory in favour of a foreign State." It has further stated :[20]

"What . . . . is the nature of the treaty-making power of a sovereign State ? . . . . As we have already pointed out, it is an essential attribute of sovereignty that a sovereign State can acquire foreign territory and can, in case of necessity, cede a part of its territory in favour of a foreign State, and this can be done in exercise of its treaty-making power. Cession of national territory in law amounts to the transfer of sovereignty over the said territory by the owner-State in favour of another State. There can be no doubt that such cession is possible and indeed history presents several examples of such transfer of sovereignty. It is true as Oppenheim has observed[21] that—

'hardship is involved in the fact that in all cases of cession the inhabitants of the territory who remain lose their old citizenship and are handed over to a new sovereign whether they like it or not'; and he has pointed out[22] that—

'it may be possible to mitigate this hardship by stipulating an option to emigrate within a certain period in favour of the inhabitants of ceded territory as means of averting the charge that the inhabitans are handed over to a new sovereign against their will.' But though from the human point of view great hardship is inevitably involved in cession of territory by one country to the other there can be no doubt that a sovereign State can exercise its right to cede a part of its territory to a foreign State. This power, it may be added, is of curse subject to the limitations which the Constitution of the State may either expressly or by necessary implication impose in that behalf; in other words, the question as to how treaties can be made by a sovereign State in regard to a cession of national territory and how treaties when made can be implemented would be governed by the provisions in the Constitution of the country. Stated broadly, the treaty-making power would have to be exercised in the manner contemplated by the Constitution and subject to the limitations imposed by it. Whether the treaty made can be implemented by ordinary legislation or by constitutional amendment will naturally depend on the provisions of the Constitution itself."

We agree with this view of the Supreme Court. Dealing now with this aspect of the problem, we feel that some legislation was

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certainly necessary for the implementation of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement. But the question that emerges in this connection is whether, in view of the provisions of Article 253 of our Constitution, any legislative action under Article 3 of the Constituion would not have been sufficient for the purpose, or whether any legislative action was really necessary therefore under Article 368 of the Constitution. The Supreme Court has held[22a]

"Our conclusion is that it would not be competent to Parliament to make a law relatable to Article 3 of the Constitution for the purpose of implementing the Agreement . . . . We have already held that the Agreement amounts to a cession of part of the territory of India, in favour of Pakistan; and so its implementation would naturally involve the alteration of the content of and the consequent amendment of Article 1 and of the relevant part of the First Schedule to the Constitution, because such Implementation would necessarily lead to the diminution of the territory of the Union of India. Such an amendment can be made under Article 368 . . . . acting under Article 368 Parliament may make a law to give effect to, and implement, the Agreement in question covernng the cession of a part of Berubari Union No. 12 as well as some of the Cooch-Behar Enclaves which by exchange are given to Pakistan."

With all due deference to the Supreme Court we feel that we are unable to agree with this conclusion. We respectfully submit that, under the implications of Article 253 of our Constitution and Entries 10, 13 and 14 in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule thereto, as quoted before in section II of this article, and Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution, our Parliament was competent to give effect to the Agreement by a law enacted in the exercise of its ordinary legislative powers. We further submit that due importance does not appear to have been given by the Supreme Court to the implications of Article 253 of the Constitutions. Under this Article, notwithstanding anything stated in Articles 245 to 252 of the Constitution, the Parliament of India "has power to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any treaty, agreement or convention with any other country or countries or any decision made at any international conference, association or other body." The provisions of this Artirle (253) are comprehensive and the expression "any law" it is significant. This law may be a constitu law under Article 368 of the Constitution ordinary law enacted by Parliament. It argued that the provisions of Article 253 sometimes, in effect come into conflict with provisions of Clauses (2) and (3) of Arti of the Constitution read along with the Schedule thereto. The said Clauses (2) and are as follows :

"1(2) The States and the territories there shall be as specified in the First Schedule.

1(3) The territory of India shall comprise—

(a) the territories of the States;

(b) the Union territories specified in First Schedule ; and

(c) such other territories as may acquired."

If any conflict occurs, any legislation enacted Parliament under Article 253 will not necessari be void if it is otherwise all right. Following the judgment[23] of the majority of the Supreme Court in *Pandit M.S.M. Sharma* v. *Shri Krishna Singh and Others* and the observations made by Venkatarama Ayyar, J., as quoted[24] therein, we may say that the provisions of Article 253 are constitutional laws, and not ordinary laws made by Parliament, and that, therefore, they are as supreme as the provisions of Clauses (2) and (3) of Article 1 of the Constitution. Further, the provisions of Article 253 and those of Article 1(2) and (3) are "parts of one organic whole". Article 1(2) and (3) should not therefore be read so as to render any action duly taken under Article 253 invalid. Article 1(2) and (3) and Article 253 have to be reconciled and the only way of reconciling them is to read Article 1(2) and (3) as subject to the provisions of Article 253. We may also say that the principle of harmonious construction requires that the provisions of Article 1(2) and (3) which are of a general character must yield to those of Article 253 which are special.

Moreover, we should bear in mind in this connection that, in view of the provisions of Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution, there is no special sacrosanctity attaching to the provisions of clauses (2) and (3) of Article 1 thereof. We shall first refer to Article 4 which reads as follows :

"4. (1) Any law referred to in Article

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or Article 3 shall contain such provisions for the amendment of the First Schedule and the Fourth Schedule as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of the law and may also contain such supplemental, incidental and consequential provisions (including provisions as to representation in Parliament and in the Legislature or Legislatures of the State or States affected by such law) as Parliament may deem necessary.

(2) No such law as aforesaid shall be deemed to be an amendment of this Constitution for the purposes of Article 368."

The effect of Article 4 is, as the Supreme Court has rightly held,[26] "that the laws relatable to Article 2 or Article 3 are not to be treated as constitutional amendments for he purpose of Aricle 368, which means that if legislation is competent under Article 3 in respect of" any international agreement, it would be "unnecessary to invoke Article 368".

Let us now pass on to Article 3. It reads as follows :—

"3. Parliament may by law—

(a) form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States or by uniting any territory to a part of any State ;

(b) increase the area of any State ;

(c) diminish the area of any State ;

(d) alter the boundaries of any State ;

(e) alter the name of any State :

Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President and unless, where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the area, boundaries or name of any of the States, the Bill has been referred by the President to the Legislature of that State for expressing its views thereon within such period as may be specified in the reference or within such further period as the President may allow and the period so specified or allowed has expired.

Provided further that no Bill providing for increasing or diminishing the area of the State of Jammu and Kashmir or altering the name or boundary of that State shall be introduced in Parliament without the consent of the Legislature of that State."

Our submission is that, as stated before, the Parliament of India could pass necessary legislation with a view to giving effect to the Indo-Pakistan Agreement in the exercise of its ordinary legislative power under Article 253 of the Constitution, subject to the procedural requirements laid down in Article 3 thereof. Commenting on this Article 3 the Supreme Court has remarked[27] that "*prima facie* Article 3 may appear to deal with the problems which would arise on the re-organisation of the constituent States of India on linguistic or any other basis ; *but that is not the entire scope of Article 3.*"[28] We agree with this view. But the Court has also observed[29] :—

"Broadly stated, it deals with the internal adjustment *inter se* of the territories of the constituent States of India. . . . Article 3(c) deals with the problem of the diminution of the area of any State. Such diminution may occur where a part of the area of a State is taken out and added to another State, and in that sense Articles 3(b) and 3(c) may in some cases be said to be co-related ; but does Article 3(c) refer to a case where a part of the area of a State is taken out of that State and is not added to any other State but is handed over to a foreign State ? The learned Attorney-General contends that the words used in Article 3(c) are wide enough to include the case of the cession of national territory in favour of a foreign country, which causes the diminution of the area of the State in question. We are not impressed by this argument. *Prima facie* it appears unreasonable to suggest that the makers of the Constitution wanted to provide for the cession of national territory under Article 3(c). If the power to acquire foreign territory which is an essential attribute of sovereignty is not expressly conferred by the Constitution, there is no reason why the power to cede a part of the national territory which is also an essential attribute of sovereignty should have been provided for by the Constitution. Both of these essential attributes of sovereignty are outside the Constitution and can be exercised by India as a sovereign State. Therefore, even if Article 3(c) receives the widest interpretation it would be difficult to accept the argument that it covers a case of cession of a part of national territory in favour of a foreign State. The diminution of the area of any State to which it refers postulates that the area diminished from the State in question should and must continue to be part of the territory of India ; it may increase the area of any other State or may be dealt with in any other

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manner authorised either by Article 3 or other relevant provisions of the Constitution ; but it would not cease to be a part of the territory of India. It would be unduly straining the language of Article 3(c) to hold that by implication it provides for cases of cession of a part of national territory. Therefore, we feel no hesitation in holding that the power to cede national territory cannot be read in Article 3(c) by implication."

With all deference to the Supreme Court, we regret to say, in view of the provisions of our Constitution, that we do not feel impressed by the logic of the above argument. We agree with the contention of the learned Attorney-General, Shri M. C. Setalvad, "that the words used in Article 3(c) are wide enough to include the case of the cession of national territory in favour of a foreign country, which causes the diminution of the area of the State in question." Our reasons for doing so are as follows. The intention of the authors of our Constitution which should be read and considered as a whole for its proper interpretation, is to be gathered from the language of Article 253 and Entries 10, 13 and 14 in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, taken in conjunction with Articles 2 and 3 thereof. Under Article 3(c) the Parliament of India may diminish the area of a constituent State. This provision of our Constitution is unqualified by any restriction except as laid down in the two Provisos to Article 3 as a whole. There is no reference in it that this diminution is to take place only as a result of the re-organisation of the constituent States of India on linguistic or any other basis. That is to say, it does not deal only with the *internal* adjustment *inter se* of the territories of the constituent States of India. In this connection we may be permitted to point out that, whereas the punctuation mark after Article 3(a) is a colon according to the Opinion of the Supreme Court as published in *The Supreme Court Journal*,[30] the corresponding punctuation mark in the successive official editoins[31] of the Constitution of India is, as it should be, a semicolon.[32] We do not know if the colon is a misprint for a semicolon. If, however, it is not, then it introduces a new element into the interpretation to be put on Article 3. A colon mark at the end of Article 3(a) means that Articles 3(b), 3(c), 3(d) and 3(e) are in a sense dependent on Article 3(a) ; but the insertion of a semicolon at the end of Article 3(a) implies that Articles 3(a), 3(b), 3(c), 3(d) and 3(e) are more or less separate from, and independent of, one another, although there may be some correlation amongst some of them, as, for instance, in Articles 3(b); 3(c) and 3(d). At any rate, the language of Article 3(c) is clear and unequivocal. We do not think that we have any right to import into the meaning of the Article anything which is not warranted by its language. This view is in accordance with a cardinal rule of legal construction. We find, for instance, in Maxwell on *the Interpretation of Statutes*[33] :—

"A statute is the will of the legislature, and the fundamental rule of interpretation, to which all others are subordinate, is that a statute is to be expounded 'according to the intent of them that made it'. If the words of the statute are in themselves precise and unambiguous no more is necessary than to expound those words in their natural and ordinary sense, the words themselves in such case best declaring the intention of the legislature. The object of all interpretation of a statute is to determine what intention is conveyed, either expressly or impliedly, by the language used, so far as is necessary for determining whether the particular case or state of facts presented to the interpreter falls within it. If there is one rule of construction for statutes and other documents, it is that you must not import anything in them which is inconsistent with the words expressly used'."

Further :—

"The first and most elementary rule of construction is that it is to be assumed that the words and phrases of technical legislation are used in their technical meaning if they have acquired one, and, otherwise, in their ordinary meaning; and, secondly, that the phrases and sentences are to be construed according to the rules of grammar. 'It is very desirable in all cases to adhere to the words of an Act of Parliament, giving to them that sense which is their natural import in the order in which they are placed'. From these presumptions it is not allowable to depart where the language admits of no other meaning. . . . If there is nothing to modify, nothing to alter, nothing to qualify the language which the statute contains, it must be construed in the ordinary and natural meaning of the words and sentences. . . . When the language is not only plain but admits of but one meaning, the task of interpretation can hardly be said to arise. It is not allow-

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able, says Vattel, to interpret what has no need of interpretation. . . . . The rule of construction is 'to intend the legislature to have meant what they have actually expressed'. It matters not, in such a case, what the consequences may be. Where, by the use of clear and unequivocal language capable of only one meening, anything is enacted by the legislature, it must be enforced, even though it be absurd or mischievous. The underlined principle is that the meaning and intention of a statute must be collected from the plain and unambiguous expressions used therein rather than from any notions which may be entertained by the court as to what is just or expedient. . . . . However, unjust, arbitrary or inconvenient the meaning conveyed may be, it must receive its full effect. When once the meaning is plain, it is not the province of a court to scan its wisdom or its policy. Its duty is not to make the law reasonable, but to expound it as it stands, according to the real sense of the words. . . . . 'The golden rule is that the words of a statute must *prima facie* be given their ordinary meaning'."

There is another aspect of the question at issue. There is an inherent, practical difficulty in the Opinion of the Supreme Court referred to before. The Central Executive of Innia, that is to say, the Government of India, may, in the exercise of the power conferred upon it by Article 73 of our Constitution, take the initiative in respect of, and enter into, an international Agreement in the interests of the country, which may involve a cession of a part of the Indian territory to a foreign power. But the position of parties in either House of our Parliament may sometimes be such that the Central Executive may not be in a position to command the majority of votes as required by Article 368 of the Constitution. This may create a very embarrassing situation for the Government of India. It has, presumably in the best interests of this country, entered into an international Agreement which it is unable to implement through necessary legislation by Parliament. It may thus become a laughing-stock of the world and may be forced by circumstances to resign. If, however, the view which we have taken in regard to the position of our Parliament in relation to an international Agreement involving the cession of a part of the Indian territory, is accepted, there is a very little chance of such an embarrassing situation arising for the Government of India. The Government may easily command an ordinary majority in either House of Parliament—otherwise it could not remain in office—and secure the enactment of necessary legislation with the help of that majority and thus implement an international Agreement into which it has solemnly entered and which involves the cession of a part of the Indian territory ; but it may not always be in a position to command the majority of votes as required by Article 368 of the Constitution. There is thus, it is submitted, a serious flaw in the Opinion of the Supreme Court.

The view which we have taken of the law of our Constitution in regard to the position of our Parliament in relation to an international Agreement involving the cession of a part of the Indian territory, covers not merely a cession of a part of the territory of a constituent State of India, but also the cession of a part of any Union territory. In the former case, however, a further procedural action has to be taken as required by Article 3 of the Constitution. Presumaby this further step has been provided for in the Constitution as there is a duly constituted legislature of its own, unlike the case (1962-63) of a Union territory with its peculiar administrative set-up, in a constituent State of India. The interests of a Union territory will supposedly be looked after directly by Parliament itsef.

We are, therefore, of opinion that no action of by our Parliament was necessary under Article 368 of our Constitution for the implication of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement with regard to Berubari Union and the Exchange of Cooch-Behar Enclaves. Ordinary legislation by our Parliament under Article 253 of the Constitution read along with Entries 10, 13 and 14 in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule thereto and the relevant provisions of Part I of the Constitution, would, it is respectfully submitted, have been quite sufficient for the purpose. Of course, the question of any action under Article 3 of the Constitution will not arise, as noted before, in case of a cession of a part of any Union territory. In this case ordinary legislation by Parliament under Article 253 of the Constitution read along with Article 246(4) thereof and Entries 10, 13 and 14 in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule thereto, will suffice.

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IV

In conclusion, we should like to observe that we have stated above, in the context of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement about Berubari Union and the proposed exchange of Cooch-Behar Enclaves between India and Pakistan, what appears[34] to us to be the law of our Constitution in regard to the position of our Parliament in relation to an international Agreement into which the Government of India has entered and which may involve the cession of a part of the Indian territory to a foreign power. At the same time we cannot ignore the importance of the Opinion of our Supreme Court in regard to the same matter, particularly in view of the fact that under Article 141 of the Constitution the Opinion of the Supreme Court as referred to before, will in future guide executive, legislative and judicial action in analogous circumstances, although it is not a judicial pronouncement in a specific case brought before the Court for adjudication. In view of this, the constitutional aspects of the whole question do not seem to be free from difficulties. With a view to avoiding possibly embarrassing situations for the Government of India in future, the whole question should be very carefully examined by a body of competent and impartial jurists. Perhaps some constitutional amendments should be effected so as to place the position of our Parliament in relation to an international Agreement involving the cession of a part of the Indian territory to a foreign power, above all doubts and uncertainties. It seems to us that if Article 253 is amended on the following lines, all future difficulties and uncertainties will disappear :—

"Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, but subject, where necessary, to the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution, Parliament has power to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any treaty, agreement or convention with any other country or countries or any decision made at any international conference, association or other body".

We respectfully invite the attention of the authorities concerned to the above suggestion.

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1. Dated 14th March, 1960.—See *The Supreme Court Journal* (to be referred to hereinafter as the S.C.J.), Vol. XXIII, No. 9, September, 1960, pp. 933-54 ; also *The Supreme Court Reports*, Issue X, October, 1960, pp. 250-96.

2. Special Reference No. 1 of 1959. *Re Indo-Pakistan Agreement relating to Berubari Union and Exchange of Enclaves.*—*Ibid.*

3. The article was dated 11th April, 1958.

4. Vol. XXVII.

5. *I.e.*, Articles 245-52 of the Constitution of India.

6. *I.e.*, Chapter 1 of Part XI of the Constitution of India. It deals with the question of distribution of legislative powers in India.

7. *McCulloch* v. *Maryland*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1819 ; 4 Wheat. 316. Walter Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 450-454.

8. Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Vol. I, 5th Edition, 1905, Sections 424-30.

9. See Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., 1903, p. 98.

9a. See *ibid.*

10. Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 217-20.

11. " 'In the same way,' Professor Willis has also remarked, 'the entire criminal law of the United States has been derived by implication. Punishment of offences against the revenue, the postal service, for malfeasance in office, etc., has been necessary to secure the due and effective operation of laws made by Congress in the exercise of its enumerated powers.'—*Ibid.*, p. 218n."

12. "For further illustrations, *Ibid.*, pp. 217-20."

13. "*Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes*, 10th Ed., p. 2 and pp. 361-62."

14. "The italics are ours."

15. "The italic is ours."

16. "The italic is ours."

17. Reference may be made by the reader to the provisions of Article 3 of our Constitution in this connection. Considerations of space do not permit us to quote here Article 3 at length.

17 (a) S.C.J., Vol. XXIII, No. 9, September, 1960, pp. 935-39, for details.

18. Reference here is to the Award made by the Indo-Pakistan Boundaries Disputes Tribunal which was presided over by the Honourable Lord Justice Algot Bagge. This Tribunal had been set up as a result of an agreement between India and Pakistan at the Inter-Dominion Conference held in Delhi on 14th December, 1948, for the settlement of certain boundary disputes between them.

19. S.C.J., Vol. XXIII, 1960, p. 946.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 947.

21. "Oppenheim's *International Law*—Lauterpacht, Vol. 1, p. 551 (8th Ed.)."

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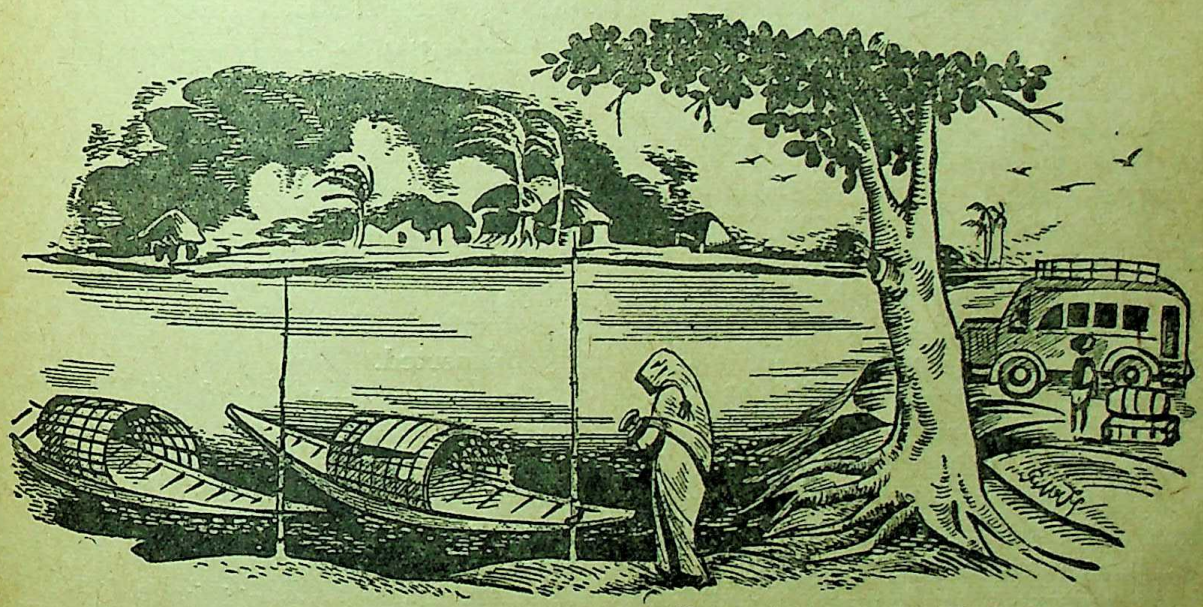
22. *"Ibid.*, p. 553."
22a. *S. C. J.*, Vol. XXIII, 1960, pp. 952-53.
23. *The Supreme Court Journal*, September, 1959, (Vol. XXIII, No. 9), pp. 925-62.
24. See *ibid.*, pp. 943-44. The observation in question had been made by Venkatarama Ayyar J. in *Anantha Krishnan* v. *State of Madras* (1952, S. C. J. 203 ; 1951, S. C. R. 127).
25. Article 2 runs as follows :—
"2. Parliament may by law admit into the Union (of India), or establish, new States on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit."
26. See *The Supreme Court Journal*, September, 1960, p. 950.
27. See *S. C. J.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 9, September, 1960, p. 950.
28. The italics are ours.
29. *S.C.J.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 9, September, 1960, pp. 950-51.
30. *The Supreme Court Journal*, Vol. XXIII, No. 9, September, 1960, p. 950.
31. For instance, *The Constitution of India (As modified up to the 1st November, 1956)*, p. 2, Or *The Constitution of India (As modified up to the 1st July, 1960)*, p. 2, published by the Manager of Publications (Government of India), Delhi.
32. It may be noted here that in the version of the Opinion of the Supreme Court as published in *The Supreme Court Reports*, Issue X, October, 1960, p. 289, the punctuation mark is a semicolon. We do not know which of the two versions of the Opinion of the Supreme Court—one published in *The Supreme Court Journal* and the other published in *The Supreme Court Reportts*—is correct.
33. Tenth Edition, Sweet and Maxwell Limited, 1953, pp. 1-7.
34. Reference may be made in this connection to the "provisions of Act XLVII of 1951 by which the boundaries of the State of Assam were altered consequent on the cession of a strip of territory comprised in that State to the Government of Bhutan". Our Parliament passed this Act under Article 3 of our Constitution. This is an instance where Parliament gave "effect to the cession of a part of the territory of Assam in favour of the Government of Bhutan by enacting a law relating to Article 3 of the Constitution." This instance referred to by the Supreme Court itself in its Opinion, on the whole, confirms our point of view. The S.C.J., Vol. XXIII, 1960, p. 952.



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WAJID ALI SHAH—THE LAST KING OF OUDH

By S. N. QANUNGO

The 'Nawabi' temperament of Lucknow has never been more fully expressed than in the life of Wajid Ali Shah. He was not a Nawab, but the King of Oudh. Shaziuddin Haidar (1814—1827), the last Nawab was transformed into the first king of Oudh by Lord Hastings in recognition of his services tendered to the British Government. The history of Wajid Ali Shah reads like a romance of the past, and the city of Lucknow is suffused with his memories. This illustrious ruler of millions in the modern period had a heart full of medieval passions. Not anxious about his reputation as a ruler, Wajid Ali Shah's philosophy of life was ecstasy and delight. His ambition was to be the best drum-beater, dancer and poet of his days. As he was an Epicurean, lover of all the good things of experience, people have humanized his faults, follies and even knavery. However, the nine years' reign (1847—1856) of Wajid Ali Shah was not a period of blissful utopia for his subjects.

Wajid Ali Shah was the second son of Amjad Ali Shah (1842—1847), the fourth king of Oudh. His mother, noted for her beauty, was the daughter of Hasan-ud-din Khan of Kalpi. Born in 1827, Wajid Ali was drawn in his youth to romantic subjects. His father allowed him to associate with musicians and eunuchs in his boyhood. The result was most unfortunate. Such company was unsuitable for his young mind. The future ruler of Oudh grew up to be a man seeking pleasure from the lowest company and in indoor games. Though in local legends Wajid Ali Shah appears to be an Alexander or Hannibal, no reliable contemporary account testifies to his skill in riding and swordsmanship. He had little to learn from his father who cared nothing for affairs of state and passed a great deal of time in his harem consisting of three hundred concub... Debauchery was the rule of the day.

It had been Wajid Ali Sha's fate ... move in an atmosphere that was politic... vicious. For the strained relations betw... him and his father, the young Prince's a... ciates deserve the strongest condemnat... The accession of Wajid Ali Shah to t... throne was the most unfortunate. ... bribed the royal physician to hasten t... death of his father. The physician appli... poisonous ointment on a boil on the shoul... of Amjad Ali Shah. It became intens... painful and large as a saucer. O... 14th February, 1847 the ailing king order... fresh and splendid carpets to be spread i... his council-chamber, had his beard a... moustaches trimmed, put on new clothi... and then sent for his chief Queen. Amja... Ali who felt the approaching death wa... long that night along with his queen. Earl... in the morning, he passed away. Wajid A... Shah did not mourn the death of his father... and immediately began preparations for th... coronation ceremony. The dead body of h... father was left to the care of servants. Th... Queen mother was compelled to attend th... coronation of her son. Illumination ... houses, cannon-firing and playing of band... continued till midnight. When she return... ed she found her husband already buried... His tomb in Hazratganj now lies forgotten... and deserted.

It is said that Amjad Ali Shah made ... death bed prophecy that the country would... never prosper under the rule of his son. Th... words were indeed prophetic. But it is ... be remembered that decay had set in be... fore Wajid Ali Shah's time and a man of... superior qualities would have found it im... possible to arrest it. His accession to the... throne was smooth as no one supported the... cause of his elder brother who was an imbe... cile and incurably vice-ridden. Wajid Al...

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Shah was tenacious of authority though too indolent to exercise it. He had the oriental habit of letting matters drift without coming to any decision. Boundless sensuality disgraced his character. He agreed to the suggestion of ministers that he should relinquish to them the management of the affairs of the state. The perusal of business documents was after all below his dignity. Oudh under Wajid Ali Shah was in a miserable state of neglect and disorder. Amin-ud-daula, the wazir of Amjad Ali Shah resigned in sheer disgust. Wajid Ali Shah was surrounded all the time by eunuchs who devoted talents only to stimulate the baser appetites of the king. Among his favourite eunuchs may be mentioned Basheer, Decanut-ud-doulah and Hasan-ud-doulah. State jewels were squandered away among them. According to sleeman, the British Resident of Oudh in 1853, no minister could hold office for a week in his regime without the acquiescence of eunuchs. Ministers stood in constant awe of them and even the chief wazir Ali Nagi Khan could not stand a moment without them. Lucknow in the time of Wajid Ali Shah was indeed the eunuchs' paradise.

Sleeman made a significant remark about Wajid Ali Shah. He said, "He thinks himself the best of kings and the best of poets....everyday shows that he is unfit to reign." While the king lived in his cosy and fantastic world of romance, his Habsee troops created almost a reign of terror. The ministers degenerated into idle parasites covering the floors of their houses with rich Persian carpets, never removing their lips from tip of cups and competing shamelessly for the female booty secured from ryot's' homes. The dark cloud of rapine. anarchy and popular suffering descended on the unhappy land. In the regime of Wajid Ali Shah, fiddlers had control over civil justice and eunuchs were in charge of criminal justice. All these evils combined to dissolve the administration. The untamed local chieftains and countless roving bands of armed robbers raised their heads. Among these may be mentioned Mahipat Singh on the border of Gorakhpur, Bhagawant Singh of Etwa Peepureea, Prethvipat Singh and Raghuvir Singh. The peasant and the artisan lost the fruits of their labour and perished from brigandage. Depredations caused by them not only overstepped the limits of their frontiers but in their attacks neither age nor sex was spared. Bodies of subjects were wrapped up in oilcloth and set fire to as torches. Sleeman in a letter to Wajid Ali Shah wrote. "In regard to affairs in the city of Lucknow, your eunuchs, your fiddlers, your poets and your Majesty's creatures plunder the people here as much as your Amils plunder the districts."

In public life, even if many faults of Wajid Ali Shah are borne in mind, one cannot but feel that he was particularly unfortunate. In private life he was not without accomplishments. Contemporary accounts describe him as a very handsome, dignified and unaffected person. He inherited from his parents good looks, natural grace of expression and sensitive pride. His manly figure, large and prominent eyes, sharp-pointed nose, fine moustaches, his majestic turban and splendid dress, all inspired an emotion of their own. He was an adept in the art of pleasing. There was a heartiness in his smile and in the cordiality with which he greeted people. He himself used to place golden-embroidered garlands around the necks of his distinguished visitors before escorting them to the palace. A fine talker he created an easy atmosphere in the midst of which every companion talked with ease and spontaniety.

The Court of Oudh in the regime of Wajid Ali Shah was famed as the most lavish and extravagant in India. It is said that his courtieres distributed rugs among jackals in winter and the grateful animals thanked the King for his kindness! The silver baradari of the Qaisarbagh Palace was Wajid Ali Shah's pride. A scene of gleaming silk and sybaritic splendour here were laughter and joy that flickered around. The Kashmiri Bhands who possessed ready wit and distinct gift of courtiership scattered sunshine and good cheer. The vice of

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flattery pervaded his court and almost became the avowed principle of the degenerate age. It has been expressed beautifully in a Persian couplet :

"Agar Shah roz goyed shah ast in
Bebayed guft inak mah wah parvin."

(If the Emperor in broad daylight says that it is night, it should be said : Behold ! Moon and the stars ! !)

The menu of Wajid Ali Shah's dastarkhwan (dining carpet) has become a legend. The number of savoury dishes consisting of rich and aromatic brinjes, duzdbiryan, quimahpulao, dampokht fowls, roghuni and varieties of sweetmeats went even beyond fifty. The pan (betel leaf) taken by him held the reputation of being good in colour, tied with a silk thread and delicate in fragrance.

Wajid Ali Shah was never too tired for more women, more wine, more songs and more festiviites. He owned four wives, twenty-nine muta wives and four hundred concubines. In order to accomodate them he constructed the Qaisarbagh Palace at an enormous cost exceeding eighty lakhs. He intended to make it the eighth wonder of the world. He built Alam Bagh and Sikandar Bagh respectively for his chief consort Khas Mahal and Sikandar Mahal Begam. The Qaisar-Pasand built by Roshan-ud-doulah was confiscated by Wajid Ali Shah and was given to his favourite queen Mashug-us-Sultan. Among his other wives may be mentioned Nishat Mahal, Khursheed Mahal, Chotee Begam, Bari Begam, Hazrat Begam and Hazrat Mahal. However, the only woman who exercised profounud influence on him was a sister of Razi-ud-daula, the chief musician in his court.

In Lucknow a new literary impulse was given to the creative instinct by Wajid Ali Shah. Urdu became a spoken tongue of the cultured society and a literary language. Wazid Ali Shah occupied himself with every aspect of poetic art and was engaged in turning into verse a long prose-history called Hydar. He composed verses of sufficient merit under the pseudonym of Jan-i-Alam. The poets of Lucknow used to assemble at his palace to hear his compositions. Many of them of course devoted their talents to ignoble task of flattering their patron. Amir Ahmad Amir [illegible] patronised by Wajid Ali Shah was a recognized poet of note. Alam Ara, one of the King's favourite wives wrote a Masnavi and a Diwan.

Wajid Ali Shah was passionately fond of music. Music could make him forget that he was the King of Oudh. According to Sleeman, Wajid Ali Shah used to spend seven or eight hours everyday with Razi-ud-doula, a master in the art of playing tabla and the chief musician in his court. During Muharam ceremonies the king used to beat a drum round his neck in the procession. Those were the golden days of thumri, tappa and katthak. Bindadin and Kalkadin the great masters of katthak style of dance were patronised by Wajid Ali Shah. The musical tradition of Qadar Piya was continued by Mirza Mir, Muhammad Sain, Agha Sabbu, Bade Aga, Buniad Husain and Chhote Jaddan. The king himself was a noted dancer and on festive occasions used to give performance for the entertainment of the multitude. Every year he used to act as Indra, the King of gods, in a play enacted in the silver baradari of the Qaiscer Bagh. The most beautiful lady was chosen to represent Shyzalah and other ladies were dressed as fairies.

As Wajid Ali Shah made a cult of display, Lucknow in his time became a celebrated centre for rich fabrics, gold and silver brocades, costly velvets, state umbrellas and canopies, laces and shoes. The shoe-makers were forbbidden by him to use any but the purest gold. Kite-flying became an art in his time. The immortal names in this field are Nawab Miran, Ismail, Hafiz, Annu, Laloo and Manohari. Varieties of kites were prepared in his time as Chandtara, Surahi, dar, Dupanna, Tipanna, Sawakatin, Langotia, Karaundia, Lathedar, Pattidar etc.

Though Wazid Ali Shah never showed any capacity for civil government or war, he was free from religious fanaticism. Except the Hindu-Muslim riot for the possession of Hanuman Garhi in Ajodhya there was complete communal harmony in his

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time. On October 27, 1855, the Hindu temples were defiled by the Muslims of Lucknow to excite communal clashes. Wajid Ali Shah issued a proclamation against such activities and stopped such proceedings in his capital.

The subsidiary system had 'the inevitable tendency to bring every Indian State into which it was introduced, sooner or later under the exclusive dominion of British Government.' Lord Dalhousie was determined to effect the formal annexation of Oudh to British terriotry. Outram, the British Resident, tried to induce Wajid Ali Shah to abdicate and enjoy sovereign rights within the Palace at Lucknow, the Bibiapur and Dilkusha parks. The King said, "Treaties are necessary between equals only. Who am I now that the British Government should enter into treaties with me?" With tears in his eyes, uncovering his head and placing his turban in the hands of the Resident, the king refused to sign the treaty of abdication. It was too late. Outram proclaimed the annexation of Oudh on the 13th February, 1856.

Wajid Ali Shah left Lucknow at 8 o'clock in the evening of March 13, 1856. He passed through the eastern gate of Qaisar-bagh in a closed carriage in company with his son and chief consort. From a contemporary letter we know that at that sad hour air was resounded with shout Badshah Salamat Rahe (Greeting to thee! Oh King!) and Badshaha fir bani rahe (May your kingdom again be established). Tears streamed down many cheeks. Having spent sometime at Kanpur and Allahabad, Wajid Ali Shah embarked for Calcutta in the steamer 'General Macleod' and arrived there on 13th May, 1856. He deceived himself into believing that justice would be done and sent his brother Mirza Sikandar Hashmat Bahadur on a royal deputation to Queen Victoria. After the failure of his mission Hashmat Bahadur settled at Paris and died there.

In Calcutta, Wajid Ali Shah found himself freed of all obstructions imposed by public life. His pension amounted to a lakh of rupees a month. He occupied the house at Garden Reach formerly inhabited by Sir Lawrence Peel, Chief Justcie of the Supreme Court. Passion now found itself untrammelled. He was detained in Fort William as a state prisoner until July, 1857. In his last days he became hypochondriacal and took the medical advice of every sort of quack. His residence at Matia Burz was thrown open to visitors on Nauroz day. There he had a menagerie of snakes, birds, buffaloes and tigers. On one occasion he purchased a pair of vultures for Rs. 50,000. At the age of sixty-seven on September 2. 1887, Wajid Ali Shah passed away in Calcutta.

His death was deeply mourned by his subjects in Lucknow. How could they forget their king dressed in the saffron robes of a fakir sitting on a marble platform under a giant mulberry tree near the Qaisar Pasand Palace during the feast of Jogia Mela? Lord Hailey, sometime Governor of the United Provinces, called the last king of Oudh as "unhappy Wajid Ali Shah". Indeed, he was one of those Golden Rogues of history who with their great failings never lose a strong human interest. He had a passion for beauty and for beautiful things. He loved lilies and ladies, roses and birds, green boughs and moonlit gardens of Lucknow. Above all, he was a creative artist. Very few of us know that the famous **thungri**—"Babul Mera Naihara chhuto hi gai" was the composition of Wajid Ali Shah. He knew that the exile from joys would be without return. In those classic lines the last king of Oudh touched the history of his own disturbed spirit.

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NEW PHASE OF KHADI DEVELOPMENT

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

The Khadi movement will complete half a century of existence in about seven years' time. It was started by Gandhiji as early as 1920 to make the boycott of foreign goods effective and provide an opportunity to the individual for self-discipline and self-sacrifice as a part of the non-co-operation movement . Soon the movement gained economic impotance as a source of employment to the rural unemployed. By 1933, the production of khadi reached the 10 million square yard mark, providing employment to about two lakhs persons. As a result of the scarcity of cloth created by the exigencies of the Second World War, the production of khadi received an impetus so much so that it rose from 1.09 crore square yards in 1939 to 2.16 crores square yads in 1942. As soon as the supply position eased in respect of cloth after the war was over, there was a downward trend in the production of khadi which stood at 1.15 crore square yards in 1953-54, when the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board was constituted by the Government of India to promote the development of the khadi industry. The Board was succeeded in April 1957 by a statutory organization, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission consisting of 5 members, with Shri Vaikunth L. Mehta as Chairman.

Remarkable Progress

There has been continual progress in the field of khadi over this period. Particularly since 1953-54, production, sales and employment have risen sharply. Production of khadi of all types rose from 1.15 crore square yards in 1953-54 to 7.62 crore sq. yards in 1961-62 or by nearly 600 per cent. Sales of khadi rose from Rs. 129.43 lakhs in 1953-54 to Rs. 1877.54 lakhs in 1961-62, or by over 1344 per cent. 1953-54, the khadi industry provi employment to 3,78,000 persons in (3,48,000 spinners, 19,200 weavers a 11,400 others). By 1961-62 it was pro ing employment to 17,46,200 per (15,37,100 spinners, 1,24,700 weavers a 84,400 others). In other words there an improvement of about 364 per cent the number of persons employed. The figures amply bear out the wisdom of Government of India in bringing into ex ence a special organisation (first in the fo of an advisory board and then in the fo of a Statutory Commission) for the pro tion of khadi.

Swavalamban Khadi

Production of Swavalamban khadi (i.e. yarn spun for self or family comsumptio also registered an appreciable rise, fro 10.10 lakh square yards in 1953-54 to 70 lakh square yards in 1961-62—an increas of over 700 per cent—matching the rise the production of what is loosely calle commercial khadi. Swavalamban khadi is to be noted, has not become popular in majority of the States in spite of the subsi provided on it. As it is, Swavalamban restricted primarily to Uttar Pradesh (whe production in 1961-62 totalled 55.72 lak square yards) and only to a far less exte to Gujarat (production in 1961-62 was 6.8 lakhs), Jammu and Kashmir (4.3 lakhs and Punjab (3.98 lakhs). The Khadi Evalu aiotn Committee headed by Dr. Gyanchan while underlining the need to contin assistance for Vastraswavalamban, said th "the whole scheme of self-sufficiency re quires to be specially investigated and reviewed.

The following table shows the produc tion of different varities of khadi in the States during 1961-62 :

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STATEMENT—1

(Lakh sq. yds)

1961-62

State	Cotton For Sale			Self-sufficiency	Total	Woolen	Silk	Grand Total
	Traditional Khadi	Ambar	Total					
1. Andhra	17.75	38.28	56.03	2.01	58.04	11.30	0.33	69.37
2. Assam	0.29	0.02	0.31	—	0.31	—	0.29	0.60
3. Bihar	76.61	35.28	111.89	0.18	112.07	4.81	4.28	121.16
4. Gujarat	5.40	5.16	10.56	6.85	17.41	1.09	—	18.50
5. Maharashtra	0.61	3.26	3.87	0.13	4.00	1.65	0.04	5.69
6. Delhi	16.78	1.27	18.05	1.83	19.88	0.63	—	20.51
7. Jammu & Kashmir	2.77	0.17	2.94	4.30	7.24	3.08	—	10.32
8. Kerala	2.39	7.91	10.30	0.03	10.33	—	—	10.33
9. Madhya Pradesh	—	5.45	5.45	0.17	5.62	2.67	0.13	8.42
10. Madras	55.92	41.68	97.60	0.18	97.78	0.02	1.10	98.90
11. Mysore	2.99	8.60	11.59	0.13	11.72	4.45	0.45	16.62
12. Orissa	4.15	2.18	6.33	—	6.33	—	0.21	6.54
13. Punjab	106.69	6.67	113.36	4.13	117.49	10.98	0.09	128.56
14. Rajasthan	37.44	11.66	49.10	1.56	50.66	6.13	—	56.79
15. Uttar Pradesh	11.98	89.89	101.87	55.72	157.59	11.36	1.81	170.76
16. West Bengal	4.90	6.60	11.50	0.08	11.58	0.35	6.72	18.65
Total	346.67	264.08	610.75	77.30	688.05	58.52	15.45	762.02

Dual Character of Programme

Almost from its inception in the early twenties, the khadi programme has had a dual character. On the one hand, khadi in its insistence on universal spining was an instrument of self-discipline and personal good conduct by making every individual aware of the values of manual work ; on the other hand, khadi was a definite economic programme to provide employment to the misery-stricken villages. During the several phases through which the programme has passed one or the other aspect tended to be emphasized, but there was never an integration of the two approaches in practice. This was true in spite of the rise in the production, sale and employment provided by khadi.

Efforts have been made from time to time to reconcile the difference in the two approaches and to integrate them into a national effort for the development of khadi. The start in this integration was given by Gandhiji himself as early as 1944. The new approach which laid stress on viewing khadi as an integral part of rural development came to be known as **Samagra Seva.** The idea of relating khadi work to the broader village development plan was revived with a renewed vigour in 1959, when the decision was taken by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission to adopt the **naya morh** programme. The essence of **naya morh** was to relate khadi to the local plans formulated on the basis of local needs by the local people. The programme, which envisaged larger local consumption of khadi was commended also by the fact of accumulation of sizeable stocks of khadi which could not be marketed even with the rebate of 3 annas in the rupee on the sale price. The Thrid Five Year Plan of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission envisaged the organization of 3,000 selected areas of about 5,000 population each—popularly known as **gram ekais**—to implement the programme of **naya morh.** The Khadi

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Evaluation Committee also commended this new integrated approach. "The first premise, on which khadi development programme has to be reorganised" the Committee observed, "is that it should be an integral part of the development of the rural economy in which the productive potential of agriculture, industry and trade is raised to a high level, the community effort plays a more crucial part in development of the economy; and the sections of the population, which are socially depressed and economically submerged, play an effective role." So far about 1,017 **ekais** have been selected of which 900 have already started working.

Proposal for Free Weaving

To ensure wider use of khadi in **ekais** and to discount the commercial mentality among the producers of khadi a proposal was mooted a few years ago to make free of charge the weaving of a particular quantity of hand spun yarn meant for self-consumption by the spinner. The suggestion originated from Vinobaji who proposed the provision at the cost of the State of free weaving of yarn upto a limit of 12 yards of cloth per head. The underlying idea was that just as in progressive States, education was universal and free at State expense, in this country the Government should come forward to provide at least free weaving service to all spinners of handspun yarn.

In the meanwhile, the unprovoked Chinese aggression on the country prompted a consideration whether an appeal could not be made to consumers of khadi to forego the rebate available on the purchase of khadi from recognized stores. The suggestion for the abolition of rebate on khadi led to very energetic discussions as to the future of the khadi industry. To meet the problem arising out of the abolition of rebate on khadi, a further suggestion was made for providing free weaving facilities for all handspun yarn without any limitation, the cost of weaving charge to be met by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission out of the allocation made to it under the Third Five-Year Plan.

Conference of Khadi Workers at Nabadwip

The question of replacing the existing rebate by a hundred per cent subsidy on weaving was discussed by the Khadi and Village Industries Board which advises the Khadi and Village Industries Commission on matters of policy, at its meetings held at Vedchhi in Gujarat in November 1962 and at Nabadwip in West Bengal in February 1963. Discussions took place also at a conference of khadi institutions held at Ahmedabad in December 1962 and a still wider all-India conference of khadi workers held at Nabadwip in February 1963. At the latter, khadi workers had the privilege of discussing the proposal in the presence of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. After an exhaustive exposition by Shri Vinobaji of the object with which he had sponsored the new form of State participation in the khadi movement, the conference at Nabadwip voted in favour of the adoption of the new formula of free weaving of all handspun yarn to replace the rebate now allowed on sale price of khadi. This was coupled with an important stipulation, according to which it would be obligatory for khadi institutions to ensure that consumers had not to pay a higher price for the khadi sold to them. The details of how the new formula is to be implemented in practice will be worked out by a 20-man committee headed by Shri Dhwaja Prasad Sahu, with Shri D. V. Lele as convener. Other members of the committee include persons directly connected with the production or sale of khadi.

The Khadi and Village Industries Board after consulting Vinobaji and representatives of khadi institutions decided to recommend to the Khadi and Village Industries Commission the adoption of thee new formula of providing free weaving service all handspun yarn. Before it is implemented it will have to be approved not only by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission but also by the Government of India.

The New System

The new proposal has several factors to commend itself. First, the scheme of free

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weaving would necessarily activise the local leadership and local organization. Second, it would facilitate local consumption of khadi and would reduce the burden of marketing. Third, by obviating the need to transport yarn it could contribute to the reduction in the costs of production of khadi. Finally, it would free khadi of the stigma of commercialism which the critics ascribed to it because of the provision for the rebate on sales.

It would be unrealistic to overlook the difficulties besetting the implementation of the new scheme. First it would remove an important incentive to the buyer of khadi. True, even after the rebate is allowed, khadi is very much costlier than mill cloth of equivalent variety and the purchasers of khadi consciously pay more to sustain the industry. It cannot, however, be gainsaid that a number of purchasers are induced to buy khadi because of the existence of the rebate. Even if there is no rise in the price of khadi, what the effect of the removal of the present direct incentive for the customers will be is only a surmise. Secondly, the provision of free weaving would lose all justification if yarn is to be carried from one place to another for the purpose of getting it woven to be brought back to the spinners again. Facilities for weaving will have to be provided in almost every village where handspun yarn is being produced. This piont was emphasised by several speakers at the Nabadwip conference and was also underlined by no less a person than Shri Vinobaji himself. The magnitude of this task may be gauged from the fact that although khadi has reached about a lakh of villages there are centres of weaving in only about a tenth of those villages. The problem is by no means to be considered insuperable. The Khadi and Village Industries Commission has already been following a policy of planned rehabilitation of weaver families in areas where there are no traditional weavers. Given a planned impetus, this programme could be further activised.

Financial Implications

What are the financial implications of the proposal for free weaving? It is difficult to provide an answer to the question in the absence of a detailed analysis of all the factors. There is already a subsidy of 75 per cent of the weaving costs of yarn spun by hand for self-consumption. Over and above this, the institutions which arrange to get such yarn woven into cloth get a management grant of twelve naye paise per square yard of cloth woven upto a limit of 5,000 square yards. For cloth woven beyond that limit the management subsidy is three naye paise. In some States, viz., Gujarat and Tamilnad, the State Boards or the local institutions provide an additional subsidy of twentyfive per cent of weaving costs to spinners for self-sufficiency. However, the present weaving subsidy for **swavalamban** applies only to plain weaving and not to design weaving or drill weaving. Under the new scheme the subsidy would be available for all types of weaving. At the current level and with the prevalant patterns of production the new scheme may cost the exchequer slightly more than at present. But if the scheme operates satisfactorily this extra expendtiure would be worthwhile since it would go to the most needy section of the rural population. This would be a desirable expenditure both from the social and economic points of view. Truly it can hence be said that the khadi programme is on the threshold of a new era.

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SYMBOLISM OF DURGA-IMAGE AND DURGA PUJA

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

Symbolish is the essence of Indian art and religion; as students of Indian art and religion we should be concerned not so much with the 'pot' (*i.e.*, the image or from) but the 'wine' (*i.e.*, the symbol or idea) contained in it. And the truest representation of Indian symbolism has perhaps been expressed in the image of the goddess Durga or Devi. Durga is the symbol of the primeval energy, the most auspicious personification of the supreme energy of the universe; she constitutes the female principle of creation and is the Jaganmata (Mother of the World). She stands for the miraculous of all divine powers represented by different gods. The Devi is also the truset symbol of unity and her winning victory over the titan-demon Mahisha speaks for the aphorism 'united we stand, divided we fall.' In fact no mighty god, not even Vishun or Shiva could subdue 'individually' or 'separately' the fierceful demon who was shaking the whole earth to destruction. But as all the gods agreed to combine surrendering their 'ego' or sense of 'aham' (ignorance of pride) they could in the form of the Devi easily overcome the prodigious water-bufallo bull.

The Devi is equally in all things, and that all things are in her, and that beside her there is nothing. Now again Durga being the symbol of universal energy after killing the demon Mahisha and saving the earth from destruction goes back to individual forces represented by individual gods. That is to say by 'a gesture of perfect surrender and fully-willed self-abdication the gods had returned their energies to the primeval Shakti, the One Force, the fountain head, whence originally all had stemmed.' The same process is true of the birth and death of man 'from dust thou art born and to dust thou returnest.' This origination reminds us of the creation of Pallas Athena, Greek goodes of knowledge and power: there the goddess takes her form clad with luminous arms issuing out from the head of the tired Zeus.

The primal energy is thus the combined or totalization of all forces which have taken the forms of different gods. Thus the various gods surrendered their individual weapons or implements and the goddes had to take them in her several hands (usually ten). The ten [illegible] (dasha bhuja) may represent the combined [illegible] hands of the four-handed Brahma, the [illegible] handed Vishnu and the two-handed [illegible] Hemadri in his description of Katyayani [illegible] that the Devi should imitate the three [illegible] by which are obviously meant Brahma, [illegible] and Shiva. The many-handedness of the [illegible] is nothing but the outcome of the fact that [illegible] many powers have to be shown in one [illegible] whole *i.e.*, in one Devi figure. It is said [illegible] Shiva gives a trident, Vishun a disc, Varuna [illegible] conch, Agni a dart, Yama an iron rod, Va[illegible] a bow, Surya a quiver and arrows, Indra [illegible] thunderbolt, Kuvera a mace, Brahma a rosary [illegible] a waterpot, Kala a sword and shield, Vish[illegible] karma a battle-axe, Himavan a lion, and [illegible] gods various arms and ornaments. And here [illegible] trident is the symbol of Shiva, the disc of Vish[illegible] and so on. In fact, all the gods have been represented by the symbols of their weapons.

The composite imagery of the supreme Shakti, the power of all the gods amalgamated in one, the Mother of the universe with her offsprings the goddesses Saraswati (learning) and Lakshmi (wealth) and the gods Ganesh (success) and Karttika (prowess) are peculiar Bengali in idea and art. The Devi is sometimes called Simha-vahini *i.e.*, she who rides a lion, here the lion being the symbol of power and [illegible] pounces upon the titan-dmon and tears him [illegible] In other words the fury or anger of the Devi, the supreme goddess, is projected as a ravenous lion. The bufallo-demon (mahishasura) suggests darkness, violence and resentment which [illegible] nothing but the ignorance (*i.e.*, avidya or [illegible] or avijja) that separates the individual soul (jivatma) from the absolute soul (paramatma). The keynote of Indian philosophy lies deep [illegible] its root behind the image of Mahishasur[illegible] mardini. The lively series of transformations of the bufallo-demon is an excellent example of the mythological traits of externalization or projection. The individual soul remains in bondage so long as it is engulfed with pride, aggressiveness (*i.e.*, ego or aham) and it gets release only when this ago in its mortal frame is destroyed and mingles with the absolute. Thus the individual

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soul in the form of Mahishasura gets its release (salvation or moksha) by sacrificing its own self at the hands of the Devi (the Absolute or the Primal Energy).

The Devi is thus never found to have any fierceful countenance, on the contrary, she keeps a graceful, smiling appearence. The demon underneath also shows friendly appearence and is also wholly resigned to his doom at the hands of the goddess. The whole structure of the image of Durga as Mahishasuramardini reminds one of the enigmatic mask of the dancing Shiva (Nataraja). In that figure also the philosophical idea of the eternal relation between the individual soul (the tiny figure Mulyaka or Apasmara trampled by the god) and the Absolute Soul (Shiva) has been expressed. The allegorical conception of the Durga-image has been well corroborated by the Padma-Purana which says that in the Svayambhava-manvantara Mahishasura was killed by Vaishnavi on the Mandagiri, that he was once again destroyed by Nanda in the Vaivaseta-manvantara on the Vindhya mountain, and that thus 'personfied ignorance was killed by the Jnana-shakti which is the same as personified wisdom. Here the Devi very much resembles her prototype Sophia, the symbol of the highest feminine wisdom.

It might be also that in the dim and distant past an animistic cult (bufallo-demon) was current among certain early primitive tribes in the country and later on this cult was modified or levelled by insertion of the Devi. In other words, there was "the substitution of the bufallo-totem worship by a form of Goddess-worship." In this connection Prof. Vogel has drawn pointed attention to the prevalence of self-immolation by a head-offering to the Devi (Goddess), a practice attested by the sculpture of south India and by literature.

That the goddess Dura might have an early association with the vegetation cult becomes clear from the modes which are followed to worship her. Perhaps the most important aspect of Durga-worship called 'Nava-patrika' or the worship of the nine plants (lit. leaves) also clearly shows that the goddess was conceived as the personification of the vegetation spiriti. The nine plants stand for nine different forms of the Devi symbolizing the various vegetation spirits: the plant Kadali represents the goddess Brahmani, Kachchvi for Kalika, Haridri for corn, Durga, Jayanti for Karttiki or Kaumari, Bilva for Shiva, Darim for Raktadantika, Ashoka for Shokarahita, Mann for Chamunda and Dhanya for Lakshmi. Besides, the time or season chosen to worship the goddess (Sharadiya) is autumn which is closely associated with the reaping of harvest and from this association it can be gleaned that in the beginning the goddess Durga was undoubtedly a Corn goddess. According to scholars like R. P. Chanda and others the Mahishasuramardini form of the Devi is only a later development and they went so far as to state that it was the Sun-god and not the Devi Durga whom Ramachandra propitiated in order to crush the demon-king Ravana.

The names Shakambhari (herb-nourisher) and Annapurna (she who gives food) are strong grounds to support the relation of the goddess with the vegetation cult. The followers of the lately developed Shakta cult even today take it to be their first duty in the morning to bow down before and show reverence to heir clan-tree (kula-taru). The Devi named in a sacred formula (mantra) quoted by Kautilya in connection with the sowing of seeds in his Arthashastra is probably the prototype of Durga as Corn-spirit. Another interesting symbol lies behind the Durga puja. In the festival there stands the clay image of the goddess with all her specialities but the real 'puja' or offering is made, in fact, not to the image (pratima) but to the 'bhadrakali' and the 'purnaghat.' This 'ghat' (pot) is known as the Sarvato-bhadramandal which is however the main 'yantra' (carrier) of the Shakti 'tantra' (puja). This 'ghat' is the symbol of the female genital organ and the effigy of a human figure drawn by using vermillion on the surface of the 'ghat' symbolizes the ultimate desire of procreation or generation. Next grains are scattered over the earth and by touching the leaves coming out from the 'ghat' the devotee expresses his or her mind's desire.

This worshipping of the 'ghat' is however taken to be the only important function of the puja and from this we understand that in the beginning the puja (worship) was not exactly the puja of any image or form, rather it was a mimetic-magic (yadu) practised by the primitive tribes of India in relation to their harvesting or cultivating fields for reaping and this practice is not forgotten even

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today. 'The festival which surpasses all others in its wide appeal and reaches its acme of fervour and festal mirth in Bengal, is the Durga puja. 'The tenth day of the bright fortnight (shukla--paksha) in Asvina concludes the Durga puja celebration. 'Peace on earth, and goodwill among men, reunion and reconciliation, obeisance to superiors,' love and embrace to equals, and blessings to juniors, distinguish the spirit and functions of this day known as Vijaya Dashami. The origination of the Durga cult is very ancient and there is perhaps always a continuity only changing form with the change of time. The Devi, the symbol of universal energy, symbol universal unity and integrity through her in or form and represents an early vegetation animistic cult and a later Shakti cult thro her Puja.

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MALDIVE ISLANDS: THE HARBINGER OF COLD WAR IN THE INDIAN REALM
A Study in Political Geography

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Extending from 7° 6′ N to 0° 42′ South Latitude and from 72° 31′ E to 73° 44′ E Longitude, the Maldives are a group of small islands in the Indian Ocean, South-west of India and Ceylon. The northern most island is nearly 300 miles from Cape Comorin and 400 miles from Ceylon. The whole group consists of about 2000 low-lying coral islands grouped in twelve clearly defined atolls[1] i.e., circular belt of corals enclosing a central lagoon. Only about 220 of these islands are inhabited. They are divided into 17 units for administrative purposes. The islands vary from tiny banks nearly awash to real islets. The total area is only 115 sq. miles. According to latest estimates it supports a population of over 93000. The capital is Male, situated on the Male Island in the Southern extreme of the Male Atoll. It is almost centrally located. Valkenburg[2] puts the island state in the category of **Miniature-size-states** along with Andora, Monaco and San Marino, the smallest states of the world.

Political History

There is considerable evidence that the early Maldivians were Buddhists. They used to pay annual tribute to the Kingdom of Western India. The islands were invaded by the Arabs in 1153 and Islamic religion was established there. Today most of its people are Sunni Muslims. The famous Arab traveller and historian, Ibn Batuta visited the islands in 1343 A.D. and lived there for several years. The islands were discovered by the Portuguese in 1507 and were occupied by the Portuguese garrisons. The Sultan was forced to pay a tribute to Goa till the 17th. Century A.D. when the Dutch, who were then in control of Ceylon concluded a treaty with the Sultan. As a result of the treaty the Maldivian Sultan claimed Ceylonese protection and promised to pay tribute to the rulers of Ceylon.

The British protection of the islands was formally recorded in 1887 through an exchange of letters between the Sultan and the Governor of Ceylon. By terms of the agreements the Sultan recognised the sovereignty of the British sovereign and disclaimed all rights or intention to enter into negotiations or treaty with any foreign state except through the ruler of Ceylon. The British Government agreed to protect the islands from all foreign enemies and to ob-

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stain from intervention in local affairs. Consequent upon the independence of Ceylon in 1948 a new agreement was signed between the British and the Sultan. The agreement provided that the islands should remain under the protection of the British Crown, that external affairs should be conducted in accordance with the advice of U.K., and that U.K. should refrain from interfering in the internal matters of the islands. It was also agreed that the Sultan should afford such facilities for the British forces as were necessary for the defence of the islands or the Commonwealth.[3]

Physiography and Climate

The Maldives, together with Laccadives and Minicoy (India) form a group of coral atolls extending from the equator to the 15°N.. They are conspicuous for their low relief. The submarine swells on which they are based show opposing gravity anomalies, positive in Laccadives and negative in the Maldives. Glennie concludes that the former occupy an upthrust, possibly on a continuation of the Aravalli strike and the Maldive ridge is possibly the result of volcanic extrusions on a crustal down warp.[4]

By virtue of its location right across the equator, the island State has a hot and moist equatorial climate with year round rainfall. The mean annual temperature is 81°F with a range of 80° to 84° in December and 85° to 90° in April. Annual rainfall is about 100″ in practically all the parts. The close vicinity of the Indian subcontinent imparts a monsoonal character to the climate. The weather during the winter mansoon is very violent and rainy. The violence of the weather is more marked in the northern islands than in the south. Consequent upon the heavy and well-distributed rainfalls, the natural vegetation is the luxuriant growth of scrubs. There are no forests as such.

National Economy

The national economy of the Maldives is based on agrarian activities and fishing. On account of their fertility the northern and southern group of islands are more important than the central. The eastern islands as a whole are more fertile than the western. Bananas, papayas, coconut and the mango trees flourish luxuriously. Coconut palms provide copra and coir, articles of importance for export and local use. Maldivian mangoes and coconuts have a reputation for their delicious taste. Small quantities of millets, corn, sweet potatoes, pineapples, sugarcane and a number of tropical vegetables and fruits are grown.

Due to limited opportunities on the land, the islanders have looked to the sea and rivers for food and fish forms a staple food article here in spite of the fact that the surrounding seas are rough and deep-sea-fishing is not possible. The main catch is a species of tuna or bonito. The Maldive fish is considered a delicacy in India and Ceylon and is used mainly as condiment. The annual export value of fish is well over Rs. 25,00,000. Fish alone accounts for about nine-tenths of the exports by value. The sea is also a source of various kinds of shells which form articles of export. Fish and rice are the staple food articles. Almost entire rice is imported from Ceylon.

There are no large-scale industries in the Archipelago. Besides fish-drying, coir making is a long established industry. The Maldivian coir has a reputation for strength, fineness and colour. A number of handicrafts e.g., lace making, mat weaving, net and sail weaving, etc., are important.

Geopolitical Importance—Past and Present

Location, size and shape are the three fundamental elements in the political geography of a State. The factors of size and shape[5] are very unfavourable in the case of the Maldive Islands and have destined it, as many other small States, to play a second fiddle in the world politics. The factor of location, however, over balances all others. It is only by virtue of the strategic location that these islands occupy that they have threatened to bring

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Cold War right into the erstwhile quiet area of the Indian Ocean.

Over three-fifths of the British Commonwealth (formerly the empire) by area, and about three-fourth by population centres around or lies on the peripheries of the Indian Ocean. Only Canada, British Guiana and West Indian and West African territories lie beyond. Hence, the British life-line is that Ocean-and Sea route that passes between England and the East. To ensure the security of this highly significant waterway, Britain secured control of certain strategic water-passes and land positions along the route. The water-passes are nodal points in the web of the Commonwealth where the lines that link its parts focus at a spot unusually and crucially strategic. Gibralter, Suez, the Strait of Babel-Mandeb, the strait of Malacca and the Torres and Bass Straits are some of these knots, while among the land positions—or stepping stones—are Malta, Cyprus, the Socotra and Maldive Islands and the tip of India.[6] It was through the control of these stragetic strongholds that Britain was able to transform the Indian Ocean into virtually a British Lake. Commercially it was an international highway of great importance, militarily it was virtually **mare clausum.**[7]

The strategic importance of the life-line has declined somewhat in recent years because of the lessening of the overseas territories' dependence on Britain. But still it remains the 'life-line'. That happy situation of pre-World War II does no more exist for Britain in the Indian Ocean. It is no more a British Lake. India, the biggest power in the area, although still a member of the Commonwealth, has gone neutral and will not allow any naval or air base on its soil to Britain. Because of its location Ceylon had long been of importance to British Naval operations in the Indian Ocean. Britain maintained a naval base at Trincomalee on the northern coast of Ceylon. In 1956, the Ceylon Government, following India's neutralist lead, requested that the British evacuate the Trincomalee base, as well as the Katunayaka air base, which was an impo staging post for long distance air tra This left the British life-line unguarde the Indian Ocean. Britain, therefore concentrated its attention on the Mal Islands, and is reviving its air base on on the Addu atoll, the southern-most of Maldive group. According to an agre ment of 1956 between the British and dive Governments, the Island of Gan leased to Britain for 30 years for estab ing an air field. Thus the Maldives, wh were of peripheral importance in the p World War II days, have now become central importance in the Indian Oc for Britain.

The presence of a British Air base the Indian Ocean through which her v life-line passes is, perhaps, not without justification. It does not apparently h any unhealthy geopolitical implicati because even today practically the wh of the Indian Ocean area is bordered countries of the British Commonwealth, w which although Britain's political ties h been severed, the economic ties are st very strong. However, public reacti against the agreement of 1956 was ve strong in the Maldive Islands, so much that in December 1957, Prime Minist Ibrahim was forced to resign, and Ibrah Nasir, who succeeded him, soon began insist that the British lease would viol Maldivian neutrality. The Maldivian G ernment wanted to reduce the tentati lease from 30 to 15 years. When the G ernment sent a representative to tell islanders to stop working for the Brit they attacked him. In January, 1959, rebellion broke out in the three southe most atolls. The rebel headmen declar the formation of a United Suvadiva R public (with a population of 20,000) demanded recognition from U.K. Cent Government forces crushed the rebels two of the atolls but made no attempt interfere on Gan or any of the seven m islands in the Addu group. By March 1960, Suvadiva Republic was dissolved and re placed by a Committee under the sovereig control of the Sultan.

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A fresh agreement was entered into by the Maldivian Government and the Government of the United Kingdom on Feb. 14, 1960. Under the terms of the agreement, the island kingdom has made a gift to the U.K. of the use of the Gan Island and other facilities in Addu atoll for 30 years. Obligations assumed by the United Kingdom for the defence of the Maldives were reaffirmed. The Maldivian Government is, however, to conduct its own external relations in economic and cultural affairs. The U.K. is extending a grant of £850,000 as a token of goodwill to the Maldives. It is to be utilized for specific development programmes, such as, improvement and expansion of the fishing industry, communications, health and education, etc.

A Threat of Cold War in the Indian Ocean: Concessions to U.S.S.R.?

According to a P.T.I. report based on a news item in the **Ceylon Daily Mirror**, which quoted Maldivian sources for the information, the Soviet Union is keen on setting up a Military base in the Maldives, similar to the one now held by the British.[9] We have seen in the foregoing, that the grant of the base had angered a section of the public opinion in the islands as it 'violated the neutral stand point of their Government.' The grant of a similar base to the Soviet Union, these sources believed, would neutralize the balance of power as far as the Maldives were concerned. An indirect confirmation of the news is sought in the fact that sometime in September, 1962, a correspondent of the Soviet Government newspaper **Izvestia**, had visited the Maldives for a short stay. According to Ceylon Communist Party's official organ, **The Forward**, the welcome that the Soviet correspondent received in the islands 'shows that a section of the people, apparently including the Government, have begun to look to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in their struggle for a better life.'

Although 'a section of the people' are always there to support any auspicious or sinister move,[10] and the Soviet correspondent would have been accorded a welcome in any non-aligned country, but the recent developments in the diplomatic history of the Maldives give us reason not to regard the news as totally fantastic. The feelings were strong against the lease of Gan to Britain in 1956 both in and outside the Government and it may not be unlikely that after the reaffirmation of the treaty in 1960, and after the realization that the departure of Britain from the islands was ruled out.[11] the anti-British feeling has steered towards the grant of a similar lease to another rival power, Russia.

The grant of an air base to the Soviet Union on the Maldivian archipelago shall have a number of geopolitical implications of far-reaching importance for all the three i.e., the Maldives, the United Kingdom and the Indian Ocean powers—India, Pakistan and Ceylon. To the Maldivians, although the grant of an air base to the Soviet Union will bring it directly in the arena of world dispute and might eventually affect the internal solidarity consequent upon a communist propaganda, it has also a number of alluring points which might prove very forceful at the initial stage. The British air base at Gan has given fruitful employment to nearly 2,000 persons besides the grant of £850,000 as development aid for the islands from U.K. A similar lease to the Soviet Union might mean greater economic amelioration. America may perhaps not lag behind the Soviet Union in extending its aid to the islands if for nothing at least to secure the British position. Secondly, the Maldives are today little known and their international significance is seldom recognised.[12] The grant of the lease will bring them from the back water of international relations to the limelight. To the U.K. it will endanger her life-lines—the Atlantic-Suez—Indian Ocean route connecting Britain with the countries of south and South-east Asia and the Atlantic-Cape of Good Hope—Indian Ocean route connecting the U.K. with Australia and New Zealand—because now Britain does not possess any bastions for

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defence of its life-line between Aden and the Strait of Malacca on the one hand and Cape of Good Hope and Perth on the other, save for the Gan air base. To India and Ceylon it brings the Cold War direct on their ocean frontiers and this flouts their attempt at keeping their region free from the Cold War tensions. The seriousness of the matter is realized when we keep in mind the fact that "India's future is bound up with the command of the Indian Ocean."[13] While to other countries, the Indian Ocean is only one of the important oceanic areas, to India it is the vital sea. Her life-lines are concentrated in that area. Her future is dependent on the freedom of that vast water surface. No industrial development, no commercial growth, no stable political structure is possible for her unless there is peace in the Indian Ocean. The same holds true for Ceylon and Pakistan.[14] With the concession for an air base to the Soviet Union in the Maldives, the political rivalry in the Indian Ocean area will increase. This rivalry is likely to transform the Indian Ocean once again into a major "Strategic theatre". This shall be a very unfortunate situation for our country especially at a time when we are badly involved in a dispute of far-reaching magnitude on the northern borders with a Communist country, till recently a camp follower of the Soviet Union. Our Government and statesmen, it is hoped, will view these developments on our ocean frontier with caution.

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1. The Maldives have contributed the word atoll to international terminology. See Hoskley, T. W. *The Two Thousand Islands : A short Account of the People. History and Cust... the Maldive Islands.* London, 1935.

2. Valkenburg, S. Von, *Elements of* ... Geography. 1957, p. 54-55.

3. *Encyclopedia of Nations,* (1960) p. ...

4. Sowel R. B. S., "The Oceans ... India" *in An Outline of Field Science ... India.,* Indian Science Congress Asso... Calcutta, 1937, p. 22 also Spate, *India ... Pakistan,* p. 638.

Gardiner J. S., "*Formation of the Mal...* Geog. Journal 1902 pp. 277-96 is an exc... study.

5. The Maldives have a very small ... (115 sq. miles) and a fragmented shape. ... 115 sq. miles area is spread over degrees ... latitude and is shared by 2000 islands of var... size.

6. Carlson, L., *Geography and Wo... Politics* (1958) p. 321.

7. East and Moodge (Ed.) *The Chang... World,* (1956) p. 514.

8. Alexander, L. M., *World Poli... Patterns* (1957) pp. 376-77.

9. A *P.T.I.* Report in the *Hindustan Ti...* December 4, 1962.

10. This is more than apparent from ... fact that a section of the people in India w... not prepared to regard China as aggressor in the present Sino-Indian dispute.

11. As the Rebellion of 1960 taught them.

12. Even such important work on Politi... Geography as *'The Changing World'* (Ed. E... and Moodge) and *'The Changing Map of A...* (East and Spate) both edited by eminent Brit... Geographers, do not make even a reference to ... Islands. Sardar K. M. Panikkar in his master... exposition *India and the Indian Ocean* al... makes no reference to the strategic significan... of the Maldives even in the chapter, Indi... Ocean after the Second World War.

13. Admiral Herbert Fitzherbert.

14. Panikkar, K. M., *India and the Indi...* Ocean, London 1951, pp. 82-92.

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POLICE REFORM IN INDIA

By BRAHMA BHARADVAJA

THE Police Act of 1861 organized the Indian Police for the first time on a statutory basis, and the force recently in the last year concluded its first centenary. During this long period the organizaiton has been subjeted to severe criticism form time to time. To the simple village folk a policeman symbolizes the authority and tyranny of the State. He is not considered by all as one who seeks to protect their life and property. Much of it is due to the fact that from its very inception the police was employed to suppress the rising nationalist tendencies in the country by a foreign authority which was bureaucratic in character. Efforts are now being made to bring the police and the people nearer each other. The police authorities can claim that the constables move around the city not with big lathis but with small rods in hand. We come across with constables who exhibit on the uniform their willingness to serve.

But all is not well with the organization. People like Mr. Justice Mulla of the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court are prepared to accept every responsibility in branding it as the biggest lawless group in the county. False implication, fabrication of cases and records, mockery of law, and breach of law are some of the allegations against the police. Desirous of cleaning up the administration his lordship says that 'if police force must be manned by (such) officers forget all about democracy and change the meaning of law and other terms not only in our penal enactements but also in our dictionaries.' He also observes a complacent attitude which is developing in most of the judicial officers who take no action against such crimes.

These words from the learned Judge came at a time when the mind had not cast away the shadows of the verdict on the Karnal Murder case. Again in another case Messrs Justices Mulla and Nigam urged the removal of the three police officers from a district. If the state government, they say, wants that this court should do its duies in an unhampered manner, it is necessary in the ends of justice that these officers should be removed from the district. Mr. Justice Singh of the Punjab High Court, while disposing of a habeas corpus petition also reiterates what justice Mullah has said. To him it disclosed 'a lamentable state of affairs. The attempt to practice fraud on the court to obtain an order may in some cases amount to contempt which this court will not hesitate to punish.' Procedures adopted by the police have been occasionally commented upon as illegal by the Magistrates in Delhi.

The authorities sometimes claim that the number of crimes has decreased and the government congratulates itself in the Parliament on the decrease in the cirme incidence. The increase in the number of crimes on the other hand, is also accounted for by the reason that the police now registers all the cases even of minor nature. But the experience of the Anti-corruption Department of Delhi is a shocking revelation both to the public and to all those who congratulate themselves in the House. According to the information of this Department the police refuses to register some sixty-five per cent of the cases. The department also finds the police officers rude and rough at some police stations where it conducted test cases. In order to show improvement, perhaps, as Mr. Nath Pai said in the Lok Sabha, the majority of cases is not registered. Even if one agrees to the suggestion that the figure given by the Anti-corruption Department is a little exaggerated one fails to find any justification for refusal to register the cases. It is the duty of the police, as Mr. Datar notes, to register each case and to look into it.

Cases are not wanting where judicial officers have acted with utter disregard to law and legal principles. Justice Singh warns that Magistrates must remember that the liberty of a subject is guaranteed by the Constitution of our country and no man can be deprived of it or put in the peril of losing it except by due process of law. The conduct of some of the honorary magistrates has not always been fair and that has led the judicial officers to comment upon the procedure followed by them as unwarranted by law. 'When the court itself' says a magistrate,

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'was working illegally how can we find fault with others if they had committed illegality.' Another judge hesitates even to call an honorary magistrate a learned person—'The learned magistrate—and I have called him so only out of courtesy—has either filled in the blanks in rubber stamp impressions or in stencilled writing.' Not being on the pay rolls of the state, says the judge in another case, the honorary magistrates have somehow come to believe that it is only for the stipendiary magistrates to act in accordance wih the Criminal Procedure Code.

The administrative inertia at the higher level adds much to the confusion. The conduct of the juniors, as Justice Mulla notes, is not looked down upon by most of their superiors. Most of the superior officers close their eyes even when fabrications come to their knowledge. 'I am prepared to say,' says the learned Judge, 'that some of them even connive by closing their eyes if not by actual encouragement.'

The problem of police reform is not a single problem which the nation is facing today but it is one of the many inter-related problems, some others being administrative, economic, social and political. As adminisration, and particularly the police, is not aloof from the political society, both have close relations with each other. Causes of corruption in one may be traced in the acts of the other. There are several forms in which politically corrupt practices may appear. To illustrate a few, occasionally politicians try to exploit situations by frequent satyagrahas and agitations, and also by law-breaking campaigns on a mass scale. These campaigns, as a U.P. Home Minister views, generate disrespect for law and order in the minds of the people, and also create confusion in the minds of the public servants. Another form of it is to give asylum to criminals and to shield them against the police. According to the information of a survey conducted by a District Superintendent of Police in U.P., the Socialist Party, the Communist. Party, the Praja Socialist Party and the Congress Party had memberships of 4000, 325, 2000 and 40,000 respectively and the parties had 100, 7, 17 and 12 history sheeters respectively. The gangsters and bullies overawe the peace-loving simple villagers by holding out threats which are not actionable by the police. Interference with the process of law and administration is another form of the corrupt use of political influence.

How to eliminate corruption? No individual, as Justice Dhavan remarks, can claim the credit of making lone efforts to clean up the Augean Stables alleged to be the police force. No effort in lone directions may bring permanent results as the roots of the problems have to be pulled out from elsewhere too. The problem is a complicated one. The problem of effective reform is twofold namely to safeguard the people against the atrocities of the authorities and to protect the authorities from political manouvre. It is a problem of counter balancing the two. Two police commissions of U.P. and Bihar have presented their reports and have made recommendations regarding the internal organization of the respective police forces. Departmental reorganization may serve some purpose; but it may, I am afraid, fail to root out the malady. The Bihar Commission suggests a scheme of complete integration of the rural police with the Gram Panchayat Volunteer Force. Patna and Jamshedpur will have a new set up modelled on the Metropolitan Police of London. The U.P. Commission is perhaps right in rejecting such a proposal, because whatever holds good in the conditions and climate of the United Kingdom, does not necessarily hold good in the case of India. The police power is the most powerful authority in every civilized administration; before this power is transferred from one body to another, it should be done only with great caution after making sure that the recipient is a responsible organizaion and can be trusted for its safe use. Administration, further, should be viewed as one unit. Rearrangement may bear fruits if the higher authorities find it difficult to control it effectively, otherwise to a common man it is of least concern, for to him there is practically no change.

On some occasions police has to use fire-arms either to disperse a violent mob or to break an unlawful assembly. The U.P. Commission has suggested a judicial probe in all charges of malafide acts. But before such probes are ordered, their possible after affects should be carefully examined. What is malafide act? Neither the public authority nor even the Government of the day, should be presumed to bear a bias against any law abiding citizen or

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a section of society. Presumption of malafide has some very far reaching dangerous implications. It is not always easy also to prove malafides of any planned or well executed act. The government should deal with the wrong and the wrongdoers and not with the doers.

Pre-thought is definitely better than an afterthought. We have to deal with the problem objectively and not with any bias. Nothing should affect adversely the integrity, initiative, and sense of responsibility of the police officers. No method in the world can assess with mathematical precision any human action and more so when the decision and action is to be taken on the spur of the moment. What is the standard of reasonability in such a situation ? It cannot be defined. We must have confidence in the good intentions of reasonable officers. There is one more aspect of this question and it is that probes, I think, will have some demoralizing affect upon the forces. If the action is upheld, there is the danger that the force may develop a sense of indifference to public criticism. Servants may turn into masters. If the action is deplored, they may hesitate to take bona fide stern action called for by the situation for the simple fear of post-criticism and possible troubles. But it should not lead us to think that the police officers should enjoy complete judicial or any other immunity. They stand personally and individually accountable and punishable for each of their unwarranted acts. They should be subjected to ordinary judicial prosecution. No extra-ordinary judicial proceeding is needed in these cases.

The administrative organization should be free from all those unhealthy influences which affect the officers' integrity and prevent him from exercising his good discretion. To achieve this end the American Management Association laid down the Ten Commandents for sound administrative organization to which the eleventh may be added that no subordinate should be required to appear as witness in judicial procedings against his superior officer, and in no case if the latter is immediate to him. It has been observed that sometimes juniors (as in the Karnal Murder Case) fail to be an independent witness for they are pressed by the considerations of fear and favour, and the result is that the process of free and objective judicial enquiry is hampered. (The Administrative Report of the U.P. Police for the year 1958 has observed that the witnesses change when they are threatened by the culprits released on bail.) It is suggested therefore, that when an officer is being judicially prosecuted and witnesses from the department to which he belongs are called to give evidence for or against, no subordinate to the officer should be required to give evidence directly and openly. In such cases it would be more desirable that the witness is taken either of a senior officer or of the department itself. The departmental evidence will evidentally be on the basis of confidential departmental enquiry. As the department will have nothing to fear or favour from the officer who is at trial, it is, therefore, expected that departmental witness will insulate the junior officers and enable them to furnish correct facts freely. Moreover, the department may base its evidence on all kinds of information—formal and informal. This arrangement will check the possibilities of witnesses changing their sides.

It looks like a paradox to say that the police which does not operate outside the society, should have fewer and fewer informal relations with the society. There is no contradiction in saying that the police should have more and more public contacts and that it should have fewer and less public contacts. The difference is merely verbal which is caused by the difference in angles from which we view the problem. To have public contacts does not mean to have all sorts of contacts with all sorts of people; nor is there complete denial of contacts. The problem is of having filtered relationship. The contacts with persons against whom the organization operates should be discouraged to the state of total nullity. There should be no objection to the contacts with the people for whom or with whom it works. It will not always be possible, therefore, for a criminal to commit crime and escape punishment through acquaintance with some police officer. Self restraint on the part of the officer is a good suggestion, and judicious discretion may be his best guide. But there are some outside aids too, which can be supplied to him. Law and order being on State's lists the police is organised under the State governments. An officer, who serves within that society where he is born and had grown up is more liable to be exposed to local influences than one who is an alien. The former has many family relatives, friends, and acquaintances in whom he has some vested interest. Besides, he has

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numerous indirect acquaintances. His relations and friends are the sources from which legal or extra-legal pressure is sometimes brought which an officer finds it difficult to resist in all cases. Pressure also comes from those who control the political strings. The policeman needs protection. The evil of interference with the administrative process can certainly be mitigated to a certain extent by organising the police forces on a centralized basis. At least recruitment and inter-state transfer may be handed over to the Central Government who, while alloting them to the States will give due weight to the principle that no officer is posted in his native State in the period during which he is liable to be exposed to unhealthy local influence. The higher police positions are, as at present, manned by persons from Indian Police Service and the junior by those from the States Police Services. Under the new suggestion these junior officers also will form the pool of Indian Police Service liable to serve any where in the country. This new system based on inter-state and intra-state transfer of personnel, will discourage officers to get mixed in the society and vice versa also. To an officer there will be an alien society where he has fewer private relations. To the society also the officer will be a stranger. This strangeness may help to serve as a contact-filter.

All suggestions for reform which aim at improving the quality of administration and bring it upto date, may be good and some may be experimented upon. But in this process of reform the public has to play a definite and positive role. We talk of administrative inertia but forget our own. We forget that as citizens of a frree democratic state, our duties are two-fold, namely—(a) to help the state in detecting and preventing crimes, and (b) to keep a constant watch over the activities of the state and see that the latter does not become a despot. Whenever such a tendency appears, it should be curbed down. The tendency to sit down and criticise cannot help much. The Government alone should not be expected to remove every thorn that pricks. There should be our initiative to take steps to rebut any encroachment upon our rights and privileges. All political parties should as part of their programme organize the public create a strong public censor. The governm being controlled by the leading political has a bigger share of responsibility for fulfilment of this task.

Each town should have a group independent minded active persons whom poor helpless populace may approach for advice and assistance against the bureaucra and who on the other side, should give advice freely and openly to the auth rities. The advice should not be inte ference. This body may serve as a medium contacts between the two as a common frie Reliance can be plaed on their evidence in public inquest against the authority. It will take much time until the society grows to the developed state. As a measure of experiment the government may appoint in each district small committee of non-official members consisting of equal representatives of political parties and of respectable unbiased citizens. The main object of the committee is to bring the cases of illegal or unwarranted acts of the subordinates to the notice of superiors and to watch that action is taken against the defaulters. It may report to the authorities the state of the public mind on any measure and also public difficulties. Being in constant contact with the two it will understand and appreciate the two aspects—public and administrative of a problem and may then make balanced recommendations. Finally the question of equal political representation is also important. Equal representation of parties will discourage political manoeuvre.

No person can enjoy the rights guaranteed by the Constitution if he does not pay the price, not even a mighty state can claim to exist long if it pays no thought to curb down the disruptive forces—internal or external; and no democracy can live if the public is not highly developed. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

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A STUDY IN FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNION AND RAJASTHAN

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The federalism enshrined in the Constitution of India is a type by itself. It prides in its prejudice for the Centre. There is, of course, a clearly marked distribution of powers between the Centre and the constituent units of the Union. The principle followed in the distribution of powers in the federal systems of the world has been "enumeration and residium." In the Indian Constitution (as under the Government of India Act of 1935) the principle of statutory allocation of powers both to the Centre and the units has been adopted through the Union list, the State List and the Concurrent List, the residuary powers being vested in the Centre.

The guardianship exrcised by the Centre over the units will be clear through an examination of financial relationship between them. The purpose of this paper is to look into the theoy as adopted by the Constitution and the actual position existing in this respect so far as it relates to the Rajasthan State.

The Constitution establishes separate "Consolidated Funds" of the Union and the several States. Similarly, there is provision for the establishment of separate "Contingency Funds." Separate fields of financial resources have been demarcated for the Union and the States. Besides, there is provisions for assignment to the States of the proceeds of certain taxes, division of some others, and also for grants-in-aid by the Union to the States.

Regarding the disrtibution of revenues between the Union and the States, Article 268 of the Constitution mentions the Duties levied by the Union but collected and appropriated by the States. Stamp Duties on Bills of Exchange etc., and Excise Duties on all goods except alcoholic liquors for human consumption and opium etc., (but including medicinal and toilet preparations containing alcoholic and narcotic drugs) though included in the Union List and levied by the Union —are collected by the States in so far as leviable within their respective territories and their proceeds form part of the revenues of the States by whom they are collected.

Art. 269 enumerates certain taxes and duties which are levied and collected by the Union but the proceeds of which are assigned to the State. They are: (a) duties on succession to property other than agricultural land; (b) estate duty in respect of property other than agricultural land; (c) terminal taxes on goods or passengers carried by railway, sea or air; (d) taxes on railway fares and freights; (e) taxes other than stamp duties or transactions in stock exchanges—and futures markets; and (f) taxes on the sale or purchase of newspapers and on advertisements published in them. The Constitution (7th Amendment) Act, 1956 has added one more item to this List, viz., taxes on the sale or purcase of goods other than newspapers when it takes place in the course of interstate trade or commerce.

Art. 270 has provided that taxes on income other than agricultural income are to be levied and collected by the Union but their proceeds are to be divided between the Union and States. The Constitution further provides (Art. 272) that Union duties of Excise other than such duties on medicinal and toilet preparations as are mentioned in the Union List may be distributed between the Union and the States if the Parliament so decides.

Besides this scheme of sharing the proceeds of certain taxes and duties there is provision in Art. 275 for grants-in-aid from the Union to such States as Parliament may determine to be in need of assistance, particularly for purposes of promoting welfare

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of the Scheduled Tribes or raising the level of administration in the Scheduled Areas.

It is proposed to examine here the actual sharing of finances between the Union and the State of Rajasthan from 1951-52 to 1962-63 in the light of the above mentioned provisions of the Constitution.

At present there are four important heads in the income of which the States get a share from the Centre: Union Excise Duties, Taxes on Income (other than agricultural income), Estate Duty in respect of property other than agricultural land, and taxes on Railway fares. The several shares are determined by the President of the Union after considering the report of the Finance Commission appointed by him under Art. 280 of the Constitution.

Union Excise Duties

The recommendations of the First Finance Commission as accepted by the Government of India provided that 40% of the net proceeds of the Union Duties of Excise on tobacco (including cigars, cigarettes etc.), matches and vegetable products should be distributed among the States in porportion to their population according to the 1951 census. The share of Rajasthan State has been fixed at 4.41% of the divisible pool.

In accordance with the final recommendations of the second Finance Commission as accepted by the Government of India few more commodities viz., sugar, coffee, tea, paper and vegetable non-essential oils were included in the scheme of sharing of receipts from the Union Excise Duties. Another important change in this scheme was that 25% of the net proceeds was to form the divisible pool from 1957-58 instead of 40% as before. The share of Rajasthan State was raised to 4.71% from 4.41%. From 1957-58 Rajasthan has also been receiving her share in additional Central Excise Duties in lieu of the loss of revenue due to abolition of Sales Tax on mill-made textiles, sugar and tobacco (including manufactured tobacco) on which additional Duties of Excise have been levied under the Additional Duties of Excise (Goods of Special Importance) Act, 1957. This additional share Rajasthan has been as follows:

Year	Amount (Rupees)
1957-58 (A/c)	36,75,000
1958-59 (A/c)	1,19,59,000
1959-60 (A/c)	1,16,93,000
1960-61 (A/c)	1,13,47,000
1961-62 (R.E.)	1,70,51,000
1962-63 (B.E.)	1,18,00,000

The total yearly share of Rajasthan the Union Excise Duties is indicated by following figures:

Year	Amount (Lakh Rupees)
1951-52 (A/c)	..
1952-53 (A/c)	77.46
1953-54 (A/c)	73.33
1954-55 (A/c)	71.26
1955-56 (A/c)	78.14
1956-57 (A/c)	80.27
1957-58 (A/c)	171.98
1958-59 (A/c)	277.33
1959-60 (A/c)	285.50
1960-61 (A/c)	286.56
1961-62 (R.E.)	349.58
1962-63 (B.E.)	551.00

The recommendations of the third Finance Commission as accepted by the Government of India have reduced the divisible part of the net proceeds of Union excise duties from 25% to 20% but have increased the shareable excises from 8 to by including all articles (other than mo spirit) on which such duties were collected in 1960-61 and excluding those (but not ex cluding silk fabrics) on which the yield was below Rs. 50 lakhs a year. The entire net proceeds of the additional excise duties on mill-made textiles, sugar and tobacco which were levied in replacement of the States sales tax are attributable to the states (other than those accruing to the Union territories). While continuing to regard population as a major basis for distribution of the union excises the Commission has also taken into account other factors such as the relative financial strength of the State, the level of development reached, the percentage of

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scheduled castes and tribes and the backward classes, etc. Rajasthan's share is now to be 5.93 per cent.

Share in Taxes on Income: (Other than agricultural income and Corporation tax)

A part of the proceeds of taxes on Income, other than agricultural income, except in so far as they represent proceeds attributable to Union Territories (or formerly Part C States) or to taxes payable in respect of Union emoluments, is assigned to the states. The first Finance Commission had recommended that 55% of the net proceeds from such taxes should constitute the divisible pool. Rajasthan was allotted 3.50% of it.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Second Finance Commission 60% of the net proceeds under this head were transferred to the divisible pool and Rajasthan got 4.09% out of it. That substantial amounts are added to the State Revenues through it is clear from the following statistics:

Year	Amount (Lakh Rupees)
1951-52 (A/c)	12.53
1952-53 (A/c)	192.43
1953-54 (A/c)	194.18
1954-55 (A/c)	207.80
1955-56 (A/c)	204.85
1956-57 (A/c)	205.87
1957-58 (A/c)	299.53
1958-59 (A/c)	310.02
1959-60 (A/c)	326.84
1960-61 (A/c)	355.75
1961-62 (R.E.)	381.47
1962-63 (B.E.)	356.00

The result of the acceptance of the unanimous recommendations of the Third Finance Commission by the Government of India is to increase the State's share of income tax from 60% to 66⅔% beginning from April 1, 1962. Previously, 90% of the income tax pool were distributed according to population and only 10% on the basis of collection. Now 80% is to be divided on the basis of population and 20% on that of collection. Rajasthan's share of the divisible pool now will be 3.97 per cent.

Estate Duty:

Net proceeds of Estate Duty in respect of property other than agricultural land except in so far as they represent the receipts attributable to Union Territories (or to Part C States formerly) are to be distributed among the States (formerly among Part A and B States). Pending formulation of law in this respect, the Union Government made each year a provisional distribution on the same basis on which divisible income tax was being distributed. According to the recommendations of the Second Finance Commission, Rajasthan has been receiving 4.47% of the total receipts pooled together. The percentage has been raised to 4.67 by the basis of the recommendations of the Third Finance Commission. Net proceeds of Estate Duty in respect of agricultural land in Rajasthan are also transferred to the State. The share of Rajasthan is shown by the following table:

Year	Amount (Lakh Rupees)
1954-55 (A/c)	2.17
1955-56 (A/c)	6.87
1956-57 (A/c)	9.01
1957-58 (A/c)	9.02
1958-59 (A/c)	8.51
1959-60 (A/c)	9.85
1960-61 (A/c)	12.55
1961-62 (R.E.)	13.00
1962-63 (B.E.)	17.00

Taxes on Railway Fares:

Rajasthan received 6.77% of the net proceeds of the tax levied under the Railway Passenger Fares Act, 1957, in accordance with the recommendation of the Second Finance Commission. The Third Finance Commission has recommended the distribution of an annual grant to the States in lieu of their share of tax on railway passenger fares on the principle of compensation to them amounting broadly to the sums they were receiving before the tax was abolished (from 1.4.1961). The grant received by Rajasthan in this respect has been shown here under this head

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in the Revised Estimates for 1961-62 and the Budget Estimates for 1962-63. Her share has been as follows:

Year	Amount (Lakh Rupees)
1957-58 (A/c)	32.56
1958-59 (A/c)	73.74
1959-60 (A/c)	88.48
1960-61 (A/c)	93.36
1961-62 (R.E.)	85.00
1962-63 (B.E.)	85.00

Grants-in-aid:

Under this head provision is made in the budget of Rajasthan for Grants-in-Aid received from the Government of India under Art. 275 of the Constitution for Welfare Schemes in Scheduled Areas and other grants-in-aid as per recommendations of the Finance Commission. The receipts for welfare in Scheduled Areas are co-related to the expenditure to be incurred by the Rajasthan Government on the schemes for this purpose.

Miscellaneous Adjustments:

This is one of the major heads prescribed by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. This is merely an adjusting head. The receipts on account of the administration of Petroleum and Explosives Act and the Indian Arms Act are credited in the first instance to the State Account and then at the end of financial year the whole amount realised transferred to the Centre heads of ac by deduct entry. The same amount is transferred to the State Account credited to the above head. The fi regarding the volume of grants-in-aid cluding Miscellaneous Adjustments) ceived by Rajasthan are as follows:

Year	Amount (Lakh Rupees)
1951-52 (A/c)	5.01
1952-53 (A/c)	177.06
1953-54 (A/c)	166.22
1954-55 (A/c)	291.89
1955-56 (A/c)	299.01
1956-57 (A/c)	50.13
1957-58 (A/c)	331.60
1958-59 (A/c)	264.87
1959-60 (A/c)	310.81
1960-61 (A/c)	315.97
1961-62 (R.E.)	800.03
1962-63 (B.E.)	1208.34

We are now at the stage when we can weigh the importance of the amounts received by Rajasthan through and from the Centre. In this connection it might be observed that the recommendations of the Second Finance Commission which became effective from the Financial year 1957-58 serve as an important landmark in the financial relations between the Centre and the States. The tables below give figures regarding Rajasthan relating to this period since 1957-58:

(Lakh Rupees)

Particulars	1957-58 A/C	1958-59 A/C	1959-60 A/C	60-61 A/C	61-62 R/E	62-63 B/E
1. Share in Central Taxes.	513.09	669.60	710.67	748.22	829.05	1069.[illegible]
2. Grants-in-aid (including Misc. adjustments).	331.80	264.87	310.81	315.97	800.03	1208.34
3. Total of 1 and 2 above.	844.89	934.47	1021.48	1064.19	1629.08	2217.[illegible]
4. Total revenue receipts	3068.94	3097.30	3946.12	4396.31	4776.87	6153.[illegible]

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Yearly percentage of the Grants-in-aid from the Union to the total receipts of the State has been as follows during the same period :

Year	Percentage
1957-58 (A/c)	10.8
1958-59 (A/c)	7.8
1959-60 (A/c)	7.9
1960-61 (A/c)	7.2
1961-62 (R.E)	16.7
1962-63 (B.E.)	19.6

The following figures show percentage of the State's share in the Central taxes :

Year	Percentage
1957-58 (A/c)	16.7
1958-59 (A/c)	21.6
1959-60 (A /c)	18.0
1960-61 (A/c)	17.0
1961-62 (R.E)	17.0
1962-63 (B.E)	16.4

The combined percentage of the State's share in the Central taxes and the grants-in-aid is shown by the following statistics :

Year	Percentage
1957-58 (A/c)	27.5
1958-59 (A/c)	30.2
1959-60 (A/c)	25.9
1960-61 (A/c)	24.2
1961-62 (R.E)	34.1
1962-63 (B.E)	36.5

The above statistics show that during the last six years Rajasthan has been receiving from 24.2% to 36.5% of her total Revenue Receipts in the form of her share in the Central taxes and "Grants-in-aid" (including miscellaneous adjustments).

In order to complete the picture of dependence of Rajasthan on the Union Government in financial matters, the provision in the Constitution regarding borrowing has also to be taken note of. Art. 293 states that the Government of India may, subject to conditions laid down by the Parliament, make loans to any state or give guarantees in respect of any loans raised by a state. It further adds that a state may not without the consent of the Government of India raise any loan if there be still outstanding any part of loan which has been made to the state by the Union or in respect of which a guarantee has been given by the Government of India.

In the form of loans and grants Rajasthan received Rs. 62.81 crores from the Government of India out of the total expenditure of Rs. 102.74 crores on the Second Five-Year Plan. The State Government expects Rs. 156 crores from the Centre out of the target of the total expenditure of Rs. 236 crores for the State's Third Five-Year Plan. In the first year of the third plan, i.e., 1961-62, the Centre's contribution was assessed to be of the order of Rs. 22.5 crores when the target of expenditure was Rs. 34 crores.

The component units of the Indian Union, thus the example of Rajasthan shows, are not only not autonomous financially but are dependent to such a great and considerable extent upon the Centre that it is likely to keep their status at a frightfully low level. It would be an ideal financial arrangement if the Centre as well as the Units in a federation are able to command separate sources of income enough to fulfil their respective needs ; but it is very difficult to realise this ideal in practice. Even then an earnest effort is called for in all federations so that the units are not very much dependent upon the central Government for their finances. As the arrangements exist the states in India do not have sufficient independent sources of income to satisfy the ever-growing demands of education, health and other welfare activities under their sphere of responsibility. The Centre has a number of heads which will provide a growing volume of income such as customs, excise, etc. ; on the other hand the income from some of the sources of the States is likely to be dwindling, such as excise duty on wines and liquors. For reasons of unity, security, stability and credit there might be grounds enough to support some of the departures (including the provisions regarding financial emergencies in the Consitution of India) from the traditional theory of federalism, yet it has to be observed that this sort of financial dependence of the units of the Union on the mighty Centre provides but little justification for giving them the dignified nomenclature of 'States'.

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THE MISHMIS OF LOHIT FRONTIER DIVISION

By COL., P. N. LUTHRA,
Adviser to the Governor of Assam

The easternmost division of the North-East Frontier Agency, called the Lohit Frontier Division, is bounded on the east by the Putao district of northern Burma and on the north by the Tibetan district of Zayul. To the West and South of Lohit lie two other sister Divisions of NEFA known as the Siang and Tirap Frontier Divisions.

Lohit Frontier Division has an area of approximately 9059 square miles with a population of 36,050. Like the remaining four Divisions of NEFA it is named after the principal river Lohit which cuts through the Himalayan range. It has its sources in the Zayul Province of south-east Tibet and enters India in the extreme north-east corner of Assam. After a course of some 120 miles through precipitous valleys, it enters the plains and soon after joins the Brahmaputra. Another river equally turbulent, known as Dibang, flows north to south to the west of Lohit.

In the basins of these two rivers live people generically known as the Mishmis. The Mishmis of the Lohit Valley are divided into two groups, differing in language but not in customs. These are the Mijus of the Upper Lohit and the Digarus to the west of them on the lower reaches.

The Mishmi society generally recognises and exalts the democratic rights of an individual. There are no chiefs among the Mishmis, and man's authority does not, in theory, extend beyond his own household. "However, as is the case all the world over, men of character and wealth tend to acquire in-

A Folk Dance Performance by Mishmi Beauties

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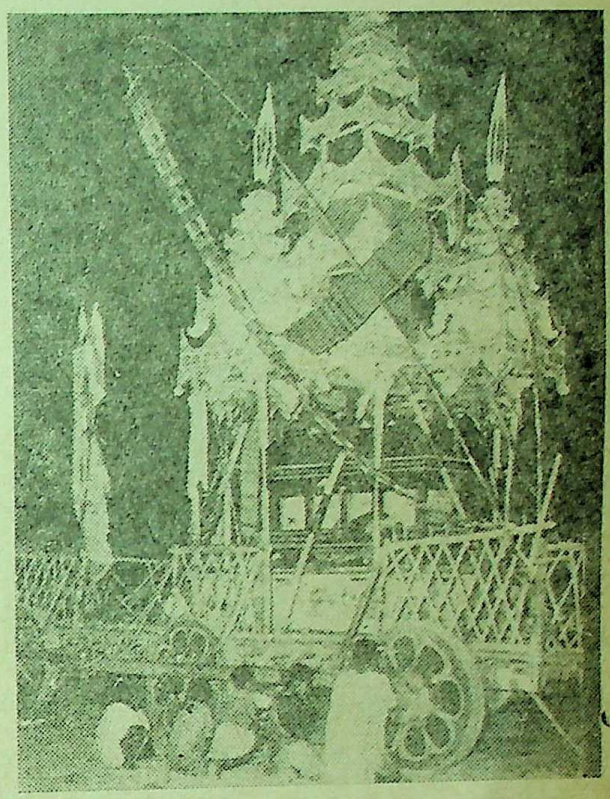
fluence and authority" and it is these men who tip the scales in arbitration or discussions which are held to resolve disputes.

The NEFA administration respects the local codes and legal usages and the majority of cases are settled without recourse to the Indian Penal Code. A fine is the usual method of punishment and this is generally paid in terms of cattle heads. Thus, for example, the penalty for murder may be 75 to 80 head of cattle; adultery is punished with a fine of from 2 to 7 cattle heads and similar is the penalty for theft.

Individualistic Traits

Like most hill-tribes, Mishmis are an uninhibited and freedom-loving people. This instinct leads them, administratively speaking, to the rather inconvenient extreme of living in small groups of 2-4 families constituting a village. Some villages are no more than the house-hold of a single family. They are, thus, singularly unfettered by any obligations or demands imposed by society that has to live as an integrated entity. The same individualistic trait is expressed in their beliefs of super-natural gods. Thus, whereas some gods are general, others pertain specially to men and women. The God of crops and sky is general to every one, but the God of child-birth is the woman's God only. Their priest system provides another example of their individualism. Although there are priests, there is no rigidity in the composition of this class. Nor is there any age limit for priests and, again, unusual as it seems, the priestly powers are not always hereditary.

In the social customs also, the Mishmis are permitted a wide range of individual freedom. A young man may, therefore, decide to marry as and when he likes and he exercises free personal choice in finding a bride. A female go-between ascertains the girl's feelings for no girl is married against her will. There is, of course, a bride price but as soon as the first instalment is paid the husband may visit the wife in her parent's house. There are no marriage seasons as such and nor is there any limit laid down for the number of wives a man may possess. Polygamy can be freely practised provided a man can afford it.



Mishmi Devotees praying before a decorated chariot of the deity during an important annual fair

The Lohit Frontier Division was constituted about a decade ago. It is the jurisdiction of a political officer, normally called Deputy Commissioner in the settled areas. His jurisdiction is divided into centres and subdivisions which under Assistant Political Officers and Base Superintendents, have an integrated programme of development of fhe local economy. Tezu, the District Head Quarters, has a high school which was converted this year into a Higher Secondary School. Eleven students passed the Matriculation Examination this year from this school. This school has a N.C.C. troop and also a Girl Guide Unit.

Courage and Tenacity

The stamina and warlike qualities of the Mishmis came up for trial when the

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A Mishmi couple in typical costume

Lohit Frontier Division became a victim of the Chinese aggression in September last year. The beautiful hill plateau, Walong, became a battle-ground. In those moments of grave danger to life, the Mishmis stood firm in their support to our Army. They carried loads, sheltered stragglers, provided food and, only when the pressure of the enemy became overpowering, they withdrew in an orderly way. They displayed their proverbial courage and tenacity for which they are so well-known.

Soon after the Chinese withdrawal the Mishmis returned to their border villages in Walong area where the Administration set to work once again. The fact that in a matter of weeks, the normal conditions of life have been restored is a sign of the Mishmis powers of recovery and resilience. It was the self-same resilience which enabled them to revive their economy in a short time after the terrible earthquake in 1950 which entirely denuded so many of the hillsides and altered the whole aspect of the country.

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CALCUTTA'S APPALLING TRAFFIC PROBLEM

By SOM NATH CHATTERJEE, M.Com.

The magnitude of Calcutta's transport problem may be well imagined from a simple observation of the late Dr. B. C. Roy, formerly the Chief Minister of West Bengal:

"There was a time when many including myself thought that Central Avenue had a lot of space with its continuous 70 ft., width. Little did we apprehend then that in 1962, the space for moving vehicular traffic would be cut down to 40 ft., the parked cars being the intruders."

Calcutta's traffic problem is really appalling because the volume of her vehicular traffic is annually increasing by roughly 10%, road mortality also being alarmingly increased in the same ratio. (According to an estimate 275 people, including 189 pedestrians, died only in one year in street accidents).

Traffic Figures

To get an idea of the City's traffic problem, the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation made a survey in the Howrah Bridge area on an average week day and found that 5,07,899 people and 43,731 vehicles crossed the same bridge. I put below the details for readers' interest:

	No. of people	No. of vehicles
Trams	113787	1907
Buses	207235	4226
Othef fast vehicles	41080	22481
Slow vehicles	22354	14757
Pedestrians	123443	—
Total	5,07,899	43731

Haphzard Growth

Calcutta's traffic problem has become acute because her roads are not built to suit a particular volume and traffic, which is often done in developed countries. To illustrate: one must admit that the roads once built for **Palkis** cannot serve for trams or motor cars which require broad roads to use their proper speed. The sad state of the very narrow Strand Road is a grim reminder in this connection. One wonders how our city planners failed to understand that as a city grows, business trends to grow at one or more centres and so the people have to be transported from and to their homes every day.

Again, Calcutta's growth has not been at par with her growth as an industrial and commercial centre. Result is that she has never been properly interlinked with the suburbs. Because of this, two problems have emerged. Firstly, there is no highway which can link up this City with the Southern and Eastern parts of India. Only G. T. Road connects Calcutta with her North-Western industrial area. But even this Road of historic importance is (for at least 30 miles in Calcutta's industrial belt) narrow and heavily congested, making traffic movement slow and road accidents on the increase. Secondly, communication inside the city is again highly unsatisfactory. A large number of daily passengers, at least 5 to 6 lakhs, come to Calcutta to attend offices from suburbs. For them, existing travel facilities at Howrah and Sealdah stations—offered by the Calcutta Tramways and State Buses—to reach Dalhousie Sq., are extremely inadequate.

Beside the above, Calcutta today suffers from traffic bottlenects due to two other reasons also: (a) abnormal pressure of population in Calcutta due to partition and (b) lack of facilities for quick movement from one part of the City to another, specially from the circumference to the centre.

The above problems indicate that Calcutta is heading towards a serious crisis and that immediate steps should be taken

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to face the disaster. True, the magnitude of the problems and their heavy financial implications make the same formidable. Yet, we must not forget that Calcutta is the nerve centre of the whole of India; she is linked up with the interest of India as a whole. Therefore, in any event, we shall have to face this challenge in our national interest.

World Bank Mission's Concern

Little wonder, therefore, that Calcutta's traffic problems attracted the attention of a World Bank Mission. Little wonder, again, that the Commission was indeed shocked to find that no provision was made for Calcutta's improvement and so made the following observation:

> "In the Mission's view, one of the most dangerous weaknesses in the Plan is the continued neglect of the problems of urban development of Calcutta. If this is to be remedied it is essential, first, the Central Government should accept the direct and special financial responsibility for the improvement of the conditions in the City; and, second, that the provincial and municipal authorities should co-operate in establishing an effective body to carry through an enlarged programme of municipal reconstruction and improvement."

Towards The Solution

Any modern town planning worth the name to become successful must provide adequately for day-to-day growth of traffic and transportation needs. Also, future needs must not escape one's attention because any traffic and/or transportation plan must not remain content with present conditions but also look ahead to meet the future needs. The CMPO, quite aware of this, is trying hard to prepare a plan to serve the Greater Calcutta area for the next 25 years bearing in mind the socio-economic and other changes that may be effected in the intervening period.

Finance

But finance is the main handicap to achieve the above objective. About the financial burden, it is interesting to the observations of the World Bank here:

> "The Mission got the impres... that the Corporation of Calcutta ... neither the power nor the financial ... sources to cope with the staggering ... lems faced in the City. The ... municipal revenue is restricted to ... paltry sum of about Rs. 85 million ... good deal less than Bombay which ... smaller city. The Government of In... tends to regard these problems as wh... the concern of the Government of We... Bengal, which, in turn, is strugg... with many other difficulties and ... respond to a legislature that inadequa... ly represents the interests of the urb... areas. The very magnitude of ... challenge that Calcutta presents to ... conscience and political common-sen... of those in authority no doubt in pa... explains the inadequacy of the respo... sibility. **Everybody admits that mu... ought to be done about it. Nobody i... ready to do it."** (Emphasis mine).

After crosing the hurdles of finan... the following steps are to be taken to im... prove the City's transport conditions:

1. Any plan for a better transport syste... must provide for the smooth movement ... people and goods during all the phases ... Greater Calcutta's development. In shor... the plan must include (a) development ... major arterial roads and highways, (b) im... proved systems of mass transit and (c) in... rim operational improvements at one a... the same time.

2. The proposal to construct a ne... Bridge across the Hooghly is a very rig... step in traffic and transport developme... plans. This will indirectly contribute ... wards urban improvement schemes.

3. Introduction of fast-moving an... frequent electric train services up ... Dalhouie Square point so that from th... farthest point of Greater Calcutta's radius ... the working population can reach his place ... of business within an hour's time. And ... under-ground railway system is impracti... cable for the purpose, then separate ... tracks for suburban services like Bombay

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be laid for frequent and quick movements.

4. Not only will all the suburban trains converge at a place near Dalhousie Sq. but arrangements must also be made to have small halting stations at convenient places within the City. That would help the office-goers to avail of the train services and thus relieve considerably the present loads on trams and buses. But the question is: "How to open up a rail route from across the Ganges to the City?" True, the present Howrah Bridge is already overloaded and incapable of the purpose. Here, without going into much details, it would be sufficient for my purpose to say that a considerably high cantilever bridge, capable of carrying the load of buses, lorries and other heavy vehicles beside the railway trains (which bridge, of course, would not disturb the movement of ships), if constructed somewhere opposite the Maidan or near the Shalimar station would be ideal.

COMPO's Goal About Transport

To develop a transport plan, based on need and fact, that will provide for the most efficient movement of people and goods within the CMPO area within 1985, the types of improvements that will be recommended are:

Immediate Improvements

As stated earlier, in the Hooghly river crossing—(1) a new crossing of the river Hooghly has been recommended to ease congestion on the existing crossing; (2) Howrah bridge improvement plan through intersection channelization and pedestrian under-crossings and over-crossings to improve traffic safety and traffic flow.

Long Range Improvements

(a) New streets and highways to provide needed capacity for future vehicular traffic; (b) reconstruction of existing streets and highways; (c) mass transportation—improvements of existing services and a new monorail or under-ground rapid transit system; (d) intersection signalization providing automatic signals at all major intersections in Calcutta to improve the flow of traffic on existing streets; and (e) parking facilities— size, types and locations of off-street parking facilities needed to satisfy the existing and future parking demands of Calcutta's central area.

Over and above the above projects, in order to avoid congestion in the existing G. T. and B. T. roads and to provide a better unresricted approach to Calcutta, the World Bank under their I. D A Scheme have agreed to finance the major part of the construction of Vivekananda Bridge to Saptagram Bye-pass of G. T. Road (N.H. 2) and West Bengal portion of Calcutta to Bombay road (NH 6) including Rupnarayan and Kangsabati projects at a total cost of Rs. 10.00 crores. The execution of the work has been entrusted to Special Road Development Organisation, Government of West Bengal.

Need for Elaborate Surveys

Finally, the CMPO will have to conduct elaborate surveys which must include: (a) interviewing all truck-owners to ascertain their requirements of road facilities in different areas of Greater Calcutta; (b) interviewing every household of Calcutta to ascertain their pattern of daily travel; (c) special study of Greater Calcutta's important road intersections; and (d) surveys of travel-time on various sections of highways in the urban area to estimate the volume of traffic that can be diverted. All these would go a long way to solve the City's appalling traffic problem.

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WELFARE STATE

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I

The question of the attainment of welfare of the people, especially in its economic sense, through the media of the capitalist state machinery has been assming importance since the latter part of the 19th century when it was experienced that despite amazing progress of industrialism the basic problem of every civilisation—poverty and sufferings of the people with their concomittant complications—could not have been solved by the forces of so-called free-economy. The periodic crises, gradual impoverishment of the masses, conflict between the capital and labour, emergence of a militant socialist movement professing class struggle and seizure of state machineries—all these gradually brought the state into the vortex of conflict. Sometimes by repression, sometimes by concession the guardians of the state sought to check the revolutionary propensity of the masses. But this was not enough. Soon it was felt that under the circumstances the state must directly interfere into the economic activity of the society or revolution might turn everything upside down. In this way the extension of its spheres of activity and penetration into the life of the society and individual have been growing unabated since the close of the 19th century. The state has long ceased to be merely an institution for the preservation of law and order. On the contrary it is, to day, so it is asserted, an institution that has principally dedicated itself to the attainment of human welfare by solving all economic problems thereby evolving out an egalitarian society without tears. It is argued, therefore, that socialism emphasising class war and seizure of the power of the state by the working people is no longer possible and hence better be relinquished as an out-moded idea in view of the fact that modern states in all leading countries of the world have already addressed themselves to the task or realising social justice by eliminating economic disparity among the classes and privileges of the possessing class.

It is, nevertheless, desirable that for a clear understanding of the validity of such claims a brief examination of the past events be made. For human experience from which all theories emerge, is after all the product of history and the feasibility of the claims of modern states being the institutions of welfare will be correctly understood when its present character and potentiality are examined in the light of our past experience.

II

Human history has traversed a long way, uphill and downdale. And in the course of its long travel it has experienced many a change, undergone tremendous revolutions and arranged its affairs afresh. Despite all these one thing has remained largely constant, disregarding certain formal variations, that is to say, the exploitation of the masses by the dominant class. Whether it was in Egypt, India, Greece or Rome, everywhere the upper stata of the society built up their luxurious life and the edifice of their finer culture on the toil and tears of the unprivileged millions of slaves. Protests and revolutions there have been many with the result that gradually these societies disintegrated from within and fell to pieces when attacked from without. The States in none of these countries stood in defence of the popular rights but rather always sided with the men of property which had palpably shown that the basic task of the states as such was to secure the power and privilege of the ruling class.

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Similar was the picture in the middle ages and early phase of the modern age. The serfs were grounded down under feudal oppression and wherever the peasants revolted, as they did in England in the 14th century and in Germany in the 16th century, the state machineries in both the countries were efficiently employed to suppress the rising in torrents of blood. The Renaissance doubtless opend up a new horizon before mankind, but the new Europe that had emerged out of the turmoil of religious wars brought hope and promise principally to the merchant middle class while the masses continued to languish in squalor and poverty. The middle class had yet to wage a long struggle against the feudal interests and set up strong nation states under monarchies that would secure their interests in prosecuting trade and commerce. And amidst this struggle the idea of democracy and constitutionalism emerged as a permanent contribution to subsequent generations.[1] The lot of the masses was slightly improved, their place in the society were, theoretically at least, more dignified as a result of general extension of democratic ideas, but economically they continued to suffer all the same. The question of welfare of the people, of course, was not lost sight of totally by the state; it was its vicarious responsibility that was often discharged through certain charitable institutions particularly the church.

Even though there had been occasional rift in the lute caused by revolutions of the social outcastes, not until the English Revolution of 1640 and the great French Revolution of 1789 there was any significant indication of this class emerging as an organised force equipped with a distinct philosophy of their own. The activities of the 'Diggers' and 'Levellers' pointed at the shape of things to come, but for the present since their demands ran contrary to the interests of the bourgeoise, the parliamentary democracy was kept in cold storage for the time being and Cromwellian dictatorship was invoked to fight the greater danger. Later General Monk stamped the rebels out and restored the monarchy which since 1688 made a happy compromise with parliamentary democracy. In France the followers of Babeauf received similar treatment and in 1848—49 the socialists who helped the bourgeoisie to capture power were later betrayed and left at the mercy of the blood thirsty troops of General Caviagnac. Two decades afterwards the bourgeoisie of France aided by Prussia broke-down the defence of the Paris commune and entered triumphantly into Paris strewn with tens of thousands of corpses. The experience of the Spartacist in Germany at the close of the first world war was also no brighter.

There is no need of multiplying the instances of ferocity of naked class conflict. But it is a fact, however revolting it may be, that has persisted through different phases of history in every country with minor variation in the manner of its expression. That class domination and class struggle were important phenomena in every society needed no exhortation of Marx to prove it; Bright in England had emphasised it earlier. Industrial revolution far from removing it had rather sharpened the class struggle because of the fact that in spite of the gigantic growth of productive power of the modern industries, the problem of poverty of the masses could not have been solved. The workers gradually became more solidly united as a result of the very condition presented by the modern industry and grew more conscious which was inculcated into their minds by the preachings of the socialists urging the workers to wage relentless struggle for the abolition of economic inequality through proper distribution of the social products.

Although many thinkers since the time of Plato down to the modern era pointed at the imperative necessity of solving this problem, no state of the West has ever come nearer to the solution. On he contray whenever the demand grew too hot the state employed all its machinery to throttle it. It appeared as if by the very inner logic of the system neither the feudal nor the capitalist system were suited to solve the problem and at every crucial moment it was brought

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home to the people that the state was chiefly the instrument of serving the interests of the possessing class and its organ, the government, must always be used against the vital interest of the majority.

The Socialists, particularly the Marxists, thus claimed to have laid bare the pretensions of all hitherto existing states being the promoters of the interest of the community. The state has always been the preserve of power of the dominant class and unless the state power can be won or seized by the working class they will never be able to turn its machinery into its own favour. Capitalists pile up their profit by denying the labourers of their legitimate share and in persuit of maximum profit the former overproduce and the system runs into periodic crises thereby causing untold sufferings to the working men thousands of whom are thrown out of employment at the time of depression. The state not only does not come to their succor but suppresses them at the least sign of agitation. Therefore, the Socialists of all shades, revolutionary or evolutionary, are of opinion that the workers should acquire the political supremacy of the state; that capital should be socialised so that it may no longer be exploitative of the workers; that the productive forces should be so organised as to abolish the elements of crisis and make them instruments of realising social good; that abolition of capitalism is all the more important because it divides the society against itself by provoking class antagonism and thus fritters the creative energy of the people away that might have been profitably utilised for fruitful productive purposes. The inner logic of socialism thus is not only based on economic reasons, but ethical and moral questions are also inextricably involved with it; but it is maintained that the removal of economic inequality and gradual improvement in the condition of life of the people are the prerequisite of moral and ethical welfare.

III

Contrary to the belief of the socialists the exponents of modern welfare states start from a different premise and deny the basic contention of the socialists, [illegible] not always their goal. Their [illegible] emphasis is towards the fact that [illegible] welfare state is realizable [illegible] the institutional set up of capitalism. [illegible] proponents of this school reject the basic postulates of Marxian socialism while borrowing, without declaring it, from the Fabian and various other evolutionary socialists. They reject the existence of class struggle and inevitability of the hegemony of the proletarit. They believe that the decadence of capitalism can be permanently avoided by the state by controlling the activities of industry, trade and commerce; that the modern states are no longer the prototypes of those of the 19th century over and above, consequent to the extension of franchise and ever increasing participation of the people, the state has already become an instrument of realising the interest of the community thus making any class conflict and all that out of date. Gunner Myrdal writes, "the very idea of introducing, in the capitalist state, peacefully and without revolution—in fact, as a substitute for the revolution—co-ordinated public policies of such far reaching consequence that they could gradually bring the economy of a country to function in accordance with the majority interests of all the citizens, which today constitute the essential idea of economic planning in the democratic welfare states of the Western world....is entirely foreign to Marx's way of thinking."[2]

It is an undeniable fact that the modern capitalist states, particularly in the west, have postponed the disintegration of the system since the first world war in spite of the crisis of the thirties and have, under pressure, come forward to "use its power to help the weaker economic strata to build up their own organisations, by legislation and administration it has given them support by changing the condition under which they can bargain."[3] Consequently socialism of every shade has lost its sway over the people in the Western world. It is natural that the proponents of the Welfare State should feel confident of its destiny and take it as the final stage of the evolu-

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tion of state and society as well achieved by democratic process which, they assert, is foreign to the majority of the socialists. And for a better understanding about the feasibility of such developments a probe into the origin and background of the welfare concept and linking up the same with the function of the state need some scrutiny.

Not until the 20th century the bourgeois states of the West have been taking upon themselves directly the responsibility of introducing welfare measures out of various considerations. In the past the chief function of the states in every country, by and large, was the preservation of law and order. During the middle ages also similar was the picture. The suffering and afflicted masses could look to the church for pittances. Poverty was regarded as punishment bestowed upon the sinful by God. Nevertheless quite a good lot of them refused to accept such an outlook and often revolted to change the system with a view to changing their own lot. In fact, there is no dearth of instances of slaves rising against their masters, serfs against their lords. The economic inequality has always been the bone of contention between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' that could not have been solved by the democratic and industrial revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries. The progress of capitalism with its immense potentiality, though it brought relatively better promise to the people than could have been offered by the previous systems, it nonetheless, could not solve the central problem, rather gradually sharpened it. The class struggle was further intensified which first in the 19th century began to express itself in the form of machine breaking until socialistic thoughts and activity of the socialist parties began to show them certain goals and taught them the methods and tactics for waging struggle to reach the cherished goal.

The working class in England began to agitate and secured the withdrawal of the law against combination as far back as 1822. The Chartist movement, in spite of many short-comings, was a step forward in the history of the working class movement to secure their economic and political rights. The state employed its machineries to suppress the movement, but at the same time made some concessions which somewhat pacified the workers in general. It had been the peculiar strategy of the English ruling class that they had always mixed repression with minor economic concessions and political reforms which was possible due to the unique position occupied by Britain in the industrial field and also due to her control over the vast colonial world. As a result of all these the British labour movement, with minor exceptions, inherited a tradition of reformism that was handed down to the Fabians through Green, Spencer, Bentham and Mill.

Unlike the Fabians who sought to achieve socialism not by forcible overthrow of government and aquisition of state machinery, but through parliamentary struggle for the extension of franchise and passing progressive and ameleorative legislations with a view to achieving equality and so on, Marx asserted with many others, that the state had always been the guardian of the interests of the dominant class; that if the state was to be made an instrument to serve the interests of the oppressed it must be captured by the working class who would assume their dominance in the industrial society; that only a working class state could work for the abolition of inequality by taking away the means of production from the hands of the capitalists and socialising it; that such a process was not only necessary for solving the crisis that was inevitable in capitalism the moving force of which was not the attainment of social good but the earning of profit, but it was also an irresistable fact of history. So Marx had asked the workers not to remain contented with economic concessions but urged them to become politically dominant, while the Fabians and other evolutionary socialist schools directed their attention mainly towards economic reforms.

From the middle of the 19th century upto the first World War the influence of Marxism had been a formidable factor in guiding the working class politics. Even the

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Fabians and social democrats were greatly influenced by this philosophy. It began to rock the entire fabric of European society; the ruling class was panic stricken so much so that an iron man like Bismarck had to stem the tide of revolution by passing several acts of reforms to alleviate the sufferings of the working class, and had even to resort to nationalisation thereby bringing the state directly into the economic affairs of the country. However, the tracing of the history of this period is not to our present purpose. But a brief examination of the role of the social Democrats seems to be important since the exponents of the welfare state as such have borrowed much of their ideas from the former. The social Democrats, true to their theory, always stood against revolution and seizure of power of the state by the workers; they sought to achieve it through parliamentary struggle and within the institutional limits of the existing democratic set up. Consequently on the plea of freedom, they became the staunchest opponents of the Marxists and even outdid the capitalists in fighting against them, while the latter profitably utilised the social democrats to sow the seed of disruption within the working class movement and ultimately succeeded in suppressing all of them. The role of the social Democrats in Germany, to cite only one example out of many, against the Spartacists, their lenient treatment of the Junkers and ultimate surrender of power to Hindenberg thereby paving the way to Hitler are facts quite fresh in everybody's memory. "In the crushing and avoiding social revolution the social democrats played a prominent part although their whole party was based on the theory of such revolution. It would appear that these social democrats hoped or believed that capitalism would die a natural death. Therefore, instead of attacking it vigorously, they helped to preserve it for the time being."[4] A large amount of failure of the working class movement in the West and success of the counter-revolution were due to the fact that "the great majority of the working class were led by the social democrats who were not prepared for the revolution, were astounded terrified when they found themselves caught up in one, and proceeded on theory that what the situation called was an advance to full political democracy in alliance with liberal and radical capitalist parties without disturbing the foundations of society."[5] No wonder then that the socialist movement, thus weakened from within must cringe before the onslaughts of fascists and capitalists grown cautious and tactful meanwhile. Even then they had to find out devices in the form of increased employment for the workers, enact legislations aiming at their social securities, and soon. Capitalism naturally feels confident to assert that socialism is dead in the West. Its advocates grant it permanent lease of life and assert that to-day it is neo-capitalism that has reformed itself of its old legacy of the past and is quite capable of attaining all round social justice by gradually abolishing economic disparity without impairing the democratic functions of the institutions in any way. Thus the concept of welfare state as a substitute for socialist state under the hegemony of the working class, is born out of this confidence.

IV

Admittedly a considerable change has taken place in the function of the state. The basic idea of the welfare state and the reasons behind some of its claims as an antidote to socialism have been discussed. Since the close of the second world war the countries of the Western Europe have been enjoying economic prosperity, the level of full employment is being maintained (though in the U.S.A., on whose credit the economy of the West largely rests, crisis though not yet overwhelming, have occurred several times and where the unemployment figure is also alarming) without jeopardising the fundamental rights of the private enterprise. The role being played by the state is very significant in that the economy of these countries have no longer been left either to the caprices of individual capitalists or to the blind forces of the market. Almost all the vital and basic industries

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have been nationalised by the state so as to employ them apparently to the benefit of the community. By progressive taxation and social service schemes the economic disparity and social injustice are being sought to be reduced, the rights of the workers are ensured by laws enabling them to bargain through trade unions for better wages and so on. Under the circumstances, it is suggested, that the state has evolved out as an impartial institution and is holding the ring amidst the social strife and brought everything under a planned order. Hence it is no more true to say that the state is an instrument in the hands of the dominant class and that socialism holds the panacea against social ills any longer.

All these are good as far as they can go, it is yet not totally free from doubts and pitfalls. That the state, to day, has assumed an all comprehensive character and entered the field directly as a shock-absorber are undeniable facts. But do nationalisation, planning and social services as such make it an impartial institution? Nationalisation by itself does not signify any change in the basic postulates of the state. Even a capitalist state has often to resort to nationalisation of un-economic units and some of the basic industries so as to keep minimum control over the anarchy of production and crises, otherwise capitalism would have been doomed long ago. Nationalisation and state trading under the capitalist mode of production, has been prompted by the interest of the capitalist so that they may be helped in their distress; so that the stability of their internal and external trade may be well protected. "State ownership," therefore, "of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but it contains within itself the formal means, they key to the solution."[6]

Similarly planning also does not hold guarantee for unhindered economic growth in favour of the community and solve the problem of crisis of production and distribution until it is directed towards the realisation of social good by abolishing economic inequality. The capitalist planning that puts no ceiling on the income and the right to the acquisition of property is most likely to frustrate the orderly development of the economy and is incapable of bringing about social harmony since the main purpose behind all these activities is to safeguard the inerest of the private enterprise. If it is chiefly desired, nonetheless, for the purpose of attaining social good it is worthwhile to test, as a practical proposition, how far the moral transformation of the industrialists have taken place by asking them to produce under a condition where social values take precedence over profit making.

The main issue is not whether the modern states have done anything or not to alleviate the distress of the masses, but whether all these concessions and social service activities are the natural growth of any altrustic motive. Concessions always followed in the wake of agitation. It is thought prudent to buy off the workers rather than risking everything. Even then all these have been possible during the stable phase of its economic activity. "But as soon as capitalism ran into difficult weather the policy of concessions appeared dubious. The profit making motive demanded lower wages, inferior general condition of industry, a diminution of the charges imposed upon capital by taxation, a consequent contraction of social services."[7] President Roosvelt intended to do something different during the crisis of the thirtees, but he had ultimately to give them up before the combined opposition of the industrialists of the country who utilised the Supreme Court to declare his N.C.A. and A.A.A. as being unconstitutional. The socialist government which took office in the twentees and thirtees both in England and France could not effect any fundamental change so as to ensure permanent benefit to the workers and common men and became aware of the "barely narrow limits within which it may successfully manoeavre, and the danger to which it is exposed if it embarks upon measures which disturb the confidence of the men of property."[8] It is well-known that many welfare measures of the labour government of

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Atlee have either been withdrawn or curtailed and certain nationalised industries have been de-nationalised by the later Tory Government.

Nevertheless it is often asserted that a great change has taken place within the last decade and that the welfare states have moved nearer towards realising the social justice without taking recourse to any violent method as advocated by the socialists. The greatest triumph lies in the fact that all these have been done without causing any injury to the democratic institutions of free society or curtailing the liberty of the individual. This claim too, however, needs some scrutiny. That parliamentary government or a written constitution guaranteeing fundamental rights do neither ensure the contents of democracy in its functioning due to the growth of the power of the party over its members stifling every manifestation of individuality and generating a spirit of servile complaisance and exclusive spirit and also due to the growth of the dictatorship of the cabinet, nor safeguard the rights of the individual which may be assailed any time by the government by amending the constitution or enacting subsidiary laws enforcing duties, need no discussion at lengths. Our main effort will be concentrated in examining how, contrary to the assertions of the apologists of the welfare state, the liberty of the individual is being invaded by the state in its attempt to execute the welfare schemes. Mr. G. Myrdal, an exponent of the Welfare State, points out, "the tremendous complications of all issues in modern life as a result of the process of social change....must tend to make those issues very much more difficult to grasp for ordinary people who do not specialise in handling them."[9] The state in its urge for realising the welfare of the people is guided by its own scheme to which people must of necessity conform. Through planning and various other economic activities, through legislation and different kinds of welfare institutions the State has extended its power immeasurably over the society and individual. Even the cultural life of the people has not been left alone. An inspring and complicated administrative machineries have sprung up in which bureaucracy has the main say in implementing the decisions of the state. The right individual choice and decision is dwarfed to all intents and purposes. And as the demands for specialisation and efficiency, the cumbrous, slow-moving and uncoordinated democratic machinery can hardly cope with the rising demand of the masses especially for economic justice. As F. A. Hayek observes, "The reason why many of the new welfare activities of government are a threat to freedom, therefore is that, though they are presented as mere service activities, they really constitute an exercise of the coercive power of government and rest on its claiming exclusive rights in certain fields."

"The chief danger today is that, once an aim of government is accepted as legitimate, it is then assumed that even means contrary to the principles of freedom may be employed....."

"It is sheer illusion to think that when certain needs of the citizens have become the exclusive concern of a single bureaucratic machine, democratic control of the machine can then effectively guard the liberty of the citizen."[10]

The state that seeks to realise welfare plans without disturbing its fundamental postulates "cannot give them (people) security unless they will do as they are told. The idealist reformer will find that he has brought about the Servile State."[11] In this way knowingly or unknowingly the apologists of the welfare state have become the instruments of creating what Mr. Hilaire Belloc terms as the Servile State. Individuals hardly enjoy any substantial democratic rights save at the time of voting; in the day to day activities of the government obedience and complaisance are still the bonds of rule. Then what all these clamour against socialism are about? Would it be wrong to describe a welfare state simply as a time serving device of the present masters so as to prolong their control over the productive forces and the machinery of

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the state with a little bit of moderation of course. If the socialist state robs the people of their freedom, the all-controlling and distributive welfare state, as we have examined above, holds out prospects which are no better. 'Free-world' is after-all a figment of imagination. Its value lies more in propaganda than fact.

As has been mentioned earlier, that behind the back of the confidence of the states of the West in respect of their viability, are the absence of any major crisis or large scale unemployment since the close of the second world war. It has also been claimed that socialism has lost all its charm for the people and does no longer exist as a challenge to the Western state system. Some of these claims are doubtless true at present although the nature of their permanence may appear to be doubtful. As a result of further technological developments the productive powers of the Western countries have tremendously increased which, in a devastated Europe, found a big scope for the expansion of production. The entire capitalist structure, today, is under the protection of the state monopoly capitalism; the influence of the economic activity of the state is greater in the shape of state expenditure; the influence of the state over investment activity is larger; armament expenditure is bigger as a result of the cold war existing between the west and the communist countries—"all these state capitalist tendencies have assured for capitalism a certain degree of stability that it did not possess in the inter-war period." The export of capital and capital goods to the newly developing countries of the East has also provided the western countries with a big market. Then the hold upon the colonies which they are reluctant to slacken—as has recently been revealed in the Congo and from the bewailing of the Western politicians over Goa—as these countries assure them a big field for economic exploitation. The state itself has, thus, appeared as the biggest capitalist institution, the chief concern of which is to protect the junior partners and also to maintain the level of employment high enough so that the masses can be kept pacified. "It is safe to predict," suggests Mr. Myrdal, "that in none of the western countries will a period of severe unemployment ever again be tolerated by the people."[12]

It is doubtful how far a stable and ever expanding economy can be maintained by such artificial methods! Although all these come under the purview of expert economists, a layman may yet question how long a moribund system can be kept propped up by state intervention which is chiefly directed towards the profit making interest of industrial capitalism rather than the attainment of genuine social-welfare! There are millions of unemployed in the U.S.A. on whose financial assistance the entire European economy largely rests; so, any large-scale disturbance in the former will also hurtle the latter down. When the productive capacity of the west will reach the saturation point, the time for its acid test will come. Already the symptom of uneasiness regarding the market is manifest through the effort of the western states which are combining in what is known as the E.C.M. Neither should it be expected that the backward countries will remain open to exploitation and ever remain dependent on the west for credit and capital goods, taking the powerful forces of nationalism that are sweeping these countries.

On the basis of the above discussion, therefore, it is not unfair to maintain that the present types of welfare states are mainly temporary experiments to hold back socialism in check, though they themselves are the products of the pressure of socialism, to realise some of the socialist ideals without jeopardasing the present class relations or injuring the extant democratic institutions. But in none of these, as we have examined, any genuine claim of tangible achievement may yet be made. "What is significant is that, in consequence, though socialism has been abandoned as a goal to be deliberately striven for, it is by no means certain that we shall not still establish it, albeit unintentionally."[13]

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We have thus far discussed the welfare state in a narrow sense. In fact any state which makes welfare of the people its chief concern may claim this epithet. There is no distinct or exclusive political or economic theory behind it, rather it is a medley of different systems. One may not feel sure that all the anomalies of capitalism can be solved simply by coining a word and extolling ideas which in practice it can ill afford to establish, on the contrary, socialism is likely to offer better prospects of welfare of the people since it is clear about establishing harmony within productive forces and makes no pretence of abolishing inequality without changing the existing institutions which is inherently inadequate to cope with the new situation. Apprehension of the diminution of democratic rights is not in all cases justifiable if it can be foreseen that the men of property will refrain from putting hindrances on its path of progress. The Russian or Chinese example need not be inevitable if socialism is not to fight against a hostile world. Whether a system will be democratic or totalitarian largely depends on circumstances; mere declaration of ideal cannot deliver the goods. Common men are not so much concerned about the abstract argument over democracy, freedom and liberty, as they are interested to see that justice is done to them and realised in real terms. Of course a major danger always lurkes behind such an attitude, for a state may grow authoritarian by taking advantage of such a psychology and solve economic problems that also temporarily, but at the same time, reduce the people into slavery. Such probability is more pronounced in a capitalist welfare state for reasons already outlined above. Even though in a socialist welfare state similar possibility cannot be totally ruled out in the initial stages but that is likely to be a passing phase since it lays its emphasis on changing the basic character of the state as such, and making it genuinely an instrument of popular [illegible] the abolition of inequality by [illegible] the factors of production and distribu[illegible] brings social harmony within the ra[illegible] practical possibility. The state, after [illegible] transitional phase, having no dom[illegible] interest to protect by invading [illegible] rights and interests of the people, is [illegible] to concern itself chiefly with the crea[illegible] of such social conditions as would help [illegible] individual to express his best self and de[illegible] lop his latent qualities. In conclusion [illegible] needs further to be mentioned that by w[illegible] fare we have always meant it in its exact [illegible] sense, for whenever any authority p[illegible] forward extravagant claims of control [illegible] and guiding the inner life of the indivi[illegible] in the name of welfare it is apprehen[illegible] that it may end in creating a service st[illegible] which is repugnant to the concept of welf[illegible] schemes of every shade, and far from he[illegible] ing the individual to develop his quali[illegible] unhindered so as to fulfil his responsibil[illegible] towards his own self and society [illegible] well in the light of his own judgement. [illegible] Over-imposing authoritarian approach is [illegible] certain to cripple his natural develop[illegible] and reduce him merely to an automat[illegible]

1. P. Dayal, *A History of Political Thou[illegible]* p. 160.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
2. *Beyond Welfare State*, p. 3.
4. Nehru, *Glimpses of World Hi[illegible]* p. 791.
5. Zilliacus, *I Choose Peace*, p. 45.
6. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Sci[illegible] fic.*
7. Laski, *The State in Theory and Pra[illegible]* p. 130-31.
8. Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. [illegible]
9. *Beyond Welfare State*, p. 37.
10. *The Constitution of Liberty*, p. 258.
11. C. N. Parkinson, *The Evolution of Poli[illegible] tical Thought*, p. 235.
12. *Beyond Welfare State*, p. 50.
13. F. A. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liber[illegible]* p. 256.

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THE MODERN REVIEW FORTYEIGHT YEARS AGO

Science and Spiritual Gain

That science has been materially of great advantage to man is well-known. Not to speak of improved means of locomotion like railways, steamers, etc., and of improved means of communication and intercourse like the telephone, etc., it has added greatly to our power of diffusing knowledge by improved processes of printing, and alleviated human misery by the methods of anaesthetic and antiseptic surgery and by equipping doctors with the means of combating many diseases which were formerly considered beyond the powers of man to cure or eradicate. Many nervous disorders were formerly attributed to spirit possession, causing endless suffering to the victims of superstition. Here Science has played the role of a great benefactor. Improved processes of manufacture have added to the convenience of life. It is true that capitalism has taken advantage of these processes to exploit human labour and in many instances has added to the sum-total of human misery. Capitalistic manufacturing methods have been directly and indircetly the causes of many wars and of the enslavement and terrible oppression of many backward peoples. Science has vastly increased the destructive power of man. But for all these vile things we cannot make science responsible. The use of fire cannot be condemned wholesale simply because there are wicked people who use it for incendiarism. The murderer's dagger, the surgeon's knife, the mechanic's tools, are all made of steel. We do not curse steel because the murderer makes a wrong use of it. By co-operaton, profit-sharing and other means, the evils of capitalism are being, however slowly, overcome; showing that there is no necessary connection between scientific processes of manufacture and the brutalization and oppression of man.

But science has been of advantage not merely on the material side. Science has given man the invaluable discipline of fact. It has given us the conception of the reign of law throughout the Universe. It has helped man greatly in grasping the idea of a God whose will is Law in the place of a God who is a miracle worker and who is swayed by feelings like those of human beings. It has humbled man's pride, born of the pre-scientific conception of an anthropocentric universe and the insignificance of himself and his dwelling place; at the same time it has added to his real self-respect by showing him how great has been his ascent from the lowest kinds of organism from which he has evolved. Scientific explanations of many kinds of pain have confirmed man's optimism to a greater extent than many pre-scientific believer in God who now cannot be haunted by the terrors that darkened the lives of men like Cowper.

Science has made it possible for philanthropists to do real and lasting good to many classes of unfortunate human beings. Formerly one could only give alms or feed and shelter the bodies of the blind, the deaf, or the mentally defective. But now by scientific means, one can enlighten their minds and make them earning, useful and cheerful members of society.

Improved means of travel, communication and intercourse have a spiritual significance, too. They will undoubtedly make human brotherhood a concrete reality instead of a theoretical abstraction.

(From **The Modern Reviews**, June 1915)

Practical Scientific Education in India

In speaking of scientific education in India we shall speak of the state of things that prevails in Bengal. A few years ago scientific education in our colleges was more theoretical than practical. There has

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been some improvement in recent years. Students are now expected to posses practical knowledge of experiments and have opportunities to handle apparatus. But for the Matriculation no student need possess an iota of konwledge of science. No time should be lost in making a rudimentary and practical knowledge of physical sciences a necessary part of the education of all who wish to matriculate. A syllabus ought to be carefully prepared, with a list of the apparatus, with prices thereof, nceessary for the performance of all the experiments. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works should be able to turn out cheap and serviceable sets. All high schools should have at least one set of these apparatus. Government ought to make a liberal grant for providing all schools in straitened circumstances with sets of apparatus. If they be sufficiently cheap, well-to-do parents may be able to provide their children with these apparatus, in order that they may be well grounded in scientific methods from their early years. This would also serve to create and foster a love of science in our homes.

The introduction of science in our high schools would have another beneficial result. At present the small number of science graduates turned out by the university cannot, in the majority of cases, have any careers that may be called scientific by any stretch of imagination. Many be come lawyers, some clerks, and only a few demonstrators, lecturers and professors of science. In the absence of even an appreciable number of chemical and other scientific factories managed by Indians, science graduates cannot have scientific careers. But if science were taught in all our high schools most science graduates might, if they chose, become teachers of science. This would be a great gain. It would also allay "the unrest" to some extent.

In our vernacular middle schools, our children have to learn science. But that is entirely book knowledge. There are no laboratories, no scientific apparatus, and the teachers are ill-qualified to teach science. We think one of the first [illegible] that the Education Department ought [illegible] is to ask some competent Indian [illegible] to draw up a list of the apparatus re[illegible] to teach as much of each branch of [illegible] as has been prescribbd for [illegible] schools. When that has been done a [illegible] like the Bengal Chemical and Pharma[illegible] tical Works may be commissioned to [illegible] ply these apparatus at cheap rates [illegible] ernment should undertake to supply [illegible] vernacular schools with one set each. [illegible] the money invested in recent years [illegible] bricks and mortar, or spent in mak[illegible] marked additions to the inspecting s[illegible] had been expended in this way, the re[illegible] would have been far more benefi[illegible] Science would have been popularised [illegible] the country, and the manipulative skill [illegible] mechanical efficiency of the people [illegible] creased to some extent. This may eas[illegible] be introduced in our schools in [illegible] which would not rouse the caste prejudi[illegible] of the people.

If the Bengal Chemical and Pharm[illegible] ceutical Works were to draw up on the[illegible] own initiative lists of apparatus with prices, as we have suggested, perhaps there might be friends of vernacular schools here and there who might provide some schools with sets of apparatus by way of experiment. Will the firm consider the suggestion ?

(From **The Modern Review**, Aug. 19[illegible]

Character of the British Government of India

In his recent Bombay University convocation address Lord Willingdon indirectly contended that the British Government in India was not an alien government. Now an alien means a foreigner. In this sense the British Government is an alien government, as it is a government by foreigners. We, however, do not like to use the word "alien", as it sounds harsh and offensive. 'Alien' also means one owing allegiance to another state. As Britishers and Indians owe allegiance to the same state, the British Government of India is not an alien govern-

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ment in the sense of a government carried on by persons owing allegiance to another state. There is no alien government in the world in this sense. But we do not think the expression "alien government" is ever used in this sense. Whenever used it is meant to denote a government by foreigners, and this the British Government of India undoubtedly is, whatever men in high position may say to the contrary.

The opposite of an alien government is a national government. It may be contended that though the personnel of the British Government of India is almost entirely foreign, it is in its spirit, policy and methods national. But can this claim be made with any regard for accuracy? Do the men who constitute our government look at Indian educational, industrial, commercial, civic and other problems from the same point of view as the British Government at "home" look at similar British problems? Do these persons possess and display the same enthusiasm for advancing our education and industries as the British Government in Great Britain does? Do they like and respect patriotic Indians in the same way as British sattesmen like and respect patriotic Englishmen? If the answers to these and similar other questions be in the affirmative, we want convincing proofs. We do not forget that on rare occasions some British statesman gifted with imaginative sympathy may try to look at Indian problems from our point of view, as Lord Hardinge did at the disabilities, sufferings and indignities of Indians in South Africa. But such instances are so few as to point only to a possibility without indicating an actuality.

Lord Curzon tried his best to prove that all officers in whom powers of control and initiative are vested ought to be men of British birth. He contended that the Government of India was British by character, whatever that may mean, and that this character could be maintained only by men of British race. At the time when this pronouncement was made, we exposed the worthless character of this contention, of which the object was plainly to exclude Indians from all high offices. But whatever the value of Lord Curzon's contention, it was based on a plain fact, viz., that the Government of India was not Indian or national but foreign.

(From **The Modern Review**, Sept. 1915)

Salaries in England and India

The Edinburgh Review makes it a grievance that the scale of salaries, "both for political and for judicial services in England, is far in excess of that which obtains in either France, or Germany, or even in the United States." The Prime Minister of the British Empire gets £5,000 or Rs. 75,000 per annum. Our Viceroy gets £16,720 or Rs. 2,50,800 per annum; the Governors of Bombay, Bengal, and Madras Rs. 1,20,000 each per annum; and the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, of Bihar and Orissa, of Burma, and the Punjab each get Rs. 100,000 per annum; all exclusive of their sumptuary allowances. Ordinary members of the Vicotoy's Council get Rs. 80,000 per annum. The Edinburgh Review calculates that each British minister gets on an average about £2,700 or Rs. 40,500 per annum. This is much less than what the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and of Assam get, namely, Rs. 62,000 per annum each. The Chief Commissioners of N.W.F. Province gets Rs. 54,000 and those of Ajmer-Merwra, Coorg and Baluchistan each get Rs. 48,000 per annum; all more than the average of the British Cabinet Ministers. Members of the Board of Revenue here also get more, viz., Rs. 42,000 per annum.

England is a very rich country. Yet the salaries are said to be very high, higher than those in France, Germany and the United States; and these four are the richest countries in the world. India is the poorest of all countries in the world under a civilized government. But the salaries here are by far the highest in the world. To crown all, it is not unoften claimed that it is an act of great self-sacrifice on the part of covenanted civilians and others to come out to serve in India.

(From **The Modern Review**, Dec. 1915)

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

***Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati*:**

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia: Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

THE RACE TO THE YEAR 2,000: By Fritz Baade. D|Demy 8vo. (Inclusive of bibliography and indices). Published by Doubleday & Co Inc., Pp. 246. Price $4.95.

Dr. Fritz Baade, a leading member of the Social Democratic Party, has long been the Director and a guiding spirit of the Institute for Research in World Economics at Kiel, West Germany. Together with Dr. Gunnar Myrdal of Sweden, Dr. Baade is regarded in certain highly learned quarters as one of the foremost among those who have an objective and imaginative grasp of both the dangers which beset the modern world and the vast and illimitable new fields of opportunity that are yet open to constructive adventure.

In the book under review, the author seeks, through a forty-year projection of the economic, social and human forces and factors involved, to prove that despite the gloomy prognostications of many eminent thinkers and, especially, of the World Food and Agricultural Organization, the world to-day stands on the edge of a miraculous era of achievement and comfort. While admitting that the world population should double in course of the next thirty-seven years, he is still firmly of the opinion that the idea that a resulting scarcity would be inevitable is wholly erroneous. He seeks to prove through this book that the world's potential of food production during the corresponding period has a trebling content. Our problem, Dr. Baade seeks to show, is not really inevitable shortage, but the more complicated one of control and distribution of abundance.

He is, however, not quite so optimistic that this picture of possibly unfolding process of prosperity would not be seriously overlaid with both the challenge of communism and not the too unrealistic possibilities of self-annihilation. The polarization of the world into two distinctive and opposing social philosophies which has been showing every prospect of progressively hardening further as time goes on, makes the author frankly gloomy and pessimistic about the prospects of the democratic civilization being able to retain the initiative in the leadership of the world, primarily because of the apparent superiority of rigorous state planning of production and education. Russia he admits, has been presently educating three times as many qualified engineers as the Western world and producing four times as many machine tools per year. She seems also to have an apparent lead in winning the future of the so-called uncommitted nations.

The study of the incidence of population growth of the world undertaken in the book would appear to be both revealing and fascinating. The study seeks to cover the period in the world's history from as early a stage as 7,000 B.C. It appears that the world population doubled from 10 to 20 millions in those early days in course of some 2,500 years; in the next stage, that is, from 20 to 40 millions, the world took 2,000 years to double its population; and so on, when during the period from 1850 to 1950 that is, in course of just one century, the world population doubled itself from 1,000

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millions to 2,500 millions and, in course of the next half a century, or rather within the next forty years until 2,000 A.D., the world population is again likely to beat all previous recorded history and double itself once more. What is significant in the process is not any measurable increase in the birth rate, it has, indeed, dropped in most countries, but a distinct drop in the death rate, especially a far lower infant mortality than ever before in recorded history. For example, birth rate in England and Wales, between the years 1880 and 1955, dropped steeply from just above 37 per thousand to about 17 per thousand; the high infant mortality and generally the death rate stabilized population growth around the 1750's to something like less than 5 per thousand, which varied between about 14 and 10 per thousand between 1800 and 1900, and due to further fall in the birth rate appears currently to have stabilised around just above 4 per thousand.

Food production, following the development of scientiffic agriculture, has been keeping pace with the growth rate in the population, especially in the scientifically more advanced western countries. Nitrates are coming to play an increasingly important role in agricultural yields, and it has been estimated that half a day's labour by an American miner in nitrogen yield would enable agricultural production to be boosted enough to provide the caloric requirements of more than 11 adults for more than a whole year. It has been estimated, for example, that a year's labour of a European miner in nitrogen yields would supply the caloric requirements of 1,000 people for a whole year and that of an American miner, whose productivity is, on an average, about six times higher, would fill the needs of 6,000 people for the same period. Several years ago, in course of a memorandum submitted to the World Economic Conference at Geneva, the author analyzed the production and purchaing power reserves of agriculture in terms of the desirable optimum consumption of fertilizers estimated at 66 lbs. nitrate plus 66 lbs. phosphoric acid plus 88 lbs. alkali per 2.5 acres. During the years following this esimate actual consumption of fertilizers have not merely approximated to this level envisaged, but in many cases even substantially exceeded the same. This, however, is only one single facet of the problem with which must also be considered a myrid other requisites of progress such as soil conservation, pest control, use of hybrid seeds and many others. In any case, given the necessary determination, and also the translation of it in actual effort, there is no reason for the rather gloomy prognostication that the world food potential will not be likely to keep pace with the increasing demands of the progress of population growth.

It is really impossible to encompas within the short space of a cursory review all the thought-provoking material that has been packed into this little book. For instance, while the potentials of food production would seem to be almost illimitable in the technologically more advanced areas of the Western world, the Eastern world has remained, and seems likely to continue to remain for indefinite periods in the future, almost hopelessly deficit in food production, —an imbalance which needs to be corrected by determined programmes and effort on a world-wide platform. The book also envisages the corresponding progress that it would be possible to achieve in other sectors of material advancement and the contents of constructive potential that modern technology and science has within their grasp. Much of what has been postulated may, yet be regarded as speculative rather than realizable and realistic thinking, but the past has proved amply that what may be regarded as merely speculative to-day, has often been well within the compas of achievement and so it may be for the future.

The **race to the year 2,000** is likely to prove a most fascinating and a wholly rewarding one according to the author, provided the modern world can measure upto its demands which are likely to be very onerous indeed. It is, in the measure that the pace can be maintained, that will very largely determine the leadership initiative in the coming world, whether it should continue to remain with the free democracies or with the totalitarian countries. The communists have, so far, proved themselves far more vigorous in many ways, and the possibility does not seem to be entirely remote that the initiative may eventually pass on to them. If, however, the democracies are able adequately to stand up to the very onerous, even excruciating demands that are likely to be made upon them in this fascinating

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adventure of living, especially in the fields of developing a really more effectively egalitarian society, sharing in increasingly larger measures in the benefits of growing prosperity, they may yet be able to retain the initiative in their own hands. Much will, of course, depend on how and the extent to which they are able to effectively acquit themselves towards this inevitable direction.

Karuna K. Nandi

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RESTRAINT : *By Dr. (Mrs.) Indira Rothermund. Popular Prakashan, 35-C, Tardeo Road, Bombay, pages 195. Price Rs. 1.50 nP.*

The book discusses Mahatma Gandhi's strategy and Indian politics, somewhat from a new angle. Gandhi's satyagraha is traced to *Vedic* concept of truth and Buddhist *Ahimsa*. His choice of words in his great campaigns for victory of truth and non-violence is significant. Gandhi's was *no passion resistance but Satyagraha* a philosophy true to Indian tradition, *Vedic* and Buddhistic, and easily understood by the masses of India. So he was a leader of the masses whom he roused to action so long hardly touched by previous political leaders.

Gandhi—a moderate, a disciple of Gokhale in politics, stepped into the shoes of Tilak, the leader of the extremist section of the Indian National Congress, after his demise in 1920. From the time when Gandhi came to power in Indian politics, till his tragic death, he had unique and undisputed leadership, only once challenged for a short period by Subhas Chandra Bose, who did not believe in his methods of non-violence in *toto*, although acknowledging his leadership. He was a political leader without sacarificing the moral principles which he held near and dear to him and did not justify the means. Nataionalism and internationalism were raised to higher levels spiritually. But his efforts in the matter of Hindu-Muslim Unity failed in politics and, as a result, India was partitioned. As a true Hindu (Gandhi called himself a Sanatani Hindu without meaning any narrowness) he was tolerant and went a long way to satisfy the Muslim claims, but his love for the law and its preservation were always foremost in his mind. Debarred and oppressed Hindus were God'smen (Harijan) to him and he was a great champion of the rights of minorities and worked for and served them till the end.

The author has tried to show that policies, both internal and external, of True India are greatly moulded by Gandhiji's life and ... non-alignment and Panch-Shila being no ... ception. And Gandhi was a true product ... Indian history and tradition in spite of ... western education and contact with Occident... savants.

Political scientists, students of internation... relations and the general readers interested ... Indian Philosophy, will find this book interest...

A. B. Dutta

NETAJI SHANGA O' PRASHANGA... In association with Netaji and topics abo... him : By Narendra Narayan Chakravar... Published by Kalidas Chakravarty, Sun... Prokashon, 8-A, College Row, Calcutta... Price, 1st Part, Rs. 12.

The book, written in Bengali, is ... study, no thumb-nail sketch. It is just ... narration, mostly of some anecdotes ... obtained in intimate personal contact, whi... it was the author's privilege to enjoy. Th... side-glances on some events of va... enduring moment Netaji participated i... or otherwise influenced, of which the... author himself was a co-sharer, comple... ment them ; and thus is unfolded the sag... of a great life. What for the compelling... worth of the subject-matter and a fre... conversational style, scintillating but ... depth and vitality, the book bids fair to be... an exceedingly welcome addition to litera... ture relating to Indian nationalism. Subhas... Bose stands out as a symbol of how India... wrought her freedom. He was a patriot eve... his gristles hardened into bones, and he... figures in history as a hard-boned patriot... well-poised, sweeping and spectacular.

The author has acquitted himself quite... well in laying bare, and that without any... conscious effort, the master key to the... fascination Subhas exercised on his follow... ing. One reference might be cited. The... Bengal leader of considerable note and... standing, Kiron Sankar Roy, a scion of a... well-known zamindar's family, M.A.... (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, etc., etc., happened to... blurt out one day in his inner circle, "... the nature of things I should not be with... you—I am so out of elements. But do you... know what stands in the way of my saying... good-bye to you all ? It is the character of... Subhas—yes, it is his character, not the... personality, not the patriotism nor even his... courage of rare order, but his character...

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that fascinates me such as I am beside myself." The shrewd, matter-of-fact, Kiron Sankar, who scouted the idea of being lyric over anybody's praise lest he be charged of effrontery, hero-worship glides one to, could not just help it. As I read this I recalled, that each and every I.N.A. soldier, I accosted in respect of Netaji was perfectly at one with others in their observation, 'In his presence you have nothing to call your own.' One rather illuminative titbit which reflects upon the workings of the Congress ruling class primarily is that Pundit Malaviya told the author and Satin Sen of Barisal—Patuakhali Satyagraha fame, that he would not live to see India free, but if she is free during the life-time of Gandhi-jee, they would see that his pet disciples would make it a point to dispatch him to the Himalayas. Of the many thrilling incidents Netaji's life bristled with, the one that took place in 1930 at the Alipur Central gaol is an eye-opener. There was a fracas over a breach of gadl-discipline, and it culminated into a face-to-face encounter between Subhas and the Superintendent, climaxing in the latter's order to open fire; Subhas instantly bared his chest and stepped out in front of the Havildar, who laid his gun low and said 'No' to his master.

To read this book is to love Netaji: to love Netaji is to make noble 'through the sensuous organism that which is higher.'

Joges C. Bose

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Indian Periodicals

Economic Mobilisation in the Context of the Emergency

Writing under the above caption in the *AICC Economic Review*, former Union Finance Minister Morarji Desai describes what in his view, the lines of Economic Mobilisation should follow in the context of the present Defence Emergency :

It is by now generally accepted that we have to keep pressing ahead with our Plans of economic development, while carrying at the same time the substantial new burden of defence which has been imposed on the country. An enduring defence of the country cannot be built in the long run without a sound economic base and, particularly, a strong and varied industrial structure.

For over a decade now we have been familiar with the problems of economic development in general. It is a commonplace of developmental planning that a substantial increase in the rate of saving and investment is essential for achieving a progressive increase in national and per capita incomes. Even before the declaration of Emergency we had on our hand the problem of finding adequate internal and external resources for the Third Five-Year Plan. The choice which we have made, and rightly so is not to sacrifice the core of our development programmes but to bear the additional burdens of defence by suffering a few hardships, if necessary.

The measure of this additional burden is simple : defence expenditures have to go up from 2½ per cent of the national income before the Emergency to 5 per cent of national income. Relative to aggregate national income this may not sound too heavy a task; but relative to the current savings of the community, which are in the neighbourhood of 8 to 9 per cent of the national income, the claims of defence imply an increase in civilian savings by more than 25 per cent in a single year. No doubt the rigour of foreign assistance is available; but it is clear that foreign assistance is available; bu it is clear that the major part of the burden will consist of diversion of domestic resources for defence and hence it has to be born by the country itself.

The first requisite for effective mobilisation for defence and development is a progressive increase in agricultural and industrial production. In the decade of the two Five-Year Plan, [illegible] derable progress has, in fact, been made both in industry and agriculture. Agricultural produc- tion increased by 46 per cent in the ten years ending 1960-61 and industrial output nearly doubled. We have now a nucleus of the basic metal, mechanical engineering and heavy chemical industries.

Periodic shortages of essential materials and services have occurred since the beginning of the Third Five-Year Plan. But these are a reflection of the fact that the Indian economy has reached a stage where what is required is not so much the initial push but a careful organisation of productive resources in the various sectors of the economy so as to ensure an orderly development of each sector in step with the others.

Power shortage has occurred from time to time; but it must not be forgotten that the capacity for power generation has increased nearly three-fold in the last 12 years and power consumption has increased even more.

The bottleneck in the field of transportation is not as acute as it was two years ago and additional resources have been made available for the programme of development of the railways.

The point is that we are now operating on a much enlarged economic base as compared to what we inherited at Independence. The basic conditions necessary for a further increase in production have been created and it is to be hoped that there would be an active response from the private sector both in industry and agriculture towards fulfilling the targets of production which we have set for ourselves.

While increase in production is the basis for all future economic progress, civilian consumption at present has to be restrained so as to release resources for planned investment and for defence. There can be no justification in the present emergency for people to *fritter away* their resources in inessential consumption or in ostentatious living. Even in the case of articles of essential consumption, diversion of these from current civilian consumption for the use of the defence forces becomes necessary if internal production is not sufficient to meet all the demands.

The task of economic policies at the present juncture is to ensure that all the requirements of

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defence are met without any *undue increase in prices or distortion of productive activity.* In basic essentials, the problem is not different from the one which we had been facing even before the declaration of emergency. Our endeavour all these years has been to exhort people to save more and consume less; and the taxation and other policies of Government have also aimed at raising the requisite resources for the plans of development. The same policies have to be employed and strengthened to meet the call of defence.

It is gratifying to note that production in several sectors of the economy has picked up since the declaration of Emergency. In basic industries like coal, steel and cement we have reached nearly full capacity output. The performance of several other industries has also improved. The people of the country have responded magnificently to the call of duty by their generous contribution to the National Defence Fund. The size of the tax-effort made by the Central and State Governments has also found general agreement among the informed sections of the community. These are pointers to the capacity of the nation to display strength and resilience in the time of crisis.

On the other hand, the particular measures of taxation, compulsory savings and the like proposed in the last Budget as also the gold policy of Government have created misgivings in certain quarters and an attempt it made to create agitation among the people against these measures. Fears have been expressed that private investment would suffer as a result of these measures and thereby retard the growth of capacity and production in our industries. These criticisms arise mainly out of ignorance of the logic of the situation in which we are placed.

It needs to be appreciated that in voting for a larger defence-effort we have implicitly voted for the requisite cut in civilian consumption. Certain hardships are thus an inevitable consequence of the larger defence effort. The measures which have been taken this year seek to distribute the burden of these hardships as equitably as possible among the different sections of the community maintaining at the same time adequate incentives for increased production.

It would be futile, if not unpatriotic, to demand normal incentives and rewards in an Emergency. Equally, it is not possible to maintain that the entire burden of the defence effort must be borne by the rich. In a poor country where less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the population pays income tax and where the bulk of the increased consumption results from *increase in income of the poorer sections* of the community, a significant proportion of resources have to originate from these classes.

The budgetary effort made during the current year is unprecedented in the history of this country and stands out perhaps as an outstanding example of the will and determination of a democratic society to stand up to the tasks facing it. The same spirit of determination has also to be displayed in the matter of mobilising foreign exchange resources. The accumulated reserves of foreign exchange have declined rapidly over the last six years. The demand for imports is increasing with the increase in income and with the increase in the rate of investment. In addition we have also to meet foreign exchange obligations in respect of interest on existing loans and repayment of principal. On the side of earnings, the receipts of interest on foreign securities have naturally declined with the decline in the holdings of securities themselves. Thus on the invisible account we are now having a deficit whereas only a few years ago there used to be a surplus.

It is clear that whatever is within our means has to be done to stop all inessential payments abroad. *The Gold Policy of Government is directed primarily at the smuggling of gold which used to cost the country something like Rs. 40 to 50 crores of foreign exchange every year. It would be criminal to permit this drain at a time when the foreign exchange resources are needed for the most vital needs of defence.* We have to conserve every exchange which we can. The taxation on kerosene has also been increase with a view to reduce its imports. *The strictness with which we view inessential payments abroad is a measure of our determination to restore equilibrium in our determination to restore equilibrium in our balance of payments and maintain our credit-worthiness.*

There is however a limit beyond which imports cannot be restricted. We have built, with the assistance from friendly countries, capacity in a number of new and growing industries which require imported raw materials, and components in increasing quantities for reaching and maintaining full capacity production. We have, therefore, requested the Aid-India Consortium to give assistance not merely for the import of capital goods for particular projects but also for non-project imports. External assistance can however only bridge the current gap in our payments position. In the long run, we have to improve our export earnings so that our dependence on foreign assistance is gradually reduced.

There has been a significant increase already in our export earnings. From Rs. 633 crores at

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the end of the Second Five-Year Plan they went up to Rs. 655 crores in 1961-62 and are estimated to have been Rs. 710 crores (including about Rs. 15 crores of exports from Goa) in 1962-63. But an annual rate of increase of some 5 per cent, while welcome, is not adequate, particularly in view of the extra foreign exchange resources needed for the defence effort.

Whether it is for increasing investment, for improving export earnings or for diverting resources to defence uses, the basic requirement is to increase the rate of savings in the economy. In the short run, the increase in domestic savings may not suffice to meet the foreign exchange payments, but even in the short run, it helps. The less we consume of exportable items, the more it is possible to increase our exports. It is true of items like sugar, oil-seeds and vegetable oils, tea, coffee and a number of engineering items. *In the long run, resources have to be devoted specifically to the production of commodities which can be readily exported. It means foregoing a part of the increase in consumption at home. Once this basic factor in the current economic situation is grasped it would be easier to understand and accept the measures adopted by the Government even when they tend to be at variance with individual interests.*

Khrushchev's Left

The following editorial article of the *Economic Weekly* should evince keen interest in the context of Current Sino-Soviet cleavages :

Fourteen years ago the People's Republic of China was born. The inner working of the new titan has been obscure, but the outward effects have been explosive.

Chinese Communist domestic policy has oscillated throughout its life between ultra-leftism and more cautious planning, both within the broad category of Stalinism and both having similarities to Stalin's policy extremes between 1925 and 1940. Five years' relative caution based upon a broad coalition brought the Party to power, and established its first efforts to develop. In the last five years of the fifties, by contrast, the ultra-left tendency swept away the careful defences erected in the earlier period—the convulsion of the Leap Forward and the even more radical Great Leap Forward. As if to show the Soviet Union and its own intellectuals how little it needed their help, the Chinese leadership placed complete trust in mass action—structured of course at every point by the strongly rooted rural cadres of the Party. The effort, economically dangerous, became disastrous after three consecutive bad harvests. China's vulnerability on the agricultural front was revealed—and, as a consequence, policy emphasis shifted from the classical Soviet stress on priority for heavy industry development, to developing agriculture aided by such industry as would help such development (viz. engineering, chemicals etc.). In addition, the weight on the peasantry whose desperate standard of living provided the surplus to develop industry, was relaxed a little—a measure perhaps of widespread rural discontent. Similarly the regime wooed its alienated intellectuals, offered them greater freedom for *technical* discussion, and agreed to pay interest on expropriated capital. All told, China was briefly freer than at any time since the inglorious hundred flowers bloomed. Late this year, however, Party cadres were turned back to 'class struggle' to scotch the allegedly rising signs of bourgeois deviationism.

The leadership which has operated this zigzag is relatively mysterious. Observers suggest that the different phases reflect the emphasis of different factions and the conflict between the bureaucracis of State and Party. On the one hand, the Govrnment bureaucracy, led by Chou En Lai, is relatively cautious, favours planning, a greater measure of technical advice, consolidation and stability; on the other, the Party cadres whose power is in mass action, not technical expertise, stress the need for a continuous national crusade, for a developmental blitz *kreig*, and are led by Mao Tse Tung and his heir apparent, Liu Shao-ch'i. Marshall Peng, the former Defence Minister, was sacked in 1959 for publicly enunciating the objections of the first group to the Great Leap Forward. Marshall Lin, the current Defence Minister, is said to back Mao, although younger Army officers might be thought to favour stability, modernisation and professionalisation in the Army. If this thesis is correct, Mao would seem to have directed the Sino-Soviet dispute—if Chou could overcome him, greater co-operation with Russia might be possible.

All this is speculation, but what is not speculative is the course of the great debate between the two Communist giants. Khrushchev has put behind him to problems of underdevelopment, and its ideological companion, Stalinism. He has no use for 'mass action,' but deals with Governments, and has the resources to bribe them or threaten them with his military power. Currently, the Soviet Union pays out $1,000 million to non-Communist backward countries, a sum probably greater than ever

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went to China. Thus, Nasser can imprison Communists, Kassem outlaw them, without affecting their receipt of Soviet aid. By contrast, China has few resources and must rely primarily on her ideological appeal. The cosy world of 1963 Soviet Union is as far economically from China, as the U.S. is. Russia has everything to lose by encouraging discontent abroad, and as a consequence, Russian Communism is no longer a revolutionary creed—the foreign Communist Parties have become no more than adjuncts of Soviet foreign policy which is itself conservative. Russia now offers defeat of capitalism only through economic competition—a contest in which China has no part to play. On the contrary, China must maintain a continuous revolution to pull herself upwards economically, to extract even more from her people—national paranoia is a necessary weapon to spur her people to greater efforts. For Russia, all are friends who do not love Washington (and even Washington beside Peking is becoming a friend)—for China, all are enemies, for the absence of a foreign threat is a positive danger to the stability of her *status quo*. Accordingly, just as the old Stalinist theory of 'capitalist encirclement' is needed, so is the terror of Stalin and the cult of his godhead, needed in China. In trying to unwind that cult, Khrushchev deprived Mao of a necessary weapon in China.

To the natural tension between allied developed and backward countries, economic relations were added. The Soviet Union compelled China to pay very fully for any aid she offered (in contrast to Soviet aid to non-Communist countries), and even used that aid to keep China in step. Most of her European allies could be disciplined from Moscow, and foreign Communist Parties were always too weak to resist Russia. Yugoslavia, geographically distant, and based not on Russian bayonets but popular support, was naturally a rebel if Russia sought to exploit her; and now China, similarly distant and based upon a purely domestic revolution, but bigger in manpower than Russia, naturally diverges from Moscow. There was no power capable of making China a satellite. True, China was defended by the Soviet Bomb, and this has perhaps prevented final rupture. That break cannot long be postponed however if the two continue to clash so violently.

The effects of the rift so far have been immense. Already China's trade has been shifted away from the Communist bloc—only Rumania, with the oil that China needs, and with grievances at COMECON's demand that she curtail her heavy industry, has remained in trade terms loyal to Peking. Russia has sought to consolidate her friends by strengthening COMECON—even Mongolia has joined the formely European body. In addition, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, shrewdly expedited by Kennedy, has lessened the Western threat to Russia. Khrushchev, reacting from Mao's leftism, has fallen into the arms of his own right, Togliatti, and, more distantly, Tito —at this point, Communism almost melts into Social Democracy, and revolution means little more than agitation for reforms. Peking has thus expelled Russia from the fraternity of the poor and consigned her to the club of the rich: even the whiteness of the Russians becomes an accusation.

The line up within the Communist world at the moment seems to favour Russia. North Korean, Indonesian, Malayan, Red Flag Burmese and Japanese Communists seem to be her friends. North Vietnam, like Cuba, heavily dependent on Russian aid, but tempted, remains neutral. The Communist Parties of Australia, Belgium, Italy, Brazil, and India are split—the more revolutionary elements going to China. In the future, China will remain a potent threat to all conservative Communist leaders, just as China's defiance give the East European countries room to disagree with Moscow for the first time.

China, autarchic and immense, a society of Puritan or Stakhanovite Saints, remains virtually alone, much as the Soviet Union once was. As such, she will prove the focal point for revolutionaries in under-developed countries—she invites social change, and rejects the conservative ratification of the world *status quo* embodied in 'peaceful co-existence.' When she finally attains the Atom Bomb, the alignments of the world are likely to be fundamentally shifted. In the interim, the world can enjoy the new freedom incumbent upon the erosion of the old Cold War monoliths.

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Foreign Periodicals

Education Around the World

Puublished as guest-editorial under the above caption in *Saturday Review*, Philip H. Coombs, Director, Institute of Educational Planning UNESCO, Paris has things to say which should evince keen interest :

The spotlight of attention in social and economic development—not only Africa, Asia and Latin America but in advanced nations as well—has been shifting lately to education.

Economists, world bankers and local development planners have become more acutely aware that a society can only achieve sustained economic growth and build viable social and political institutions if it invests adequately and early in the development of its people's talents.

A new steel mill in India, for example, would become an expensive and useless status symbol without people trained to run it and to use its products. The same holds for a power dam in Ghana or a factory in Boliva. The point is that investment in physical capital must be balance with investment in human capital.

Most educators have taken this for granted all along, but they have usually been reluctant to stress the point lest it invite overemphasis on the materialistic aspects of education. Quite rightly they have insisted that education is not merely an instrument of economic growth, but that it also has other and perhaps even higher aims. Nevertheless, it is this new recognition of the essential linkage between education and economic and social development—between the growth of people and the growth of a society—that is bringing fresh support today from non-educators for increased investment in education. The World Bank, for example, universally respected for its business acumen, is leading the financial community with its new policy of helping to finance educational development. The Inter-American Development Bank and the US-AID program also have entered the loans-for-education business. The U.N. Special Fund, under Paul Hoffman, is directing a large portion of its "pre-investment" funds into education, convinced that this is the best way the least developed economies can reach the "take-off" point.

Only a few years ago it would have been unthinkable to suggest to lenders that people are a powerful force for social change and economic advance as good an investment as a fertilizer factory or a highway. The shift of attitude and policy has resulted not from soft-headed sentiment but from hard-headed analysis of practical experience.

In a host of situations all over the world, including many developed contries, the most bottleneck to development is the shortage not of money but of educated manpower. A major reason, for example, why huge credits piled up unused, in the first two years of the Alliance for Progress was the shortage of developed human talent in Latin America to make rapid and efficient use of these aid funds. Hence the new emphasis on educational development in the Alliance. Most African and Asian countries are even worse off in this respect, but they are now giving more emphasis to education in their development plans than any other region.

It will require heavy investment in education in the coming years to break this human bottleneck to progress. And well over 90 per cent of the funds will have to come from the scarce internal resources of the nations themselves even if international aid holds high.

But it must be emphasized that money alone will not solve the problem, nor will the simple expansion of educational *status quo*. In most developing countries the present educational system—usually an obsolete copy of some advanced nation's system—is not only too small but poorly adapted to the local needs and resources. Their toughest task, therefore, is to recast curriculum content to fit their special needs and to recast their educational processes to fit their limited resources. One of the scarcest of these resources is competent manpower for teaching, which therefore must be utilized with maximum efficiency. Accordingly, there is need for a massive searh for new technologies of education that will enable teachers and students alike to be more productive.

All this will require better educational planning. The alternative is a wasteful buckshot approach that is bound to yield disappointing results. Such planning must cover not only the internal affairs of education but must gear education to the development needs and processes of the whole society. There is no more powerful

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cement than a nation's educational system, provided it is a good one.

This kind of integrated educational planning is something new for most of the world, not least of all for the United States. It calls for the skills and insights not only of professional educators and development economists but of other social scientists and able practitioners, particularly when it comes to translating a paper plan into action.

It calls, in short, for a new breed of planner —what Professor Fred Harbison has called an "educational development strategist"—who has the ability, on the one hand, to look at an educational system whole (unlike most educational specialists) and, on the other, to see the role and relationships of education to the complex process of over-all economic and social development. This is a tall order.

There is need also for more basic knowledge about educational planning and development—based on research and analysis aimed at practical problems. Such knowledge must cover many facets—the curriculum and it objectives, innovations in teaching techniques and materials, teacher supply, organization, strategies of action, and not least the economics of education.

These needs have now come to be more clearly recognized, in the establishment of a new International Institute for Educational Planning. Its mission, in a nutshell, is to provide the intellectual leadership and practical assistance needed to put education into the mainstream of overall social and economic development.

THE NEED FOR ARAB UNITY

Denis Healey, Labor Member of Parliament for South East Leeds, England, writing under the above legend in **The New Leader** analyses the vital role of Arab unity in the Near East thus :

I have just returned from a fortnight's tour of the Middle East, during which I had long conversations with the leaders of Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Israel. Despite the confusion shrouding some central issues, the major factors in the political situation emerged clearly enough. The desire for Arab unity is still the strongest single political force among the Arab masses in all countries, severely limiting the ability of the ruling groups to pursue either purely national or class interests. The fulfillment of this desire would contribute greatly to the stability of the Middle East as a whole as well as to the legitimate objectives of Western policy in the area.

To take the example of most concern to Britain, it is urgently necessary to bring up to date the network of political and commercial agreements through which Europe at present obtains its oil from the archaic sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf. But however much Britain may wish to disengage itself from its old imperial obligations in the Gulf, it cannot safely do so unless the major Arab states are agreed on what will happen afterward. At the moment, for instance, Iraq and Saudi Arabia each lay claim to the fantastically wealthy oil sheikdom of Kuwait, while those of the local population who d not wish to remain independent would probably prefer Nasser to either.

Europe would have little to fear from a united Arab policy toward the sheikdoms, since they have no other possible consumer for their oil and Europe has alternative sources of oil and other power. The only real threat to Europe's legitimate interest in a continuing supply of oil at a reasonable price would be a war between the Arab states over the future of the Gulf in which oil production ceased and the installations were destroyed. And the last crisis over Kuwait showed that this is very far from being an imaginary danger.

Desirable though Arab unity may be, it is most unlikely to be achieved except by agreement between the various Arab governments. Even Egypt, by far the strongest military and economic power in the Arab world, does not have the capacity for ruling other Arab countries against their will. Though President Nasser admits he has given money to his supporters in other countries, outside Egypt he does not possess the sort of political organization which can bring down a hostile government and then administer it effectively. The circumstances that allowed a group of 100 officers to take power in Egypt and to carry out a major economic and social revolution without serious opposition for 11 years do not exist in any other Arab country.

That is why the recent Ba'athist revolutions in Iraq and Syria seemed to offer far more chance of building an effective Arab federation than the circumstances in which the first United Arab Republic was formed. During the years of its repression.

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the Ba'ath Socialist party had developed from a discussion group for middle-class intellectuals into a tightly organized underground movement with powerful support in the army. And besides claiming the same general political and social objectives as Nasser himself, the Ba'ath appeared to be the sort of organized movement which could provide the smoothly functioning transmission belt between government and masses so clearly required in other Arab countries.

In fact, however, the new Ba'athist organization and the political theory it expresses have proved to be totally incompatible with Nasser's outlook. Indeed, the conflict between the Ba'ath and Nasser shows every sign of becoming as fateful for the Arab world as the conflict between Moscow and Peking for the Communists. Essentially, it is a conflict about how to organize Arab unity and social change in general—and not simply a collision between the national interests of Egypt and Iraq and Syria. Moreover, the Ba'ath claims to have branches in Libya and all the Arab countries of the Middle East except Egypt. Nasser may well fear that a federation which allows the Ba'ath influence in Egypt would ... dangerous even to his position at home.

Thus, not only is it most unlikely ... the April agreement on an Arab federa... will be carried out, but now the stage seems set for a drawn-out struggle between the Ba'ath and Nasser for leadership of the Arab unity movement. In such a struggle Nasser has great assets: a charismatic personality with mass appeal throughout the Arab world, and a record of real social and economic achievement in Egypt itself. The Ba'ath has no comparable leaders; it faces daunting administrative problems in Iraq and Syria, where political instability has brought economic activity almost to a halt; and it has yet to win the confidence of the civil service and technical elite. Ba'athist reluctance to hit back in kind at the barrage of criticism now directed at it from Egypt also seems to indicate the party's uncertainty about the extent of its popular support. On the other hand, Egypt's genuine sense of mission, which inspires much of its policy for Arab unity, is allied with an insensitivity to the views and traditions of others which may ultimately cost President Nasser dear.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1963

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NOTES

THE WORLD

The democratic world was stunned at the news of the assassination of President Kennedy of the United States by a sniper on Friday the 22nd November at Dallas, U.S. He died 25 minutes after he was shot at by the sniper. The President, concerned about the unpopularity that was being whipped up against him in the South over the Civil Rights Bill, had gone to Texas on November 21 with Mrs. Kennedy to prevent a split in the ranks of the Democrats. Dallas was a stronghold of Senator Goldwater, who was likely to be a challenger for the Presidentship on a Republican ticket, and a conservative center.

The police took possession of a high-powered .30-.30 rifle and three empty cartridges, left in a fifth floor room of a warehouse over-looking the route of the President's motorcade. Later a 24-year-old youth named Oswald was arrested and he was still later charged with murder.

At the time of writing these, it was not clear as to what actually were the final motivation links.

John Fitzerald Kennedy (46) was the 35th President of the United States. He was the first Roman Catholic to be elected President. He was the youngest to be elected President of the U.S.A. and the youngest to die. He was the fourth to be assassinated, the previous three being Abraham Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley. He was the eldest son of Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, a very wealthy American citizen.

Educated in private and public schools at home, he was sent to the London School of Economics where he studied under Professor Harold Laski. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Navy and was awarded the Navy and Marine Corps Medal for courage and initiative. He entered politics in 1946 when he was elected to the House of Representatives, at the age of 29 years, and was re-elected in 1948 and 1950. He defeated Senator Cabot Lodge in 1952 by 71,000 votes and entered the Senate. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1958 and in 1960 he was nominated for the presidency by the Democratic Party and was elected President on November 8, and was inaugurated President on January 20, 1961. In his short career of less than three full years, he had gone very far towards establishing the picture of the U.S.A. as a Champion of the Four Freedoms **for all nations and all humanity,** irrespective of colour, religion or economic condition. In this path he was a worthy follower of the traditions laid down by Lincoln and Roosevelt.

He had espoused the cause of the Negro in the U.S.A. and despite all off-trail indications and false scents, he became a victim of the brutal passions raised over the controversy by racial bigots and election propagandists. Malicious inuendoes decrying him

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and denigrating his policies became rife amongst the less-honest partisan journals like the Weekly **Time**. The lashed-up hatred has reacted in the same way as it did in the case of Abraham Lincoln. The alleged assassin Lee Harvey Oswald, who was categorically declared to have committed the murder by the Dallas police chief, was himself shot by a Dallas night-club owner, named Jack Ruby or Rubinstein and died in hospital. The reason given by Ruby for this killing seemed very flimsy indeed, at the time of writing these.

The stature of the man is possibly becoming apparent to all excepting to those with the most crooked point of view, both in the martyred President's homeland and abroad. Every country, excepting Red China and its satellites has paid open tributes to him, even Castro of Cuba has expressed his condemnation of the foul deed and dissociated Cuba from any complicity in the crime. The Pope told the 30,000 Romans assembled in St. Peter's Square on Sunday that the assassination of President Kennedy showed "how much capacity for hate and evil there still is in the world and what menace for civil order and peace!"

The man had very great width of vision and he was a sincere worker for peace in this world. His death is a terrible calamity for all humanity in the shadow of war. We in India found in him a true friend who had sympathy and understanding for all nations working for the uplift of their peoples.

In India, the shock produced by the news of the assassination was further aggravated and intensified by the news of a helicopter crash which killed five top-ranking officers of the Defence forces, Lt.-General Daulet Singh, Lt.-General Vikram Singh, Major-General Nanavati, Brigadier Oberoi and Air-Vice Marshal Pinto together with their pilot Flt. Lt. Sondhi. Investigations are proceeding regarding the crash.

There was a minor breech in the U.S.-Soviet relations over the hold-up for 41 hours of a convoy of U.S. military forces on the Autobahn to Berlin at the Marienbom check-point. A lot of notes and protests followed ending with the release of the convoy. The hold-up and the release were both unexplained. There was also a ... diplomatic crisis over the arrest of ... American professor who was visiting R... on a twenty-day permit. He was arrested ... a spy, evidently on a mistaken suspici... because he was released but expelled ... Russia. The expulsion was evidently a face-saving gesture as no reasons were given.

There were military take-overs in ... problem States, Iraq and South Vietnam. ... South Vietnam it was a military coup d'et... led by generals and armed forces. ... regime of the Ngo Dinh brothers, lest ... President Ngo Dinh Diem and dominated ... his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu was overthrown ... and those two brothers killed. The ... heads of State in South Vietnam are face... a lot of troubles, particularly from the Vi... Cong rebels who, being Communist guerillas, have sustained aid from the Communist States on the borders. In Iraq it was really a shake-up of the political set-up. It was in reality the struggle for power within the new Arab political body, the Ba'ath (Renaissance) Party which seeks to unite Syria and Iraq and thus the entire Arab World, from the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. The position in Iraq is still indeterminate but two persons who are more or less in-charge, namely Iraq's President Abdul Salam Arefi —who is a non-Ba'athist—and Michel Aflak the Secretary-General of the Ba'ath party and is at Baghdad seem to be able to carry out their moves without any strong opposition.

On the Himalayan borders the enemy, "Red China", has continued strengthening his posts and building up his forces and communication lines. But he has made no belligerent moves recently. The attitude of Pakistan has become more and more bellicose. President Ayub has given a howl of joy at the prospect of his dear friend Johnson becoming President of the U.S.

The Jaipur Session of the A.I.C.C.

The All India Congress Commitee held a two-day session at Jaipur on November 3 and 4. This session was remarkable because of the strong criticisms levelled by some prominent members against the leadership

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of the "High Command" and the general administration of the country by the Congress Government. Some of these adverse comments were in strong contrast to the exhuberant and fulsome flattery that was invariably offered to Mr. Nehru and his associates on such occasions. The customary approval of all the activities of the Congress Government's administration was absent too.

Mr. Nehru did not escape criticism either, the most telling comments being offered in the form of urdu couplets offered by Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, in which Mr. Nehru was accused of making intimate friends of those who misguided him and of condemning without reason those who offered sincere advice; of making enemies of those who were near and dear to him and taken strangers as friends, and of having had his real friends beheaded in order to be the "Head-man."

Strangely enough, Mr. Nehru did not react to all this criticism in the usual way and his defence of the administrative machinery was weak. He joined those who criticised the Congress by saying that many Congressmen had come to the stage of equating progress with winning elections and he called for a change in the outlook of the party for if it ceased to be the torch-bearer of progress, its downfall was inevitable.

On November 3, during the discussion on the Kamraj plan, some Congressmen accused the High Command of "keeping factionalism alive in the party." The criticism was so acutely pressed home that Mr. Nehru and some other senior leaders thought it was necessary to give detailed explanations of the steps taken by the Central leadership to combat groupism.

Mr. Morarji Desai, while moving for the consideration of the Working Committee's statement, denied the existence of Right and Left in the Congress, and further went to the length of saying in his usual fashion that those who spoke of their existence in the party were the party's greatest enemies. He was strongly challenged by Mr. Govind Sahay who quite cogently said differences in thinking gave life to an organization. He said that Congress history was filled with instances of fights between the forces of **status quo** and progress. Mr. Nehru supported Mr. Desai to the extent of saying that it was wrong to speak in terms of Left and Right but he clearly hinted, likewise, that different shades of opinion did exist.

Strong criticism of the Government's administrative machinery came from Mr. Biju Patnaik, ex-Chief Minister of Orissa, in his speech seconding Mr. Desai's motion. He wanted a "thorough overhaul of the machinery so as to change it from what the British had evolved it for—subjugation of the masses—to one suited to fulfil the country's socialistic policies." Mrs. Renuka Roy supported Mr. Patnaik and suggested the establishment of a Commission to redesign the machinery.

Mr. Radhanandan Jha from Bihar, alleged that the High Command had betrayed a partisan attitude and had given thereby a new lease of life to factional groups in different States. It was evident, from the cheers that followed his speech that his view was supported by a fair number of members.

Mr. Nehru, strangely enough, seemed to ride more with the attackers than with the defence. The question of an anti-corruption drive also seemed to exercise his mind very strongly. He seemed to be convinced, at last—at this late hour—that corruption was rife in this country. The following extract, from the **Statesman,** gives a fair idea about his standpoint:

"In the course of his speech, Mr. Nehru said there was need for setting up in the country an 'anti-corruption machinery' covering Ministers, public men and all those employed in the administration. Unless corruption was rooted out from every walk of life, all talk of Socialism would be meaningless, he said.

Mr. Nehru paid handsome tributes to Mr. Kamaraj for coming forward with a plan which had given a jolt to the Congress as well as the administration.

Mr. Kamaraj, he declared, was the most appropriate man to be the next Congress President.

Referring again to the system of "Ombudsman" prevailing in some Scandinavian

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countries (he spoke about it at a public meeting yesterday also), he said he liked it very much.

The "Ombudsman" had the right to summon anyone—even a judge or the Prime Minister—to appear before him on receiving a complaint against him from any citizen. This appeared to be an effective way of dealing with corruption. However, India was a vast country and the conditions here were different from those in Norway and Sweden. Thus, there were difficulties in introducing this system in India.

Mr. Nehru said the main difficulty with people in India was that they had not stepped even mentally into the new world created by science and technology.

He wondered whether all Congressmen, even those who were members of the A.I.C.C. fully understood the implications of the changing times.

Referring to the criticism of Mr. Tyagi that the Parliamentary Board was not giving a free hand to Chief Ministers to select their Ministries, Mr. Nehru said the board had to intervene because it was anxious that no good and useful man was dropped from a Ministerial post on personal grounds.

He admitted that the board had not succeeded in achieving this object in all the States. But that was the motive which prompted it to intervene."

In the last day's debates, which ended with the A.I.C.C. "generally approving" the statement put forward by the Working Committee, setting the goal of providing the people substantially with basic needs by the end of the Fifth Plan, as the aim of Democracy and Socialism. It was made clear that this was not the final party resolution but merely a basis of discussions at all party levels, so that a more thorough resolution on the basic objectives of the Congress could be put before the General Session at Bhubaneswar in January.

A number of members expressed dissatisfaction because the above statement lacked a sense of urgency. To the surprise of these speakers Mr. Nehru himself sided with them, expressing his concurrence with their views and suggesting that suitable amendments should be made.

The general trend of the debate strongly condemnatory of the way country was being run. It was clear quite a number of members had be impatient of the complacent laissez f policy of the Congress, which was lea the country on the downhill path with creasing impetus. The following extr from the **Statesman** illustrate the course the debate.

"The dominant feature of "the deb was the sustained attack on the private tor. In this respect Mr. Nehru made the telling speech, pointing out that w capitalism in other countries now thro of social justice, Indian capitalists li living in their own old world.

The Prime Minister also distressin admitted that monopolies had grown India during the past 10 or 15 years that he was concerned how the proc could be reversed.

Speaker after speaker spoke of ill-go wealth of sections of the business communi making more definite what the statesma itself had referred to as "speculative gain illegitimate incomes in many forms an evasion of obligations under various laws

Mr. Patnaik and Krishna Menon spoke of the vast wealth which had concentrated in the hands of the private sector to mak a novel point that it was "running a sort o parallel government."

Some of the details in the speeches as reported in the **Statesman** are more illumi nating:

"Mr. K. D. Malaviya moving amend ments to the statement said that the rate o economic growth had not gone up accordin to the expectations and wealth was increas ingly concentrated in fewer hands. Consi derable industrial capacity remained unuti lized. Administration and control of ser vices was proving ineffective, leading to rise in corruption. Agricultural production had become stagnant. In such a situation State intervention was necessary.

Mr. Biju Patnaik said that the building up of a suitable administrative machinery and a change in the mental make up of the people were of utmost importance to give "flesh and blood" to the Congress concept of

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Socialism. The paper, he said, should be studied and deliberated in the light of the existing conditions in the country. For instance, one of the problems that faced the country was how "to bring into account the large amount of unaccounted money" amounting to Rs. 3,000 crores, which "is almost running a parallel government."

He asked the party not to promise the people more than what they could achieve and also fix a time-limit for achieving the targets envisaged.

Mr. Krishna Menon said that a social revolution must follow the political revolution that had been achieved with the attainment of independence. "A socialistic society is inevitable in a land like ours".

Supporting the Working Committee's statement Mr. Menon called for vigorous steps to increase farm output and to abolish monopolies and "concentration of fiscal powers in a few hands."

It was evident that at least a sizable section of the Committee were aware of the fact that the temper of the people was becoming more and more impatient of the empty promises and frothy statements with which those in power have been beguiling them. This was clearly indicated in the tone of newspaper reports and comments on the Government's failures in imposing real checks on blackmarketing and blatant profiteering. It was becoming apparent even to Mr. Nehru that the stock of the Congress was no longer as high with the common citizen as the High Command had assumed it to be. The people had paid out enormous sums and further the nation's future had been mortgaged to the utmost limit, without any chance of real dividends in the way of lowering of the stresses and strains of life, or in the raising of the standard of living in this country.

Those who are aware of this change in the political climate of the country and who are apprehensive of the severe storms that this ominous change presages, are those who have tried to hoist storm signals in this A.I.C.C. session. It is clear likewise that Mr. Nehru's eyes have at last turned earthwards and that he is becoming increasingly aware that the people's verdict at the Lok Sabha bye-election cannot be dismissed as being merely failures of the Party's election-machinery due to factionalism.

But the strictures on the administration and on the Congress High-Command must not be taken as being hopeful indications for a change for the better. The Administrative set-up has become a veritable Augean Stable and corruption has penetrated far into the vitals of the nation. The only hope for the country lies undoubtedly in the regeneration of the Congress, as the collapse of that body would bring chaos on a gigantic scale, sure as fate, the Opposition being what it is.

But this regeneration or rejuvination would need drastic measures inclusive of purges. Has the Congress the determination and the strength to go through it? The answer may be had at Bhubeneswar.

Education in Schools

There was a three-day conference of State Education Ministers and Vice-Chancellors at New Delhi on November 10, 11 and 12 to consider the problems of school education at both the elementary and secondary stages.

Education has been regarded so far as a subject of minor importance to the ministries both at the Centre and in the States. The resultant muddle and neglect has been disastrous. The attention and consideration that should have been devoted to the spread of education and the enhancement of literacy, was not given and as a result every section of the Five-Year Plan has suffered for the lack of trained and properly educated men. It seems that every time there was any plausible excuse regarding the shortage of funds the Department of Education was victimised.

Mr. Nehru, in his inaugural speech, deplored the fact that education had suffered in some States which had tried to save or divert money from that head on the plea of "emergency". Mr. Nehru emphatically stated that education was no less important than any thing else, including soldiering. He also laid stress on the need for spending more on teachers' salaries and cutting down

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on the cost of school buildings. He urged more open-air schools like Santiniketan.

Professor Humayun Kabir, who was the Union Minister for Education and Scientific Research then, also emphasized the question of sufficient pay for the school-teachers. He said that the quality of the teachers was the "crux of the problem" and that the problem of teachers "inadequately trained and almost invariably dissatisfied" had to be overcome. The nation must be prepared to pay for good education. He regretted that the State Governments had not utilized fully the offer of Rs. 2 crores by the Centre to raise the teachers' salaries and the loan of Rs. 10 crores for improving school buildings. He assured the educationally backward States of the Centre's special assistance.

In the course of the conference considerable difference of opinion was expressed by the participants on the question of the duration of schooling time. Professor Kabir's opinion on the subject, as reported by the **Statesman** was as follows :—

Mr. Kabir said his 18-plus proposal would ensure that students became mature, and more disciplined either for entering the universities or accepting the responsibilities of life. It would also be in line with the practice in most of the countries of the world where secondary education was co-terminus with adolescence.

"Once we agree that 18 will be the terminal point for secondary education, we can define what standard we should have, and work out the syllabus and curriculum. We can leave it to the States whether to have 12-year or 11-year patterns of schooling as diversity is inevitable in a country as large as India. But the end of the secondary stage should mean roughly the same thing throughout the whole country", he said.

He proposed that by the end of the Fourth Plan, 17-plus should be the age for the end of secondary education and by the end of the Fifth or Sixth plan, 18-plus. But he stressed that immediately the States should ensure 16-plus as the school leaving age.

"If we get about 80 per cent enrolment of the total number of boys and girls of the 6-11 age group by the end of Fourth Plan we will have achieved one of the major objectives of the Constitutional directive even though it would not cover fully the 11-14 age group," he said.

To improve the quality of elementary education, Mr. Kabir asked State Ministers to see that here was a uniform five-year elementary course throughout the country before the end of the Third Plan, as some States were "lagging behind with the four-year course." Attempts should also be made to introduce science at the elementary stage both as an intellectual discipline and as a measure for creating a proper scientific climate in the country.

For the 6-14 age group, he said that the target in the Fourth Plan should be to expand facilities for education so that by 1976 "we will have almost universal education for children of the 6-11 age group and cover 80 per cent of the 11-14 age group."

The majority of State Education Ministers and Vice-Chancellors favoured a 12 year course for schooling as recommended by the Mudaliar Commission, leaving the States to work out the pattern they preferred. But the U.P. Education Minister opposed the proposal saying that his State had neither the funds nor the number of teachers for the conversion of the 11 year Higher Secondary Schools into 12 year schools.

Ultimately the conference ended with a resolution suggesting a 12 year course as the goal for secondary education, which the country should work to attain. It also reiterated its support for a three-year graduation course in Arts and Sciences. On the question of 18-plus as the age of entry into universities, as proposed by Prof. Kabir the conference felt that the age should be 17-plus and, in no case, less than 16-plus.

The question of improving the quality of education in the schools was stressed upon by a few Speakers. But we feel that sufficient emphasis was not laid on that score. Adequate pay for teachers is no doubt essential but aid in the form of scholarship with assured employment at the end should be given to teachers while they are under training.

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The Price Feud in Calcutta

The price feud in Calcutta, which appears to have been euphemistically given the nomenclature of "organized consumer-resistance" by Shri P. C. Sen, Chief Minister of West Bengal in rather helplessly eulogistic terms, and which made its initial appearance about the middle of last month over the people's inability to put up with the unreasonably sky-rocketting price of rice in the State, appears to have subsided for the time being. But it has already indexed symptoms in the social order which would appear, to even the least discerning, to carry within itself the gravest social implications.

The situation anent the price of rice as it developed last October, in this State and which just missed deterioration into downright famine conditions, would bear a dispassionate examination even at this rather last stage. It was admitted on all hands, by the Government included, that rice was in short supply in the State over the last two consecutive years. During the year 1962-63, the deficit in rice supply was officially estimated by the Directorate of Food and Supply of the West Bengal Government at some 1.2 million tons. Later, on account of bad harvests in the following year on the one hand and the developing demand for food on account of the growth in the pace of population increase, the order of deficit estimated by the same official agency was placed at approximately 1.5 million tons. This estimate, however, differed rather substantially from what was given by the Chief Minister later to the West Bengal Assembly, in course of the Food Debate during the last Budget session, which he placed at approximately 2.2 million tons predicated on his much higher estimate of demand of the State at a gross 6.2 million tons. There was reason to believe that this later estimate was a purposely inflated one, perhaps with the objective of impressing the Union Government with the urgency of the need to cover the deficits in the State's foodgrains supplies by Central subventions and, possibly, also to confuse the opposition with.

However, the fact remains that the measure of the esimated or even the actual deficit in foodgrains in the State during the current year (1963-64) could not have been very substantially wider than in the preceding year. Nevertheless, the fall in rice prices registered last-year-end with the inflow of the new harvest was comparatively of a negligible order and what was even more significant was that this lower level of prices which are usually maintained until the onset of the traditional lean season around mid-March|April, lasted only about three weeks or so, and prices surged up even before the new year was rung in. By April a steady upward spiral was distinctly in evidence and by August prices had sky-rocketted by more than 54 per cent over the period between December and August. Prices remained more or less static at this level for very nearly two months when a fresh rampage again started at about the end of September and by about the middle of the second week of October they had assumed an altitude which very nearly approximated to a 100 per cent rise over the price level of a year ago.

Government not merely failed to evince any ability to handle this ominous situation, which was very closely reminiscent of the situation which immediately preceded the notorious **man-made** famine of 1943, but they even further aggravated the situation simultaneously by suddenly substantially cutting down supplies of rice to Fair Price Shops and cooperatives where ration cardholders drew their limited supplies from on the one hand and, on the other, by the issue

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of a series of statements by the Chief Minister which, in substance, not merely demonstrated the Government's complete helplessness and lack of resources in the matter, but even their anxiety to find justification for this rather weird situation. It was not until the consumers organized themselves to resist this wholesale profiteering rampage of the trade at all levels, that the vicious circle of price-racketing by the trade and the Government's complete indifference to its implications could be broken down in some measure. All this we have already commented upon in these columns in our last month's issue.

But what may not have been made amply clear in this regard is the fact that the level at which the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" between the trade and the West Bengal Chief Minister in respect of rice prices was concluded still left a very fair margin of **additional and wholly un-earned profit** in the hands of the trade far above the legitimate profit they could be normally expected to earn. In addition, it was also significant that this agreement covered within its purview only the coarser grades of rice, leaving the medium-fine and finer varieties of rice outside its scope to enable the trade to charge any price, at their discretion, for these less common varieties of rice. This is an aspect of the matter which we feel, would bear closer examination which should reveal in a measure the conspiracy that would seem to subsist between the trade and the Government of the State with a view to fleecing the helpless community of consumers by exploiting such situations of shortage of supply as may, willy nilly, eventuate from time to time.

It may, of course, be argued that the Government had already proved their **bona fides**, so far as the community is concerned by eventually moving in and enforcing certain orders earlier promulgated under the emergency powers vested in them by the D.I.R. in respect of the profit margins it would be legitimate for the trade to appropriate at its various levels and by requiring all retail dealers to demonstrate price lists at their shops. It should, however, realised that the order which the Government had sought, so belatedly, to enforce, had already been promulgated a good few weeks before, and had they only taken thought to enforce its requirements even as they promulgated the order, the situation which eventuated during September-October, might never have been occasioned. It is also significant that the Government moved only after the consumers on their own spontaneously organized volition, had decided to act, irrespective of Government support or assistance in the matter. This undeniable fact could not, possibly, be explained away by the fact that the compulsion of the situation so obviously un-nerved the Chief Minister that while only a couple of days before he had been quite explicit that the Government had absolutely no positive role to play in the matter of sky-rocketting rice prices, he swung over to the opposite extreme and extolled in very eulogistic terms this open war on the conscienceless profiteers by the consumers on heir own unaided initiative and described it as welcome sign of a developing consumer-resistance. The implications of this indisputable fact and, especially its timing, would seem to carry potentials of the gravest consequence and that is what we shall concern ourselves with in the present discussion.

The success of the consumers' movement in this connection very naturally invested the community with a new sense of power and hope. It is good in so far as it continues to be directed to the achievement of acceptable social ends. It was very fortunate that but for isolated minor instances of no especial significance, the expression of consumer-resistance in respect of rice prices did not stray, by and large, beyon strictly circumscribed and well-disciplined limits. A certain measure of coercive pursuasion there inevitably was, but considering the especial circumstances of the situation, it might have been regarded as quite legitimate. Nevertheless it is of especial significance that the initiative in the matter came not from the Government, from where it is the right of the community to expect it to normally emanate, but from the victims of the profiteers'

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wholly anti-social and criminally subversive activities themselves. This could have only one inescapable implication: either that the Government of the State were so bereft of imagination and resources that they did not know what to do in the matter and, simply to cover their own ineptitude in the matter, were issuing wild and wholly untenable statements to justify their helplessness in this regard; or that they were deliberately encouraging the trade in their then nefarious activities. It would be interesting to know the actual results, if researches were to be undertaken to evaluate the measure of aggregate additional profits that the trade may have netted during the wo weeks or so that this fresh price rampage had lasted.

We are fully conscious of the gravity of the suspicions about the Government's part in the matter to which expression has been given in the above few lines. But subsequent events would seem to demonstrate the callous ineptitude of the Government in handling any matter of price-racketeering in essential consumables, especially in vital articles of food. The situation that later eventuated in respect of fish prices in the metropolis and the suburban markets would seem to be an additional instance in point. Calcutta has long suffered from overt profiteering in the retail prices of fish. Various measures have been taken from time to time by the Government, all of which had proved to be completely futile in curbing the absolute dominion of the fish dealers of the city. Even as lately as earlier this year, more wholesome action was promised by the Government, but fish prices remained wholly impervious to any possible downward influences. It was, again, the residents in and around Dum Dum who organised themselves, just as they did earlier in the matter of rice prices, to administer the necessary correctives and it instantly began to bear fruit. It was only at this stage that the State Government decided to move in and enforce measures to deal with the fish racket. We cannot, of course, vouch for the absolute accuracy of the facts, but we have been told that the Minister in charge of fisheries, Janab Fazlur Rahman, had actually been wanting to take necessary and effective measures in this connection for quite a long time before, but his colleagues and, especially certain very influential big guns of the Party would not let hom do anything, we are told, presumbably because such measures would be likely to affect the interests of certain favoured vested interests.

The Minister concerned, however, has eventually moved in the matter with a great deal of apparent determination and ruthlessness; he has clamped down licensing of fish dealers at various stages, now from bheriwallas down to the retail stall-holders, and have compelled the latter to display price lists at their stalls, prices which have already been fixed by him. This has had some effect so far as the commoner qualities of the smaller varieties of fish are concerned. Here, again, certain varieties of fish have been left outside the scope of the price control order which is being found to be exploited by the vendors to the utmost possible extent. But the success of the Minister's move has been considerably attenuated by a very substantial restriction of supplies to the retail market, especially so far as carp and the larger and more popular varieties of fish are concerned. Even then some good has undoubtedly been wrought. Before action was launched by Government following the organized resistance of consumers—and it is important to remember that Government action followed and neither proceeded nor was simultaneously enforced along with organised consumer-resistance—even the smallest sized shrimps of microscopic proportions were being offered for sale in most Calcutta markets at as much as Rs. 3 per Kg. Now with the price of this kind of fish having been reduced to very nearly a third of their earlier levels, the poorer sections of the community who could hardly afford fish, perhaps, for only once in every two months or so, are able to indulge the luxury a little oftener than before. For luxury it has become to the poorer people with all-round sky-rocketting of the prices of every conceivable consumable of an essential nature, although fish has always been regarded as almost a staple for the Bengalees. As we write, the news has come through that

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the Government have already amended and promulgated the amended version of the Fish Dealers' Licensing Order, providing stringent penal measures even to the extent of forfeiture of fisheries and application of the Defence of India Rules against any contravention of the Order. This was necessary because the Government was convinced that the deliberately engineered short supply of fish to the markets in Calcutta and the suburban areas emanated mostly from bheriwallas with a view to sabotaging Government's measures for ensuring adequate supplies of fish to the retail markets, especially of carp, who own the natural fisheries around Calcutta covering very nearly 13,000 acres and which account for very nearly fifty per cent of the big carp supplies to the Calcutta markets. One is naturally inclined to congratulate Janab Fazlur Rahman for the courage and determination with which he has now been acting in this regard and hope that the desired results may now eventuate, especially because one is quite convinced of the measure of opposition and difficulties that he must have been obliged to face in the matter even from very influential sections of his own Party bosses.

One is inevitably reminded of the achievements of the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai in this context. When the effects of control, procurement and rationing had, over the years, been developing into an ever-widening and India-wide racket by a corrupt administration which had continued to defy whatever corrective action that successive Food Ministers had been able to devise—indeed the Central Food Ministry had actually come to be regarded as the inevitable grave of all reputations and even such outstandnig personalities as the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad was unable to pull out of it with their reputations unscathed—the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai assumed charge of this highly questionable responsibility. With a clear-sightedness which none of his predecessors was able to demonstrate, he came to the inescapable diagnosis following courageous and on-the-spot personal investigations—the labour involved must have been enormous, almost soul-killing, it should seem, be easy to visualize—that the administration had neither the competence and, what was far more important, nor the integrity to break this terrible racket and, almost against the counsels of all his colleagues and friends, he took the courageous step of derationing and decontrolling foodgrains and of abolishing total Government procurement. Confounding the dire prognostications of his colleagues and the administration alike, the result was both instant and wholesome and for some years following this bold and courageous action at least, the people of the country were able to procure their requirements of foodgrains without trouble and at legitimate prices. With clear-sighted imagination the late Mr. Kidwai had realised that profit-rackets in essential consumables like food, which consisted mostly of perishable commodities, could only flourish to the confusion of the normal relations between demand and supply when the profiteer and the administration, as they had under rationing and controls, to act in collusion with each other. If this vicious circle could be broken and the normal relations between demand and supply were provided with opportunities to come into play, the situation was bound to be materially corrected for, in such circumstances, the opportunities for creating an artificial restriction of supplies with a view to price-racketeering would be far less than under open-market conditions. There is no rationing or control as such over foodgrains now, but the process of modified rationing on the one hand, Government procurements for buffer stocks on the other, coupled with the wholly irrational and untenable system of so-called agricultural price supports devised by the Union Food Ministry from time to time, had all combined to create conditions of acute scarcity to the benefit of the profiteer. The Government in West Bengal as well as the Union Food & Agriculture Ministry do not seem to possess either the imagination or the courage and the integrity to fearlessly face the logic of the situation and act accordingly. In a previous issue we have already sought to make a factual assessment of the extent, if any of the deficit in our current food supplies and we have,

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we feel, been able to demonstrate that although locally, so far as our rice output is concerned, there was a certain measure of minor deficiency in supplies in West Bengal over the last two years, for India as a whole the total available production of foodgrains was just sufficient to cover minimal basic demands. The conclusion would seem to be inescapable that where actually the default lies is in Government's apparent unwillingness or inability to come to factual grips with the situation as a whole and to devise necessary action to cope with it, or if it finds itself incompetent to deal with the situation in the only manner in which desirable results may be expected to eventuate—and we feel the question of Government's patent incompeence in this regard is of crucial importance—it should entirely pull out of it altogether and let the natural forces of supply and demand find their own inevitable levels of mutual adjustment, And when we say pull out of it, we mean that Government should also desist from the mischief of so-called agricultural price-supports.

However, to revert to the matter under discussion, the recently developing public action against high prices of essentials, even after the action initiated against fish prices, there were further instances of consumer prices-resistance, the latest being in respect of sweets and condiments, mustard oil and some other varieties of grocieries. In this last instance, the vendors sought to retaliate by indefinitely closing down their shops and by demanding an assurance from the Government that they would be protected from such overt pressures from the public before they would agree to reopen their shops. For virtually three or four days most groceries and a large number of sweet shops in Calcutta remained wholly shut while parleys went on between the trades concerned and Government for finding a common measure of agreement. There is not the least doubt that if there has been undue public pressure upon them, they have largely themselves to blame for having goaded the ordinarily docile, long-suffering community of our common consumers to such extreme measures of pursuasion,—we would not like to call it downright coersion. It may be recalled how the trade had been exploiting its customers on every conceivable occasion. It may be recalled that when Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari during his former regime as the Union Finance Minister clamped down an excise duty on mustard oil, the trade immediately responded by instantly pushing up the retail price of the commodity to something like approximately 500 per cent of the actual incidence of the duty imposed by the Government. What was even more significant is that the retail price of mustard oil came to be stabilized at this higher level for all times to come. We have, of course, heard pleas about the high price of mustard seed, the heavy cost of its transportation from Uttar Pradesh to West Bengal and other ancillary excuses in support of the higher price of the commodity. The tenability of the excuses so preferred in support of the high price can only be determined after a careful examination of the factors involved. But one cannot at the same time get away from the fact that initially to have to pay something like every 50 nP. to the Government, the mustard oil dealer had been squeezing out something like Rs. 10 from his customers. Similarly on every conceivable social or religious occasion, the sweet vendor would exploit the situation by pushing up his price levels for the time being. If, therefore, potential customers were now determined to prevent this kind of profiteering at his expense, especially when the constituted authority of the country and the State would do nothing to intervene in his favour, he cannot be wholly and legitimately blamed for his pressure tactics.

But that there is every danger of the situation very easily deteriorating considerably and endangering the law and order situation in the State, is a fact which does not seem to have been visualized by either authority or the normally law-abiding sections of the community. The first reactions to this newly developing symptom of spontaneous consumer pressures for legitimate deals by the trade concerned have inevitably been very favourable, especially so in

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the face of the Government's practically self-confessed inability to deal with the situation in any way. But successive instances of such organized consumer-pressures that have been repeatedly making themselves apparent have been investing the people with such a measure newly discovered sense of power and confidence, that its effects may prove to be much too heady in the end to remain confined within legitimate, **bona fide** and well-circumscribed limits. We have already underlined the fact, in course of this discussion, that in every instance so far, action by Government to curb profit-rackets has followed, never preceded, spontaneously generated public action in this behalf. This is bound to be construed by certain sections in the community, of whose existence one is always far too painfully aware, as instances of inherent weaknesses in the administration which they may not, eventually, be too slow to exploit to their own illegitimate advantage and to the utter confusion of the primary and very legitimate objectives of such instances of consumer-pressures. On the other hand the temptation to excesses even on the part of some of those who has been espousing the **bona fide** cause of the consumer as against the profiteer, may also prove too strong and easily eventuate a situation of the utmost gravity and danger to the community. The Government, if it really intends to govern, must not, without risk to public order, allow the initiative to be taken out of their hands in the manner they have been doing so over the past one month or more. They may feel a welcome relief that the people, by taking the initiative in these matters, have been absolving them of the unpleasant responsibility of devising and enforcing effective action. But this sense of relief would, we are very much afraid, be bound to be only very short-lived when progressively developing as such forces are now found to be doing, they may pass completely out of legitimate and wholesome bounds as there is very real danger of their doing eventually. Government's role in the whole sorry process, we must acknowledge, is an additional instance of their utter incompetence to carry the basic responsibilities of their office. A Government must govern, or else they must abdicate for those who are more competent to assume the responsibility.

West Bengal Government's Housing Racket

That a Government degenerating into a trader can become as conscienceless as the overt profiteer, seems to have become apparent in the manner in which the West Bengal Government appear to have been running their housing administration in some instances. The Government recently built a housing estate for the purpose of letting flats out on rent to **bona fide** "middle" and "low" income groups in the city in Regent Estates on the south of the city, a few furlongs further south of the Jadavpur University. This Estate, comprising 14 buildings with eight flats each with varying accommodations, have been let out since last January. Adjoining the Estate are 20 one-storeyed houses built by Government which have been sold by them on the instalment plan. There are thus now about 132 families living on this Estate, beside a few others who, having purchased plots of adjoining lands from Government, built their houses there.

On the face of it, therefore, it would appear to be quite a sizeable estate. Unfortunately, no one in authority, either in the Housing Directorate or Construction Board of the State Government, who are said to have been responsible for building the houses and providing other necessary facilities, and the Development Department of the West Bengal Government, who have assumed the role of the landlords in respect of the unfortunate tenants who have been assigned accommodation in this Estate, appear to have thought it necessary to provide such essential facilities as passable roadways, outfalls for storm water or even normal household waste water. Entering their tenancy at the beginning of the dry month of January, most tenants did not visualize what the condition of the place would be likely to prove when most of the flats and houses have been occupied and, especially, when the monsoons set in. Real-

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isation, however, dawned very quickly, for even with the few sharp winter down-pours, all the drains overflowed, the pot-holes-studded roads became submerged and even flat-entrances became water-logged. The tenants naturally drew the attention of the powers that be to the conditions of the Estate—and by now they were easily able to visualize how far worse it would eventually become with the onset of the rainy season—and asked for necessary measures to obviate them, but authority remained calmly impervious and wholly callous to the tenants' importunities in this behalf. Throughout the rainy season all had to wade through ankle-deep water in and out of the Estate to their work and back, while all the time paying a fairly steep rent on the dot.

This, however, was not the worst of their tribulations. Hardly four months or so had elapsed before the first tenant had entered his tenancy, and the soaking-pits of the septic tanks started oozing through their walls and making a stinking foetid mess of the whole neighbourhood. We do not know who were actually responsible for the construction of these septic tanks, but normally a soaking-pit does not need even cleaning once in five years or so provided, of course, that it is built in the manner and with materials appropriate to the purpose. That most soaking-pits would thus begin to first slowly ooze and, eventually, practically run through their walls of brick and cement, is a measure of the kind of skill and honesty that must have been brought to this job. Auhorities' attention was duly drawn to this additional and **extremely dangerous** mess, but nothing was considered to be necessary judging by their inaction, although it constituted an obvious public health menace to the community living in the neighbourhood. Eventually what has been done is to run covered drain pipes off the soaking-pits to the stagnant open drains surrounding the buildings. In the meanwhile, although the rains have been long past, mere household wastes are now causing the stagnant drains to spill over into the adjoining pathways, and no action to make the place really habitable for their rent-paying tenants by the authorities' concerned seems to be anywhere in sight.

Affairs relating to this particular housing estate of the State Government is an additional instance of the utter incompetence, lack of integrity and callous indifference of concerned departments of the administration to their basic responsibilities. We often come across tall claims made by the Government of the State in favour of their especially favoured Development Department. We find that the Development Commissioner appears to have been keenly concerning himself with developing tourism among the people on behalf of the Government of the State. But so far as his primary obligations in respect of the responsibilities and commitments assumed by his Department are concerned, he does not seem to have either the least vestige of awareness or, if he is really aware of them, he seems to be utterly insensible to his duties. If the poor tenants in this Estate had to deal with an ordinary private landlord he might have looked for some kind of redress, but Government being the landlord, even this little hope is denied to them. What else is this, if it cannot be called a government racket? And such incompetence and callousness! We do not see why the public exchequer should be made to support in an obviously comfortable **sinecure** such a patently incompetent and irresponsible officer as the present Development Commissioner of the West Bengal Government?

We feel also that a thorough, sifting, and open public investigation should be immediately ordered by the Government into what part the officers and men of all the departments of the Government,—the Housing Directorate, the Construction Board and any others that may be concerned—had for the defects, deficiencies, mal-constructions and other defaults involved in the building of the Estate, and appropriate action should be taken, wherever responsibility can be proved to have been apportioned, so that it may prove to be an example to the entire augean stable of the Government of West Bengal. This, if the Government are really mindful of their minimum responsibilities, the Government should not hesitate to do without the least possible delay.

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Corruption in High Places

The new Union Home Minister, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, one of the few persons in the Union Cabinet of whose absolute integrity there has never been any question so far, appears to have been making headlines recently with his repeated promises that he would devise immediate, comprehensive and effective measures for rooting out corruption from the administration. The Prime Minister himself, on the occasion of the recent Jaipur session of the A.I.C.C., was reported to have publicly favoured the setting up of institutions like the "Ombudsman" as prevailing in the Scandinavian countries although he was said to have been very careful to underline that such an institution if set up in India, would have to be especially suited to our own institutions and situation as conditions between here and the Scandinavian countries differed very widely. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, a recent press report suggested, has himself been contemplating something like an "Ombudsman" as an instrument in his contemplated drive against corruption in the administration. The "Ombudsman,' for those who may not yet be fully familiar with the meaning of the word, is a sort of a one-man tribunal before whom complaints may be presented by any one in the community against persons in the highest offices, who is fully empowered to investigate such complaints and devise necessary action where such complaints are proved to have been supported by facts. No authority, however high in the Scandinavian countries, are said to be beyond the scope of the "Ombudsman's" powers.

All this may be a very hopeful augery for the future and the expectation may now really be entertained that something "real" and "effective" would now be done to deal with this very serious and presumably developing menace in our administration and our public life. Apart from proven cases of corruption among persons in offices of discretion and power, political and administrative, of which we have had far too inadequate a proportion in relation to the incidence of complaints, indifference to allegations of corruption and nepotism among people in political and administrative authority has been creating an atmosphere of suspicion and doubt throughout the country which is, perhaps, even more objectionable and demoralizing. The only way to dispel such doubts and suspicions whether they have really no foundation in fact, is to investigate with impartial ruthlessness and promptitude every such allegation and mete out meted punishment wherever they have been proved. This, presumably, is what Shri Nanda may be setting out to do at this belated hour and one would wish, in the interest of a clean public life and a wholesome administration, that he may have the utmost success in his new endeavour.

Unfortunately, the background on which he is now contemplating to set out on this new adventure, has been made all too murky and uncertain by what has already gone before. The Government, of which he himself is such an integral part must, in the largest measure, be held accountable for the inimical atmosphere in which he will now be compelled to function in respect of his new anti-corruption campaign. There has been hardly a session of Parliament since the Congress was reinstated into the Government after the last general elections, when some sort of allegation or complaint involving persons in the highest authority, has not been ventilated, but in respect of which Government's attitude has been such as merely to harden suspicion and confirm doubts which, by ordinary human standards, it should have been the first concern of the Government to entirely dispel. Even highest persons in political or administrative authority have been involved, Cabinet Ministers of the Union Government included, but Government's attitude has consistently been either to ignore or by-pass such allegations or complaints with hardly ever caring to meet them categorically and definitely. And with every passing session of Parliament to the next, the volume and scope of such allegations have continued to both snow-ball and widen. There is hardly any doubt that these allegations, complaints and insinuations contain a certain proportion of materials intended to be used as part of a deliberate smearing campaign by certain interested parties or groups against their chosen enemies. But it is only possible to sift how much of it is mere smear, and how much based upon actual and provable fact, only when each such allegation has been fully, formally and openly investigated and, in cases where these are found to be merely part of a false smear-campaign the accuser is frankly and publicly exposed. The logic of such action also inevitably entails the

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obligation to take like open and public action in respect of such allegations which may have been proved to be *prima facie* based upon substantiable facts. It is possible that in certain cases such *prima facie* evidences may not be enough to be really sustainable in a court of law and under the Evidence Act, but it should be a healthy convention for public life and the administration to follow,—a rule which is aready in vogue some of the elder democracies—that wherever *prima facie* such allegations of either corruption or nepotism may have been established, the concerned person should immediately be divested of his public authority.

In actual fact, however, the Government of India, and one cannot shut one's eyes to the indisputable fact that the Prime Minister personally must bear the major share of responsibility in the matter, have consistently been trying to evade issues whenever allegations have been voiced against persons in authority, either in the Government or in the administration. One cannot forget the hard and relentless fight it called for to pursuade the Prime Minister to agree to any investigation of long subsisting complaints against the former Union Oil and Fuel Minister, K. D. Malaviya and, even when he was ultimately obliged to concede it, he would not, despite the heaviest pressure from the Opposition, agree to anything more than a mere informal and wholly confidential proceedings, the results of which would only be conveyed to himself personally. It is obvious that the result of this particular investigation was such, that the Prime Minister, notwithstanding the high public ecomiums paid by him to this Minister, was only too relieved to have been offered the latter's resignation which he appeared to accept with alacrity.

In the matter of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, again, the Prime Minister tried his level best to shut out any investigation for years together, even against the recommendations of a former President of the National Congress and when, at long last, he was ultimately obliged to concede it, with somewhat circumscribed terms of reference, it may be noted,—this is to be a formal one unlike that in the case of K. D. Malaviya—he sought to prejudice the inquiry by singing peans of eulogy to the Punjab Chief Minister in the very same document in which he ordered this inquiry. It is fortunate, that Mr. Justice S. R. Das, former Chief Justice of India, who is to act as the Tribunal in this case, has already publicly stated that nothing that the Prime Minister may have said in praise of the person under investigation, nor what a former Congress President may have said in derogation to him, are going to be taken into the slightest account by himself in carrying out this investigation.

The Government appear, lately, to have developed a new technique in respect of inconvenient questions from the opposition and the treasury benches alike (Mr. Mahavir Tyagi has been consistently harrying the Government with questions), questioning the integrity of persons in the administration or in the Party hierarchy, which they would either wholly ignore or counter with an answer which is no answer at all. Two instances should suffice as illustrations. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia alleged that a certain business firm of Kanpur against which there have been consistent allegations of various malpractices donated a cheque of Rs. 50,000 to the ruling party and that the Prime Minister himself had accepted this cheque on behalf of the Party. A local member from Kanpur, Mr. S. M. Banerjee, rose to correct Lohia and stated that the amount covered by the cheque was not really 50,000 but 51,000. Government did not deign to answer nor seek to explain the circumstances in which this cheque may have been accepted by the Prime Minister. This would only be bound to generate the grossest suspicions against the integrity of even the Prime Minister and it was both folly and iniquity on the part of the concerned Minister to have left this question unanswered. Then, again, when the question was posed if Bakshi Ghulam Mahommed, the former Kashmir Prime Minister, had a substantial bank account in the U.K., the Minister concerned countered with the inane evasion that the questioner ssemed to know more than he did. All these innumerable instances of allegations of corruption and nepotism have already generated such a murky and unhealthy atmos-

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phere of doubt, suspicion, inuendoes and insinuations, that Shri Nanda will be hard put to find a healthy starting off point for his new anti-corruption measures. It seems almost inevitable that nothing short of an "Ombudsman" with his summary powers and infinite discretion could only hope to achieve something substantial in these unfortunate circumstances.

Press Council Bill: An Insult

A major recommendation of the Press Commission of 1954, neither the need nor the desirability of a Press Council in India can be said to have ever been incontestably established. In outlining the purpose and functions of the proposed Council, the Press Commission defined its object, among others, as being mainly to build up a code of conduct for journalists in accordance with the highest professional standards. There can be no question that Indian journalism as a whole has, over the last half a century and longer built up a reputation for both independence and integrity which can unhesitatingly be claimed to conform to the highest standards of the profession anywhere in the civilized world. The need for a Press Council to ensure its maintenance has never really been clearly established. Judging by British experience, where the Press Council has just completed its first decade of existence, it had so little to do that its retiring Chairman has been reported to have put it on record that the greatest achievement of the Council, so far, has been to survive.

We are not, therefore, very much eneamoured of the Press Commission's recommendations for the constitution of a statutory Council as contemplated. Divergent views on this matter notwithstanding, it has now taken the Government of India very nearly ten years to decide to act upon this recommendation and to frame a Bill. According to certain schools of opinion, even within the profession, enlightened guidance on ethical and professional matters and the existence of a public watchdog against possible journalistic excesses, which such a Council might be able to provide, should be both wholesome and helpful. But the ... in which the Bill happens to have ... drafted, can only occasion resentment ... the apprehension that the principal pur... of the intended measure is, by and large, ... so suborn the press as to ... it to toe laid down official ... It is a positive insult to the profes... that the Bill in the statement of its Objec... and Reasons, includes this highly objection... able phrase: "in particular to prevent ... use of any information obtained by journ... ists for purposes of blackmail." No one ... deny that everywhere in the world cases ... blackmail can—and some time do—occ... among unscrupulous operators of a g... press, but the suggestion implicit in th... clause that they are so prevalent in th... country as to merit the particular atten... of a Press Council, could only have be... prompted by the desire to encroach up... the independence of the press.

By and large the Press Council Bill, ... the shape in which it has now be... framed, must be regarded as both ill-con... ceived and far too wide in its scope. The provision, for instance, to exempt the deci... sions of the Council from being questioned in a court of law, appears to us to be a deliberate and overt attempt to take away the very fundamental rights and privileges of the profession which no bona fide journalist can look upon with equanimity. If it is really desired that a statutory Press Council should be a helpful and wholesome adjunct to the profession of journalism in this country, the Bill would require, in our view, to be drast... cally reshaped and redrafted before it can find any very large measure of acceptance.

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTIONS TO "THE MODERN REVIEW"

Subscribers, whose subscriptions expire with the current December number, are requested to send the next year's subscriptions quoting their respective serial subscribing numbers early, by postal order or by money-order. Otherwise, unless countermanded, the January number will be sent to them by V.P.P.

Those who may happen to have sent their subscriptions immediately before the arrival of the V.P.P., should refuse the V.P. packet, as free packets will be sent to them by ordinary book post as soon as the money-order reaches this office.

Manager, "The Modern Review."

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RURAL RECONSTRUCTION AROUND SANTINIKETAN*

By RATILAL MEHTA

India today has been striving very hard to develop economically, to build up a strong and unshakable base which would be able not only to sustain and protect her freedom, but also to advance the all-round well-being, material as well as spiritual, of all her inhabitants.

Ideas of socio-economic advancement had been reverberating in this country since the establishment of British rule, right from the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Romesh Chandra Dutta and Dadabhoy Naoroji who, in their writings and speeches, thoroughly exposed the exploitation of India wrought by that rule. These ideas were further strengthened by ardent reformers like Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Swami Vivekananda, Dayanand Saraswati, Agarkar, Narmad and others who not only expounded the ideals of social and economic justice, along with those of religious reorientation, but also strove to give them some sort of organisational shape and collective effort. Winds of new ideas blowing from the Renaissance-spirited west helped this process.

But the real and countrywide systematic propagation of these ideas and formation of organisations to put them into effect can truly be said to have commenced only with the entry of Gandhiji on the Indian political scene. Along with the fight for freedom, Gandhiji also took the nation towards the socio-economic progress of the people. These latter efforts, as is well-known, were mainly directed towards gradual reforms based on persuasion rather than creating class conflicts and the resuscitation of village life through local effort and cooperation. These ideals remain today to inform the work of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and other official and non-official organisations working towards rural reconstruction.

A Bold Pioneering Venture

In between the earlier spread of ideas and the later organised efforts towards the realisation of them, as shown above, Rabindranath Tagore's contribution stands out as a bold and pioneering venture, serving as a continuing and harmonious link between the two.

His contribution towards new thinking on Nationalism and Internationalism, development of a spirit of unity and cooperation in the country, a spirit of self-respect and self-reliance against the onslaughts of the foreign rule, the judicious inter-mingling of the old and new values and, of course, on art and culture is well-known. The recent centenary celebrations gave us an opportunity to refresh our memories of these ideas and re-evaluate them particularly in the present context.

His contribution to rural reconstruction had, however, not been made so well-known so long. To all those who helped in bringing out the Tagore Centenary Number of **Community** under review, our gratefulness is, therefore, due in full measure for focussing our attention to this aspect of the poet's multi-faceted genius.

Though delayed in publication, this special number of the quarterly is a worthy addition to the centenary publications. It possesses a unique value and significance in that it limits itself to and concentrates on Tagore's contribution to rural welfare, to the extent possible within a small compass.

This quarterly, which is devoted to problems of rural reconstruction and community development, is of recent origin. It is an organ of the Social Education Organisers' Training Centre which, again, is a part of the multifarious activities which have sprung up, after Independence, in and around Sriniketan, the original experi-

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mental rural-work-centre founded by Tagore, as an essential and integral adjunct to Santiniketan, his educational and cultural centre. These activities are now mostly a part of the Community Development Programme of the Government of India and it was certainly a happy idea to select this place for this programme as it provided a good training ground for the workers who could base and develop their work on the results of the experiments which had already been carried on for many years at this pioneering institution.

The New Revelation

In this special issue of **Community,** an effort has been made to collect as much material as was possible, keeping in view the urgency created by the centenary celebrations, bearing on Tagore's contributions to rural reconstruction and the evaluation and impact of this work on latter-day work in that direction. Although the collection could not be comprehensive enough, the effort is most commendable. We shall be looking forward to a more comprehensive narration and evaluation.

The number is divided into two parts. The first one contains six articles written and addresses delivered by Tagore on different occasions on The History and Ideals of Sriniketan, City and Village, Cooperation, Social Reconstruction, Rural Reconstruction and Man Makes His Own Country. These throw a new light on the comparatively less-publicised aspects of the Poet's multi-winged genius. The second part gives the details of work done at and around Sriniketan and evaluation of the results achieved by different writers who were closely connected with the work.

Santiniketan was founded by Tagore in 1901 for the purpose of covering new ground in education in the peace and beauty of Nature, but his interest in rural work was also growing side by side, specially after 1908, when he came in closer contact with the villagers in and around his ancestral estates in and around Shelidah and Potisar (in East Bengal), the responsibility of management of which fell upon his shoulders during his father's later days and on his demise. That contact opened his eyes to a new horizon and strengthened the current of thought which was already flowing through his mind. How he began his work there to organise the villagers and induce them to co-operate in their collective uplift is a fascinating story in itself. This is effectively related in the first address (1939).* The following articles and addresses which give expression to the evolution of his ideas and principles about rural reconstruction and his feelings about the results of his experiments in that direction are of immense interest and importance.

Beginnings

When in 1912, the transaction was made in a small suburb of London by the Poet with Major Sinha of Raipur, the brother of Lord Sinha, for purchasing the old house and its surroundings at Surul, the village around which Sriniketan later grew up, nobody else could have imagined that it would unfold itself into a great centre of rural work. To the Poet, however, as C. F. Andrews testifies, it came like a 'flash'. "My heart sank within me", Andrews says, "as I noticed the dilapidated state into which everything had fallen. Indeed, the land all round the great central house had gone back into the jungle. It was clearly a deadly breedingplace for malarial mosquito."

It was in this house that the Poet launched himself on his new adventure. With the help of a handful of his colleagues and students at Santiniketan, he cleared up the surroundings and began his work in right earnest. Long before he had already felt the urge :

"I hear the sound of Thy feet
Behind everybody, below everybody
Among those who have lost everything
Where live the lowliest of the low
the poorest of the poor." (Gitanjali)

The Poet's Ideas On Reconstruction

According to the Poet, "there are two sides to our village work. We have not only to carry on our activities, but must continue to learn all the time. If we want to

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serve, we must learn." And he said on another occasion: "I cannot take responsibility for the whole of India. I wish to win only one or two small villages. We have to enter into the minds of the villagers, to acquire strength to work in collaboration with them. That is not easy, it is very difficult and will require austere self-discipline." The aim must be, according to him, "to give these few villages complete freedom, education for all, the winds of joy blowing across the villages, music and recitations going on". "Fulfil this idea", the Poet urged his co-workers, "in a few villages only and I will say that these few villages are my India. And only if that is done, will India be truly ours."

On another occasion he clarified: "I am never against progress, but when for its sake civilization is ready to sell its soul I choose to remain primitive in my material possessions, hoping to advance my civilization in the realm of the spirit . . . It is food that nourishes, not money; it is fullness of life which makes one happy, not fullness of purse. Multiplying materials intensifies the inequality between those who have and those who have not, and this deals a fatal wound to the social system through which the whole body is eventually bled to death". These were strong words in those days when western ideas about industrialisation were flowing into the country.

But Tagore was not against mechanisation. He had said: "In the present age of mechanisation our men, cultivators as well as artisans, must accept the machine or stop back and further back until they topple into a perilous chasm".

Importance of Cooperation

But mechanisation requires training and capacity to cooperate. Tagore had said: "He who is lacking in hope must perish. What is not possible for a single man will be possible when fifty unite in a group". He again reminded: "The people must cease to be parochial, they must feel that they are a part of a world society. Secondly, in the economic sphere, their efforts have to be coordinated to the efforts of men elsewhere. In other words, like tall trees these need wide spaces to spread out their roots under the earth and their branches in the air and light. Fruit-bearing will then be easy and profuse and no one will have any worry on that account". How courageous and practical words too, for those days! And they are as true today as they were then.

In a wider context Tagore propounded: "As in the world of nature, so in the world of man, complete uniformity paralyses initiative and makes the intellect idle. But excessive unevenness is equally bad, since it greatly hinders the development of social contact among people by the creation of distance between them. Evil builds its nest under the shadow of such barriers. If the Indian economy is based once more on co-operation the villages which are the nurseries of our civilization will be vitalised and the whole country will gain a new life. Our Sriniketan represents that humble effort on our part to mobilise the total strength of our village folk for the purpose of community development on a co-operative basis".

Experiments

Thus it was that, imbued with these ideals the Leader had spread in their minds, his colleagues from Santiniketan slowly built up the organisational base for work in the surrounding villages. Some faltered on the way but the march went on.

As Hiranmay Banerjee says, things really started producing results in 1921, when an idealist young Englishman, Leonard Elmhirst, took charge of the work at the Poet's special behest. It was at the instance of Elmhirst that the project was named "Village Reconstruction Work" for what the poet wanted was an integrated programme of organised development embracing different aspects of village life and not some disconnected items of work providing material for academic research. "The work was started deliberately without any derived programme of action", Shri Banerjee says, "for Tagore desired that his workers should be left to carry out experiments with an open mind."

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General Policy

"This did not, however, prevent Tagore from taking two important decisions on questions touching on general policy".

The first decision was that the work must go on without outside help. "There is nothing like drawing on one's own resources," Tagore said, "One stands there on one's strength and can build on safe and secure foundation.....It is possible even in a desert to strike a fountain, that can replenish itself. Such a fountain never dries up."

The second decision was that approach to the rural problems should be integrated and not piecemeal. What is more significant is that recreational activities were assigned a place of honour in the programme of work.

Thus the work was continued on these two general principles laid down by the Poet.

This, of course, did not necessarily shut out outside assistance altogether. "Such assistance", as Shri Banerjee says, "has also a place but it should be specifically circumscribed to functions limited to supply of technical knowledge to the villagers..... This, in essence, is the same thing as Extension Service as evolved in the United States", and, in a way, is the pattern followed by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and Community Development Programme, in a much wider field.

The Programme

The main features of the programme of work at Santiniketan were :

(1) To take the problems of the village and the field to the class room for study and discussion and to the experimental farm for solution ;

(2) to carry the knowledge and experience gained in the class room and the experimental farm to the villager ; and

(3) to bring home to them the benefits of associated life, mutual aid and common endeavour. (**Visva-Bharati Quarterly**, Education Number, 1947).

Work at Sriniketan in its early stage was mainly agricultural and cottage-indus trial. But health and organisation of villa ers, both adult and juvenile, soon assum paramount importance. While Elmhirst a Rathindranath, the Poet's son who had be specially sent to U.S. by the Poet to be trai ed in agricultural sciences, took charge o the former, the late Kalimohan Ghosh an Dhirananda Roy looked after the latte Palli Mangal Samitis (village welfare socie ties) and Brati Balakas (dedicated villag scout troops) began to grow in villag around Santiniketan and Sriniketan. Ma of these organisations have survived to thi day, though some may have been faded ou but the idea of solving their own proble through cooperative self-help has bee effectively driven home among the villagers

In successive batches many distinguish ed experts, Indian and foreign, came to thi place to put their ideas into practice on the field which contributed greatly to the growth of manifold activities there.

The health programme helped to reduce the incidence of malaria, small pox and other rural afflictions.

Revival of Cottage Industries

The Brati movement organised the youths—boys and girls—and infused the spirit of service and discipline as also supplemented the education of primary school boys. Later on adult education, both literacy and fundamental, was also taken up. All this brought the workers in close contact with the villagers which served to form a bond of close relationship between the two.

Training of workers in all these activities was an important item in the programme. Training camps were held once or twice every year for 10 to 30 days. In course of time thousands of villagers were trained in its training camps,—Bratidals, Shikshak Satras (model school for boys) Shikshak Charcha (village teachers training aca demy), Shilp Sadana (training-cum-produc tion centre for cottage industries), etc.

The programme for the revival of de caying cottage industries included training of craftsmen in improved methods of pro-

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duction, thus rehabilitating them. Leather work, weaving, wood-work and blacksmithy, pottery, book-binding, tailoring, embroidary, batik work, basketry, lace-work, toy-making and many other crafts grew up. Lately a course of electrical and mechanical training for village youth was also taken up. These crafts initially formed only a part of a training programme for broadening the base of rural economy. But, later on, attention had to be paid to the marketing side also. So the Shilpa Sadana arranged for the marketing of articles produced. Thus it became a training-cum-production-cum-marketing, centre and earned name and prestige for the quality of its articles.

Agriculture, dairy and poultry, were the foremost activities of Sriniketan, as stated above. Mechanical farming, rotation of crops and introduction of new crops, improving breeds of cattle, and of poultry birds, etc., were the main items of the programme which helped in providing more income to the agriculturists and in supplying the villagers their primary needs. Later on the Mayurakshi canals solved in a large measure the problem of irrigation. With the establishment of the National Extension Service Block, the functions of Sriniketan in agriculture have been taken over by this Government agency.

Education

As regards education, Tagore had started a school under late Santosh Kumar Mazumder to train village boys on his original ideas reoriented with a view to equip them for life as also for social service. This was named Shiksha-Satra. Nai Talim, the Gandhian idea of basic education, co-relating liberal education with creative manual work was also incorporated. Shiksha-Satra has now become a co-educational secondary school following the Visva-Bharati curricula of Higher Secondary Education with arts, science and crafts. The Shiksha Charcha now imparts basic training to matriculate school teachers. In course of its existence this institution has sent out thousands of trained teachers carrying the message of Tagore to scores of villages. The Loka Shiksha Samsad which was started 25 years ago, imparts education to those who, otherwise, attend schools and colleges, through correspondence at different levels, from primary to graduate level. Some educated persons in each centre help the learnees to study the books recommended by the Samsad and conduct examinations annually, question papers being sent from Visva Bharati. Certificates are granted to successful candidates.

All these various activities have also helped in eradicating the many social evils which infested the area years ago, like drinking, untouchability, child marriage, dowry system, etc.

Basic for Community Development

Since 1952, many of the activities were incorporated in the Community Development Programme of the Central Government. And as Shri S. K. Dey, the present Union Minister for Community Development, Cooperation and Panchayati Raj rightly says: "The work of Rabindranath Tagore with his co-workers offered rich lessons for the current programme of Community Development. The seed sown by this great son of India in a few obscure villages has to be extended now on the wider horizon. Fellow workers engaged in this task need communion with him. We are today the messengers of the Gospel of Gurudev to the doors of the forgotten millions."

An Appraisal

The article on "Lessons of Sriniketan" by Sugata Das Gupta, Director of Studies and Research in Sociology Central Institute, Mussourie, is a valuable contribution to this special number, attempting as it does probably the first systematic appraisal, in detail, of the work done at Sriniketan, forces behind its success and causes of its several failures, a study of the results of the surveys made so far, and the role of Sriniketan in the present context.

Although the work at Sriniketan has been essentially experimental, it has evolved certain basic principles which have been

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tested during all these years and provide rich guiding points for the future. "These if properly practised, could throw their cumulative effect on the non-material development of the values of aspirations and social power of any Community".

Basic Principles Evolved

These principles, as summed up by Sugata Das Gupta, would bear reproduction :

(1) The onus of understanding the village and its needs must devolve on the local people themselves, the external experts and consultants should only assist and aid.

(2) Welfare planning involves constant coordination of human factors and has to be effected not so much by the technical knowledge of the specialist experts but by their personal contacts and wisdom born of sympathy.

(3) Boys and girls of a community, once stimulated by a desire to educate themselves and grow, can in this context play a very major role inasmuch as the indirect effect of their activities might cause revolutionary changes in the age-old customs and attitudes of their parents.

(4) What is most important in the matter of village development is not so much the knowledge of agricultural science or rural technology but training in observation and methods of approach.

(5) The success lies in the ability of a worker to make a definite contact with a specific social group or area and prove his utility so that the latter could win the confidence of the community and set its pace.

Instructive Lessons

Although, as Shri Das Gupta, admits, a more effective appraisal of the work should await further study, "the lessons of success of this sublime human and intensely democratic movement for planned growth have been highly instructive and its failures have almost in equal measure led the way to evolution of certain basic approaches and methods which are bound to serve as a beacon light to generations of rural social workers of our country", and, as he adds, "that Tagore became a poet of India, and the man of her altural destiny may in no small measure be due to the impact on him of the villages of India and of their time-honoured civilisation".

A bibliography, arranged chronologically, by Shri Chittaranjan Das, a scholar of Rabindra Sadan at Visva Bharati and author of Tagore Encyclopaedia, gives a valuable guidance to original sources of the Poet's writings and speeches and letters on rural reconstruction. It is not exhaustive, but the author promises to continue in this line for which the students of sociology and field workers should be grateful to him.

The special number has another attraction too. It reproduces, perhaps for the first time, some rare photographs showing Tagore's Surul Kothi (Residence), the main office building at Sriniketan, Tagore at study in his room in this Kothi, Tagore addressing the villagers and workers at Sriniketan, Tagore with his workers and the various activities of Sriniketan.

Going through this number, therefore, is immensely rewarding, specially for those like this writer who had the privilege of having witnessed the Poet in person engaged in the resurging activities both at Santiniketan and Sriniketan and felt highly exhilerated, and arouses nostalgic memories.

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* Community : Vol. II. No. 1 : Tagore Centenary Number : Editor : Binoy Bhattacharjee. Published by : Chirabrata Sircar Social Education 'Organisers' Training Centre, Visva Bharati, P.O. Santiniketan, Dt. Birbhum, West Bengal, pp. 114. price Rs. 2.

* See also Khadi Gramodyog, January, 1963, p. 298.

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON

By PRAFULLA C. MUKERJI,
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For more than ten years the United States of America has been passing through a great crisis in its race relations. Though legally emancipated from slavery one hundred years ago, the vast majority of the Negroes of America, for practical purposes, live as second class citizens, deprived, in the Southern States, of most of the rights and privileges enjoyed by the white persons. This racial discrimination is by no means a monopoly of the South. In the South the Negroes are discriminated against by law, while in the North they are done so by unwritten law, by tradition and for economic reasons. In almost every field of activity the white majority have put restrictions and limitations on the colored minority. For many years the Negroes had resented this discrimination, but feeling helpless had accepted it almost as inevitable. In India this feeling should be quite understandable, for there the people have gone through almost a similar stage under foreign rule. But time came when the Negroes of America were no longer willing to accept their existing humiliating position. Under very able and dedicated leadership they demanded their constitutional and human rights. A great movement was started to eliminate the many restrictions and discriminations. But it met with opposition, not only from the white residents of the Southern States but also from their governors and other political leaders. This opposition manifested itself by violence, murder of Negroes, bombing of their homes, churches and meeting places. The culprits were seldom apprehended or punished.

Under these circumstances, the most peaceful and orderly 'March on Washington' on August 28, 1963 by about two hundred and fifty thousand persons from all parts of the country, to demonstrate for civil rights for all the people, was the most significant event in American history in this century. Fully two-thirds of the total number of marchers were Negroes.

In order to appreciate fully the significance of this great March by the Negroes and Americans side by side, often with interlocked arms, it may be well to examine the background of the Negro inhabitants of America and their long struggle for a better life. As is well known, hundreds of thousands of Negroes were brought here as slaves from Africa, when America was a British Colony. They were sold or exchanged for goods in the markets, and were treated as chattel goods and hence possessed no human rights. That situation continued for a ong time, even after America won her independence from England. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and most of the prominent people of their time had slaves. Perhaps even Jefferson, who was one of the most democratic and clear-thinking men of his time, was evidently not thinking of the slaves, when he wrote the Declaration of Independence, which was adopted on July 4, 1776: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Because the slave was the property of his or her master, he or she could get no redress from a court of law. Hence whipping or kicking of the slaves by their owners, was a common practice. A well known case, that of Dred Scott, can be cited as an example. Dred Scott was born of Negro slaves in 1810 in Missouri. He was owned by an army surgeon, named Dr. Emerson. Missouri was one of the several States of the South, where slavery was legal. Dred Scott married a Negro girl, also a slave of Dr. Emerson and they had two children. In 1834 Dr. Emerson took them to Illinois and then to Wisconsion. Slavery was illegal both in Illinois and in Wisconsin. In 1838 Dred Scott and his family were taken back to St. Louis in Missouri. As mentioned before, it was customary for the slave owners to whip or kick their slaves on the slightest pretext. Dred Scott was frequently subjected to this kind of punishment. A promoinent lawyer named Francis P. Blair, who

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was opposed to slavery, persuaded Dred Scott to sue his master for assault and battery in the Circuit Court of St. Louis. Blair and his group supplied the funds and legal assistance. The Circuit Court held that Scott's residence in Illinois and Wisconsion, where slavery was illegal and hence "Free Soil" had made him free and there was no legal power to enslave him again. Appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of Missouri, which reversed the decision, saying that Dr. Emerson, the owner of Scott, had made only temporary change of domicile and that his 'Property' was held according to the laws of his permanent domicile, and that Scott's slave status was merely in abeyance and fully resumed on his return to Missouri. In the meantime Scott and his family were sold to one John Standford of New York. Standford was sued for assault and battery in the Federal Circuit Court of Missouri. Standford denied the charge, saying that he "gently laid hands" on him to coerce him, as was his right toward a slave. The court upheld Standford's plea. Scott's counsel appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court decided against Dred Scott. Chief Justice Taney with the concurrence of six other judges, wrote the decision but withheld it for almost a year (1856-57) on account of the adverse political reaction it might have in the North. The decision as finally given, was in substance : (1) African Negroes had never been recognized in American law or custom as persons; (2) American Constitution recognized slaves as chattel property and hence they had no right to sue. Shortly after Dred Scott and his family were sold to Calvin Chaffee of Massachusetts, who freed them in 1857. (The facts are taken from Encyclopedia Americana).

The abolitionist movement had already been started in the North with great vigour under the leadership of men like William Lloyd Garrison and Frederck Douglass. Garrison, through his famous journal 'Liberator,' first published in 1831, kept up the crusade for a long time for the abolition of slavery. He received great inspiration from Benjamin Lundy the well known Quaker abolitionist. Wendell Phllips, the great orator from Harvard University, Theodore Parker, the well known Unitarian minister of Boston and Theodore Weld, a Christian evangelist, lent their voices in support of abolition. Well known intellectuals and reformers of New England, such as Emerson, Hawthorne, Bryant, Lowell, W... Longfellow, as well as Walt Whitman of ... York, used their pen for the abolition of ... Finally, the publication of the novel 'Uncle T... Cabin' by Harriet Beecher Stowe and the ... of Virginia by John Brown with only a ... number of followers and at the risk of his ... created a stir in the country. Many slaveowners in the South, in remorse freed their ... among them was Harriet Tubman a woman ... indomitable courage and who was called '... of her people.' She led some three hundred Negroes from the South by hazardous ... to freedom. Many other Negroes escaped ... the South and found shelter in the North. ... created a cleavage between the North and ... South. The South resented North's interference in its 'rights' of owning slaves. Abraham Lincoln from Illinois, a staunch abolitionist, was elected President of the United States in 1860. He pleaded with the people that "a nation can not live ... half free and half slave." But the Southern States were adamant. In early 1861 they called a convention and unanimously decided to secede and to form a Union of Confederate States of America. South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Louisiana joined this Confederation and they elected Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as its President. Very soon Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina also joined in; only prompt action on the part of President Lincoln prevented Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri from seceding.

Lincoln was elected on a platform, promising abolition of slavery. Now he had the tremendous task of not only keeping his promise but also saving the country from division. To save the Union the country was plunged into a fratricidal Civil War which lasted for four years, from spring of 1861 to spring of 1865, the result of which is well known. The slaves were liberated and the Union was saved.

Proclamation of Emancipation

In January, 1, 1863, when the Civil War was still raging, President Lincoln issued his famous Proclamation of Emancipation : "I, Abraham Lincoln, Presdent of the United States of America ... do by virtue of the power in me invested . . . and in accordance on this first day of January, 1863 and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaim

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order and declare that all persons held as slaves within the designated States and parts of States, henceforwed shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States of America, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of the said persons . . . ".

This Proclamation of Emancipation was issued by President Lincoln under his war powers and was not, as a matter of fact, effective; for though the Negroes became legally free, they seldom enjoyed the fruits of free citizenship. That is the reason of the present struggle. But the proclamation served one great purpose. It stirred the imagination of all who loved liberty, just as Lincoln's famous Gettysburg address on November 19, 1863 fired the imagination of the peoples of the world : "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal . . . that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

One hundred years have passed since the Proclamation of Emancipation and great change has taken place in the lives of the Negroes in America. They have proved that the so called superiority of the white people, is a myth. Those amongst the Negroes who were fortunate enough to get a chance, have made their mark in American life and American history in various spheres of activities. Only a few may be mentioned :

Frederick Douglass—(1817-1895). His mother was a Negro slave. In young age, he was bought and sold by several white slave owners; but he managed to buy and read books by secretly blacking boots. Once he tried to escape but was caught and put to jail; but finally at the age of 21, masquerading as a sailor, he escaped to New York and to other New England States. There he worked with Garrison and other abolitionist leaders. He became a brilliant speaker in the cause of abolition of slavery, and published "Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave." His friends became afraid that his life was in danger and helped him to go to England and Ireland, where he gave a series of lectures to enlist the sympathy of the people of those countries for the cause of the abolitionists in America. His friends there raised one hundred and fifty pounds to free him from Fugitive Slave Law. He came back to America and published a journal called "Frederick Douglass' Papers" for fifteen years. After the Proclamation of Emancipation, he served the Government in many important and responsible positions.

Booker T. Washington—(1856-1915)—Born of Negro slaves in a plantation in Virginia. After emancipation worked in coal mines. Then attended night school, while working in daytime. Then studied at Hampton Agricultural Institute, working as janitor to pay for room and board. Graduated with Honors from the Hampton Institute in 1875. He worked for twenty years as the head of the Tuskegee Industrial Institute. There he built forty buildings, using the labour of self-supporting Negro students. Harvard University and Dartmouth College gave him Honorary Doctorate. He published several books : The future of American Negro—Up from Slavery, Character Building, Putting the most into Life, My Larger Education, Life of Frederick Douglass. He died n 1915.

George Washington Carver—(1864-1943)—He was born of slave parents, in Missouri. Received M.Sc in Chemistry from the University of Iowa, and Doctorate from Tuskegee Institute. He taught at the same Institute. He made elaborate research work in Chemistry and Botany. He made some three hundred different products : His most important research work was on Peanut, cheese, milk, coffee, flour, ink, dyes, soap, insulating materials, sweet potato, vinegar, molasses and rubber.

William E. Du Bois (1868-1963)—Negro Educator and Author. Born in Massachusetts. Received Doctorate from Fisk and Harvard Universities. Was professor of Economics and History at Atlanta University. Was Director of National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Peoples. Editor of "Crisis" (1910-1932). Head of the Department of Sociology, Atlanta University (1933-1944). Author of "African Slave trade in U.S.A., Philadelphia Negro, Black Reconstruction, Studies of Negro Problems, Dusk of Dawn, Color and Democracy, World and Africa.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson—Born of Negro parents. President of Howard University at Washington, Author of several books.

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Dr. Ralph Bunche—Deputy Secretary General in charge of Political matters of the United Nations.

Robert C. Weaver—A distinguished lawyer. Federal Administrator of Housing and Home Financing Agency.

Langston Hughes—Well known Poet and Author. Author of 'Black Boy' etc.

James Baldwin—Noted Novelist and Author, dynamic leader of Civil Disobedience movement. Author of 'Go Tell it on the Mountain,' 'Another Country,' Nobody knows my Name,' 'Fire Next Time.'

A view of the crowd, estimated to have exceeded 250,000, facing the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, where the "March On Washington" culminated. With the Washington Monument and a view of the U.S. Capitol in the background, here the voice of America, made its united demand heard for a recognition in fact as well as in theory the famous declaration embodied in the testament of American Independence that "all men are created equal."

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A Philip Randolph—Born in Florida. Son of a preacher. Was arrested during World War I for opposing U.S. entry into that war. Graduated from City College of New York. Vice-President of American Federation of Labour, President of Negro-American Labour Council. Is a Shakespearean scholar. Chairman of the March on Washington meeting.

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King—Received Doctorate from Boston College in 1955. Founder and President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Taught in India for some time. Leader of the Civil Disobedience movement. A dynamic leader of his people. He preaches and practises non-violence.

Marion Anderson—One of the greatest Contralto singers of America. Well known throughout the world. Visited India on a singing tour. A star in the Metropolitan Opera of New York.

Paul Robeson—Most gifted singer and actor. His portrayal of Shakespeare's Othello and Eugene O'Neill's Emperor Jones was outstanding. His presentation of Ballad for Americans and his rendering of "Old Man River" thrilled hundreds of audiences in America and Europe including the Soviet Union.

Leontyne Price—One of the rising signers of America. Already a Nezzo-Soprano star of the Metropolitan Opera. Her presentation of Porgy and Bess has captivated large audiences on both sides of the Atlantic including U.S.S.R.

Sidney Poitier—A well known actor—He played outstanding parts in Raising in the Sun and The Defiants.

Brock Peters—A rising actor. He played the part of the King in 'King of the Dark Chamber' by Rabindranath Tagore, for eight months in New York City.

Harry Belafonte—A popular Folk singer. Also popular in films.

This only proves that if all restrictions and obstructions are lifted and they are given equal and adequate opportunity, the Negroes can contribute fully not only their share towards the progress of the country but can actually help to improve the attitude and behaviour of the Americans towards the world at large. This would benefit America as well as the rest of the world. But unfortunately for America and the world, the Negroes do not enjoy these rights, and consequently are greatly hampered in their progress. But the test came during the last two world wars, when the Negroes were subjected to military conscription in the same way as the rest of the white population of the country. In the military establishments the Negroes demanded and by and large received, according to special regulations, equal treatment and less discrimination than in civilian life, though they were handicapped in their eligibility for promotion, on account of lack of equal education. Hence at the end of the Second World War, the Negroes, supported by the liberal and progressive elements in the country, started a great movement for desegregation in public schools and equal opportunity of education. It soon became a mass movement throughout the country, specially in the South, where segregation is rigid not only in schools but almost in every walk of life. But as the movement got momentum, the opposition, supported and led by the Chief Executive and other political leaders, such as Senators, and members of the House of Representatives and State Assemblies in the Southern States, grew in violence. Inspite of all attempts by the Negro leaders to keep the movement non-violent, the opposition often took violent action; beating, stoning, killing the Negroes and burning or bombing their homes, meeting places and churches became common.

Famous Supreme Court decision of May, 1954

Finally a test case was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, to find out whether a State has the right to force segregation in a public school. Distinguished lawyers of the Civil Liberties Union of American co-operated with the lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored peoples (N.A.A.C.P). The Southern States were represented by their Attorney-Generals, who pleaded for States' Rights. The Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices Douglas and Black rendered a unanimous decision on May 18, 1954 to the effect: (1) That the doctrine of 1896 which allowed "Separate but Equal" arrangements in

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schools, is not valid. (2) That segregation is inherently unequal. (3) That racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

Immediately after the Supreme Court decision, some of the States took steps to desegregate their public schools, while ohers stubbornly refused to comply, taking refuge in the claim that they were preserving the rights of the States to make their own laws. One flagrant case was that of Little Rock in Arkansas in 1956. Here Orval E. Faubus, the Governor of the State, took personal charge of obstructing the Negro students from entering any school for the whites. He used the State militia for this purpose. The struggle lasted for about three months. The Negro leaders again took the case to Federal District Court for an injunction against Governor Faubus. The Federal District Court ordered the Governor to allow the Negro students to register in the schools of their choice. But Governor Faubus still refused to honor the verdict. Finally President Eisenhower ordered Federal troops to Little Rock to enforce the decision of the Suprme Court. Under the protecion of Federal troops the schools of Little Rock were desegregated. But even up to the present time many schools in Arkansas, under some pretext or other are not yet desegregated. It is evident that complete desegregation will not be accomplished until public conscience is aroused.

Just a few months ago, Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta, Georgia, one of the rare liberal executives in the South, testifying before the Senate Commerce Committee, said, "A hundred years ago the abolishment of slavery won the United States the acclaim of the whole world, when it made every American free in theory. Now the elimination of segregation, which is slavery's stepchild, is a challenge to all of us to make every American free, in fact, as well as in theory, and again establish our nation as the true champion of the free world". Unfortunately, this spirit is not yet wide spread in the nation. To arouse the public conscience in favour of this spirit, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, the President of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, started a few years ago, a non-violent Civil Disobedience campaign. He followed very closely the methods used by Mahatma Gandhi both in South Africa and in India, and he met with the same kind of callous opposition. He was attacked, mobbed, stoned, beaten and ... to prison many times, but undaunted and ... Gandhi-like dedication, Dr. King continued ... path he had chosen. He mobilized the Negro ... for passive resistance against discrimination ... only in schools but also in hotels and restaur... theatres and other amusement places, ... places, trains and buses and more specially ... jobs, where they are hurt the most. In ... places the movement was supported by the ... liberals, school and college teachers and ... churchmen. Today Rev. Dr. Martin Luther K... is a great moral force in the country. In spite ... stubborn opposition and persecution, inch by ... he is overcoming this miasma of prejudice ... hate.

In 1956 Dr. King started his famous ... paign against segregation in public buses and ... crimination in restaurants and shops in the ... of Montgomery in Alabama. They boycotted ... buses and picketed the restaurants and shops. T... were, of course, subjected to cruel persecution. They were stoned, beaten, fire-hosed (this type ... torture was used by the police to disperse the young people, mostly Negroes, with some white students—on picket line, also on sit-in strikers). In some instances the State-troopers let loose police dogs, which ferociously attacked the defenceless youthful picketers and sit-in strikers. Those who still persisted in holding their line, were put to ... students—on picket line, also on sit-in strikers). In the last few years , at least fifty Negro homes, churches and meeting places have been burnt or bombed in the State of Alabama alone. Only on Sunday, September 15 last a Negro Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, was bombed during Sunday School Service. Four young Negro girls were killed. Two other young Negro boys were shot to death the same day, one, by a policeman who claimed that the boy had thrown sones at a passing automobile, while the other boy was shot in the back as he was riding a bicycle. At least fifteen other Negroes were injured, some seriously. Two weeks previous to this, a bomb destroyed the home of a Negro businessman, named Mr. G... Gaston, owner of a few hotels and motels. Mr. Gaston was in no way connected with the Civil Disobedience movement. However, it was stated that the reason his home was bombed was that Dr. Martin Luther King, the leader of the move... ment, had stayed in one of Mr. Gaston's motels

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during the campaign. A week before that the home of Mr. Arthur D. Shores, a prominent Negro lawyer, was bombed. Mrs. Shores was injured and most of the furniture was destroyed.

Some time before these tragic incidents, Mr. Medgar Evers, the Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples in the State of Mississippi, who is well-known in the country as a most peaceful man of outstanding character and ability, mild and soft-spoken and respected by Negroes and whites alike, went to Alabama to help Dr. King in negotiating a just setlement with government officials. He was shot to death in the street. There was widespread grief over Mr. Ever's death. The American Civil Liberties Union at its meeting of the Board of Directors, passed a resolution unanimously : "The murder of Medgar Evers, Mississippi Field Secretary of N.A.A.C.P., is an ugly stain on American democracy. It symbolizes in the starkest form, the hate and terror which motivate the racial bigot in his wasteful effort to obstruct the inevitable end of racial discrimination and segregation. We, in the American Civil Liberties Union, inspired by Mr. Ever's brave example, pledge our renewed efforts to hasten the day of ultimate victory."

Dr. Martin Luther King led a similar campaign also in Jackson, Mississippi. There also he met the same kind of opposition and persecution. But these valiant fighters are still working hard and are determined to win. President Kennedy declared that he had ordered F.B.I. (Federal Bureau of Investigation) agents to investigate these crimes. These F.B.I. agents are supposed to be the most efficient detective officers but curiously enough the criminals are still at large. This unwillingness or inability or slowness on the part of the authorities to cope with the situation, has disturbed many thoughtful Americans. Most of the prominent newspapers of the country including *New York Times*, *New York Herald-Tribune* and *New York Post*, strongly condemned these atrocities, holding the chief executives like Governor Wallace of the Southern States, responsible for the position they have taken with regard to discrimination and segregation. It should be mentioned that *New York Times* and *New York Post* have been conducting a systematic crusade against these evils.

Mr. James Baldwin the prominent Negro author, in commenting on the death of the Negro children in the bombed church of Birmingham, said with a heavy heart : "The crimes committed in Birmingham last Sunday must be considered as one of the American answers to the 'March on Washington'. I emphasize the word American, because the atrocities were committed in an American city, at the indirect but extremely vocal instigation of an American Governor, under the eyes and with the complicity of American police. ..... One cannot allow the Birmingham atrocities to be the definitive American answer to the aspirations of the American Negro. The most reactionary forces in our country today are determined to smash the patience and break the will of the Negro people in order to create a situation which will justify the use of martial law. It is not enough therefore, to mourn the dead children. What we must do is oppose and immobilize the power that put them to death. If we do not do this, then we all will meet the same fate as the children or worse. .....".

In spite of the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in public schools is illegal, the opposition and struggle in the Southern States are still going on. The first serious trouble was developed in the University of Mississippi, where James Meredith a Negro student was refused admission by order of Governor Ross R. Barnett, though the Federal District Court directed the University to admit him. Finally when the University was forced to admit Meredith, a riot broke out in which two persons were killed and over three hundred persons were injured. President Kennedy had to despatch Federal troops to restore order.

The State of Alabama is perhaps the worst in this respect, though other States like Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, even Virginia have not given up their opposition. So, naturally the recent focus of the struggle was Alabama, specially Birmingham, the scene of many battles in the Civil Rights conflict. There had been violence and death in the city. George C. Wallace was elected Governor of the State on his public campaign promise that he would keep the schools of Alabama free from integration, even if he had to stand at the doors of the schools. Last June that is what he tried to do. The Federal District Court

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served an injuuction on the Board of Education to desist from interfering in the admission of Negro students in the erstwhile white schools. President Kennedy also, pursuant to his constitutional duty, requested Governor Wallace to allow the Negro students to be admitted into the schools, as otherwise he would have to use federal troops to enforce the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and the Federal District Court of Alabama. But Wallace defied both the request of the President and the injunction of he Federal District Court, claiming that he would use his constitutional right as chief executive of the State to prevent the schools of his State from integration. At the appointed time, Governor Wallace ordered the State Troopers to surround the University of Alabama in Birmingham and prevent two Negro students from entering the University building to register, and he himself stood at the entrance. President Kennedy in the meantime took immediate steps to federalize the same State Troopers and ordered the commanding officer to clear the road for the admission of the two Negro students. The Commanding Officer had hardly any other alternative but to comply. Disobeying the President, who is also the Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Army, would be high treson and would inevitably mean court-martial and death. He wrote the President's order on a piece of paper and handed it to the Governor. Without any word Governor Wallace left the place and the two Negro students were admitted. Perhaps, that is what Wallace wanted. He wished to stand as a martyr and a hero before the racist South. He vowed to continue the battle against school integration.

Beginning in September of this year, Governor Wallace again pursued that effort. He deployed his forces—the blue-shirted and helmeted armed State Troopers—in the four cities of Alabama—Birmingham, Tuskegee, Mobile and Huntsville, in which School integration was scheduled to begin as the schools opened after summer vacation. The troopers threw cordons around many schools, including the High Schools and ordered the schools closed for 3 or 4 days. While some of the newspapers and some prominent citizens of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, etc., criticised Governor Wallace for his futile tactics, the majority of the people, as can be surmised, still upheld him. President Kennedy made a radio appeal to the people of Alabama to integrate the schools. He said that he would be forced to intervene if the schools are not integrated peacefully. In the meantime Federal District Court denied a plea by a group of white people in Birmingham, backed by Governor Wallace, for an injunction halting integration. In a separate action, Negro leaders in the same city, brought suit to force the Governor to let the schools open. However, after two days Governor Wallace withdrew the State Troopers from the schools. The schools opened that day and were integrated but not until there were some fights. One Negro was killed and at least 20 were injured. A bomb shattered the home of a Negro Civil Rights leader. There had been reports of disturbances from many Southern States and also from other parts of the country including even New York, New Jersey and Illinois.

Among the States where school integration took place for the first time this autumn are South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland, Tennessee, Florida, Texas and partially Alabama and Mississippi.

During all these struggles it became apparent to many, including President Kennedy, that present laws are not quite adequate to deal with the problems of segregation and discrimination. So, last march President Kennedy sent to Congress the skeleton of a Civil Rights Bill, to meet some of the difficulties. The President's message to Congress may be summarised as follows:

The basic reason for equality of rights and equality of opportunity is not merely the elimination of economic waste but because they are just and moral.

1. The Right to Vote—The right to vote in a free election is the most precious right and it must not be denied on the grounds of race, color. It is a potent key to achieving other rights of citizenship. Must have standard tests, practices, and procedures, for applicants seeking to register and vote.

2. Right to Education—Supreme Court of the United States has already ruled that State Laws requiring or permitting segregated schools violate the constitution. That ruling was both legally and morally right. Full authority of the Federal Government should be placed behind the achievement of school desegragation. The outmoded concept of "separate but equal" should be eliminated from statute books.

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3. Extension and expansion of the Commission of Civil Rights—This Commission established by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, expires this year. This Commission should continue as a Civil Rights clearing house, and should investigate and recommend procedures to enforce laws for voting, education, employment, housing and administration of justice. It should also provide guidance and assistance in devising workable programs for civil rights.

4. Employment—To eliminate racial discrimination in equal employment opportunity. Federal Government as employers must pursue a policy of non-discrimination in employment and promotion. Career civil servants are to be employed and promoted on the basis of merit and not of color, in every agency of the Federal Government including all regional and local offices.

5. Public Accommodation—All citizens must get equal treatment in the use of public Accommodations. No person, irrespective of race or color must be barred from restaurants, hotels, theatres, recreational areas and other public facilities.

6. Other uses of Federal Funds—The Executive branch of the Federal Government will stand behind the principle of equal opportunity without segregation or discrimination in the employment of Federal funds, facilities and personnel.

Experienced opinion as expressed in public press and also by Negro and other leaders, is that the suggestion of the President does not go far enough and that the country needs a stronger civil rights bill. However the matter is now before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives of which Mr. Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, N.Y. is the chairman. Mr. Celler is well-known as a progressive. (It may be recalled that Mr. Celler gave a memorial address from the floor of the House of Representatives on Rabindranath Tagore, during the poet's centenary year.) It is expected that under his supervision and that of Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, we may get an adequate civil rights bill. All reports indicate that there are enough votes in both houses to pass such a bill. But the danger lies in the fact that the Congressmen from the Southern States most likely would start a filibuster with the intent of killing the bill through obstruction, unless public sentiment could be created throughout the country in favour of the bill and against such a filibuster.

It was mainly for the purpose of creating such a sentiment in the country that the 'March on Washington' on August 28 of this year was organized. The March was well-planned ; it was orderly and peaceful. Most of the credit must go to the sponsors, for their wisdom and thoughtfulness, though many agencies cooperated with them. About six thousand policemen supplied by the city of Washington, helped to keep the traffic moving slowly and steadily. From early morning the demonstrators started to pour in the nation's capital by plane, train, bus, automobile and on foot, in a stream, singing similar songs and expressing similar hopes.

As arranged, my wife and I went with Rev. Dr. Donald Harrington, Minister of New York Community Church (Unitarian) and members of his congregation in one of their chartered buses. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, who may be remembered in India as the friend of Tagore and Gandhi and who had cooperated with us in our struggle for independence, preceded Dr. Harrington as the Minister of this Church. We met at the Church at 4 o'clock in the morning. After a short and appropriate service we boarded the bus and by 5 A.M. we were already on the highway on our way to Washington. The bus was filled to capacity. Negroes constituted almost half of the group. Everybody was in excellent mood and sang most of the way, songs specially composed for the occasion :

The man in the White House
Has offered a bill
Now we want some action
On Capitol Hill.

We shall not
We shall not be moved
Just like a tree is planted by the water
We shall not be moved.

We want Civil Rights Legislation, we want it right now
Glad tidings we will sing, if Justice you will bring
We all want our cup of Justice, right here and right now.

We shall overcome, we shall overcome today
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe, we shall overcome today.

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Participants in the "Washington March" proceeding along Constitution Avenue on their way from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial.

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Thus, our bus and, at least, one thousand more buses from New York City, sped through the highways to Washington. Men and women, young and old, all sang :

"We shall overcome today"

We reached Washington at about 10.30 A.M. and then left the bus to join with thousands of others and slowly marched while singing and carrying thousands of placards which said :

We want end of bias Now
We March for integrated Schools Now
We demand our vote Now

We want decent Housing Now
We demand end of Police Brutality Now
We March for Jobs for all Now

When we reached the Mall, we gathered around the Washington Monument first then at about 1. P.M. at the Lincoln Memorial, where the principal rally was to be held. The number of Marchers by that time, according to announcement from the platform, had swelled to about two hundred and fifty thousand. Well-known singers were singing stirring songs ; Miss Marion Anderson sang her beloved spiritual : "He has got the whole world in His hands." Then Mahalia Jackson sang one of her spirited Negro songs, which touched everybody. Then Miss Baez sang "Little baby don't you cry, you know your mama won't die. All your trouble will soon be over." Then Peter, Paul and Mary the noted folk-singing trio sang some of their popular and appropriate folk-songs. By this time the huge platform under the shadow of the majestic statue of President Lincoln, was filled with the leading participants, the sponsors, the organizers, Mayors of many cities, including Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York City, some Governors, over one hundred members of both Houses of Congress, among them Senator Javits and Congressmen Celler and Ryan of New York, and many church and labor leaders. The sponsors were :

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.—Founder and President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Had been in jail at least twelve times. (Negro)

A. Philip Randolph—President of Negro American Labor Council. (Negro)

James Farmer—National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality. (Negro)

Walter Reuther—President of United Automobile Workers' Union, Vice-President of American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Workers. (White)

Mathew Ahmann—Executive Director of National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. (White)

Roy Wilkins—Executive Secretary of National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Peoples. (Negro)

Rev. Eugene Carson Blake—Vice-Chairman of Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America. (White)

Rabbi Joachim Prinz—Chairman of the American Jewish Congress. (White)

John Lewis—Chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. At 25, he is the youngest of the Civil Rights leaders. Graduated in Philosophy from Fisk University. Took part in Freedom Ride from Washington to Birmingham in 1961. Beaten by white mob in Montgomery, Alabama. Arrested at least twenty-four times. (Negro)

Whitney Young—Executive Director of National Urban League. (Negro)

Mr. A. Philip Randolph presided. His speech was dignified and to the point. First of all he paid tribute to Dr. William Du Bois who died that morning, in Ghana, Africa. He read the last departing message from Dr. Du Bois : "It is much more difficult in theory than actually to say the last goodbye to one's loved ones and friends and to all the familiar things of this life. I am going to take a long, deep and endless sleep. This is not a punishment but a privilege to which I have looked forward for years. I have loved my work, I have loved people and my play but always I have been uplifted by the thought that what I have done well will live long and justify my life, that which I have done ill or never finished, can now be handed on to others for endless days to be finished, perhaps better than I could have done. And that peace will be my applause." Mr. Randolph then said : "We are gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history of this nation. Let the naion and the world know the meaning of this march. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for freedom. This revolu-

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tion reverberates throughout the land touching every city, every village where blackmen are segregated, oppressed and exploited. We march to redress old grievances and to help resolve an American crisis. That crisis is born of the twin evils of racism and economic deprivation. They rob all people, Negro and white, of dignity, self-respect and freedom. They impose a special burden on the Negro, who is denied the right to vote, economically exploited, refused access to public accommodations, subjected to inferior education, and relegated to substandard ghetto housing. Their livelihoods destroyed, the Negro unemployed are thrown into the streets, driven to despair, to hatred, to crime, to violence. All America is robbed of their potential contributions. . . . . ".

The veteran leader of the Socialist Party of America, Norman Thomas was one of the foremost speakers. For over half a century, his powerful voice has been raised time and again against social, economic and political injustice and for the betterment of the lot of the downtrodden and for domestic and international peace. In the early nineteen twenties, in the thirties and the forties the voice of Norman Thomas together with those of Dr. Holmes and Dr. Sunderland, was one of the most powerful in America against British imperialism and in favour of Indian independence. Many others, among them the most Rev. Patrick O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, Rev. Blake, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Walter Reuther, John Lewis, Roy Wilkins, Mrs. Daisy Bates, etc., spoke from the platform. Dr. King was specially selected to be the last speaker. His speech touched every one, not only the thousands who were present there but also millions throughout the nation, who listened to radio and television. He said in part :

"Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children. There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges. And that is something that I must say to my people who stand on the threshold which leads to the palace of ju... In the process of gaining our rightful pla... must not be guilty of wrong deeds. Again ... again, we must rise to the majestic heights ... meeting physical force with soul force. The ... velous new militancy which has engulfed ... Negro community must not lead us to a distru... of all white people, for many of our wh... brothers as evidenced by their presence h... today, have come to realize that their destiny ... tied up with our destiny.

"I am not unmindful that some of you h... come here out of great trials and tribulatio... Some of you have come fresh from narrow ja... cells. Continue to work with the faith that u... in suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississip... go back to Alabama, go back to South Caro... go back to Georgia, Go back to Louisiana, ... back to the slums and ghettos of our North... cities, knowing that somehow this situation ca... and will be changed. Let us not wallow in th... valley of despair. Now, I say to you today, m... friends, so even though we face the difficulties o... today and tomorrow, I still have a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this naion will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed : 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal". I have a dream that on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slave-owners and sons of former slaves will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

"I have a dream that one day even the State of Mississippi, a State sweltering with injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

"This is our hope. This the faith that I go back to the South with—with this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope."

Bayard Rustin the indomitable Negro fighter for justice, for equality and for Peace, a distinguished Quaker and Executive Secretary of War Resisters' League and the Director of the March on Washington', then administered a pledge :

"Standing before the Lincoln Memorial on the 28th of August, 1963, in the Centennial year of Emancipation, I affirm my complete personal

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commitment for the struggle for freedom and equal opportunity for jobs for all Americans. "I will pledge my heart and my mind and my body, unequivocally and without regard to personal sacrifice, to the achievement of social peace through social justice. "To fulfill that commitment, I pledge that I will not relax until victory is won."

At the end of the pledge two hundred and fifty thousand voices sang :

We shall overcome, We shall overcome today
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe, We shall overcome today."

As the meeting at the Lincoln Memorial came to a close at about 5.30 P.M., the sponsors went to the White House for a conference with President Kennedy. The President assured them of his support for an effective Civil Rights Bill. After the conference, the President issued a public statement, which was broadcast through radio and television throughout the country. The statement was partly as follows :

"We have witnessed today in Washington tens of thousands of Americans—both Negro and white—exercising their right to assemble peaceably and direct the widest possible attention to a great national issue. Efforts to secure equal treatment and equal opportunity for all without regard to race, color, creed or nationality are neither novel nor hard to understand. What is different today is the intensified and widespread public awareness of the need to move forward in achieving these objectives—objectives which are older than this nation.

"One cannot help but be impressed with the deep fervor and the quiet dignity that characterise the thousands who have gathered in the nation's capital from across the country to demonstrate their faith and confidence in our democratic form of government. .....The leaders of the organizations sponsoring the march and all who have participated in it deserve our appreciation for the detailed preparations that made it possible and for the orderly manner in which it has been conducted.

"The executive branch of the Federal Government will continue its efforts to obtain increased employment and to eliminate discrimination in employment practices. In addition, our efforts to secure enactment of the legislative proposals made to the Congress, will be maintained, including the Civil Rights bill. .... The cause of twenty million Negroes has been advanced by the program conducted so appropriately before the nation's shrine to the Great Emancipator, but even more significant is the contribution to all mankind."

James Baldwin, the noted Nego author said : "The day is important enough in itself and what we do with this day is even more important."

New York Times in an editorial the following day, said :

"Under the shadow of Lincoln, two hundred and fifty thousand Americans assembled in Washington yesterday. The sixteenth President of the United States and his proclamation of freedom stood as a monumental centerpiece to this great rallying of Negros and whites. From here as from no other shrine of liberty for all in the United States, people could look back and into the future.

"The specific aim was to demonstrate for rights and for jobs and to influence Congress to pass a strong Civil Rights bill. All America was the audience ; the Administration and Congressmen were at the focal point of this personal cry for redress of grievances. Will they be swayed? There was another Congressman who came to Washington once, the Representative from the Seventh Congressional District in Illinois. He made no great impression. But near the end of his Congressional term, Representative Lincoln proposed that no person should be held in slavery within the District of Columbia. When he saw that support for his plan, gave it no chance for adoption, he did not formally intrduce it as a bill. He did support a bill prohibiting the slave trade in the District, but as usual it failed to pass. Slavery takes different forms. Taking the long view from the Lincoln Memorial, the bill lincoln realized at the time he could not introduce successfully, is before Congress today. It is to abolish the slavery that enchains a man's dignity in the segregated slums and schools and public places of America. The chains of physical ownership have been broken but not the bonds that stand in the way of true freedom. That was the aim of this great assembly. All Americans, specially this Congress, must finally act to make whole the dream of the Great Emancipator."

One Unmistakable result was the effect the demonstration had on the participants them-

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selves. From the testimony of many participants, the effect on their minds had been excellent. The great throng singing in unison, the sense of solidarity and the appeal by the leaders, had given the participants a tremendous moral uplift and a feeling of renewed faith and dedication.

As our bus sped back to New York that night, through the highways, the thought ... to my mind again and again: Gandhi ... Gandhi lives in the hearts of thousands of ... and women who gathered at the ... Memorial and millions of others who could ... go there but listened to radio and television ... day.

KUER SINGH AND EIGHTEEN-FIFTY-SEVEN

By GOPAL LAL SHARMA,
Lecturer in History, B. N. College, Patna.

The great outbreak of 1857 is a remarkable episode in Indian History which no educated Indian has ever regarded without interest. Bihar with its glorious tradition and hoary past, could not remain unaffected from the wave of revolution which was sweeping over North-Western Provinces, Allahabad, Agra and Bengal. In fact, there was a strong under-current of discontent in Bihar against the English East India Company for various reasons, even before 1857. A decade earlier there was an anti-British plot (1845-46), the object of which was to overthrow the British Government. In 1857 also Bihar played a highly significant role in the great Indian Revolt under the inspiring leadership of Babu Kuer Singh, the Lion of Shahabad.

Kuer Singh was born in 1782 at Jagdishpur, a village at a distance of ten miles from Behia Station in the district of Shahabad. He was a great hunter and rider. He had had all the dash and daring which distinguished the warlike Rajputs.

The true character of Kuer Singh was revealed in the fateful year of 1857. He was undoubtedly the greatest military leader that India produced during the outbreak of 1857-58. Though he had received no regular military training, his campaigns against the British were marked by valour, courage, military skill and strategy. He was long past the prime of his life, yet unwearied by the weight of advanced age and undaunted by heavy odds against him, he resisted the foreign authority with such determination and vigour that he commanded the hea... respect of his opponents. More than any ot... leader of this movement, Kuer Singh also excel... in guerilla methods of warfare by which he n... only baffled but outwitted his enemy more th... once. He had thoroughly grasped the utility ... guerilla war against the British who were bet... disciplined and armed. A born commander i... one who knows exactly the nature and capacities ... of his forces. Few men could have excelled h... in this necessary quality of a Commander. H... possessed audacity and courage and knew th... value of time in the military operations. Wi... poor means Kuer Singh worsted a mighty fo... more than once in a fair battlefield.

The English East India Company now fe... secure and strong enough to follow the polic... of annexation and aggrandisement. The Doctrin... of Lapse of Lord Dalhousie had not only ali... nated many childless chieftains but made them ... bitter against the British Rule. The cultura... invasion of India by the British was more tha... a shock for a country which was always con... scious of her ancient civilization and culture. ... Thus the seeds of disaffection and dissatisfactio... were sprouting in the hearts of many Indians.

The rising in Meerut on the 10th May, 1857, ... was a signal for a widespread outbreak of this ... revolt. The news of this rising made the ... Europeans panicky and they left their posts ... in the countryside to seek shelter at Patna. In ... Patna itself the rumour of a rising of the ... Dinapur Sepoys on the evening of the 7th June

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dismayed the English residents. Mr. Tayler, the then Commissioner of Patna, held himself responsible for the safety of the European population of the City and converted his own residence into a stronghold where they were offered asylum. He also took precautionery measures to keep the situation in the Province under control. He had devised his own plans to crush the anti-British elements under his jurisdiction. Patna was seething with sedition at that time, for Patna was a Wahabi Centre and every Wahabi was a potential rebel. Tayler was apprehensive of the Wahabis who were said to be engaged in a general conspiracy against the Government. So on the 19th June, 1857 he invited some respectable residents of Patna for consultation and arrested three prominent Moulvis named Md. Hussain, Ahmadullah and Waziul Huq by stratagem.

Tayler's unworthy conduct towards the three Muslim gentlemen at Patna was reprehensible in the extreme. But Tayler's highhanded measures could not curb the spirit of the people. On July 8, there was a popular outbreak at Patna without military rising which may be regarded as an unique event in the annals of this struggle.

Tayler suppressed it with a vigorous hand and twenty-four persons were convicted of having taken part in the revolt and summarily hanged. Now he started a virtual reign of terror at Patna. He was not a man to rest on his oars. With the arrest of the Wahabi Leaders, he issued a proclamation demanding surrender of all arms by the citizens of Patna within 24 hours and forbidding them to leave their homes after 9 o'clock in the night. Probably the most barbarous act was the execution of Pir Ali, a local book-seller who had imbibed the ideas of freedom and independence.

When three of the Regiments at Dinapur rose against the Company on the 25th July, 1857, they marched into the district of Shahabad where there was a well organised challenge to British Authority under the able leadership of the brave Rajput Chief, Kuer Singh of Jagdishpur. His chivalrous exploits form a highly exciting tale. The Sepoys hurried from Jagdishpur to Arrah, the chief town of Shahabad district, and ransacked the Government treasury and looted other properties. But it is significant to note that no European was killed at Arrah by the party of Kuer Singh.

In the meantime a body of European and Sikh soldiers nearly 500 strong sent from Dinapur under Capt. Dunbar for the relief of the beleagued English garrission, met their Waterloo in the night of 29th July. Capt. Dunbar and several British Officers were shot dead and those who survived to tell their tale of disaster, retreated in utter confusion. The Rajuts of Shahabad were out to prove that Rajput valour was not a thing of the past. But for assistance from an unexpected quarter the defeat of the English would have been final. Major Vincent Eyre of the Bengal Artillery, who was on his way to Allahabad, marched towards Arrah. Though greatly outnumbered, he gave a stiff fight to the forces of Major Eyre. Now Kuer Singh thought it prudent to withdraw and his sepoys took up their position at Jagdishpur.

Major Eyre wreaked vengeance on Jagdishpur. Though Jagdishpur was captured and his stronghold destroyed, Kuer Singh was as unconquerable after the battle as before it. The old Lion could not be tamed.

The revolt of the Dinapur Sepoys had already produced wider repurcussions in other parts of Bihar. Now Kuer Singh set his heart on the task of organizing the forces of opposition in Central India and Uttar Pradesh along with some other all India leaders. Henceforth he moved for some time from place to place, not indeed as a fugitive but fighting bravely against the English troops to their great embarrassment. He visited Mirzapur, Rewah, Lucknow and as he proceeded towards Azamgarh, British troops under the command of Col. Milman attacked him on the 22nd March. But the British Commander was outmanoeuvred and put to flight. An attempt was made by Col. Dames of the 37th Regiment to dislodge Kuer Singh from his position but he miserably failed in his endeavour. So Azamgarh remained in the virtual occupation of Kuer Singh.

The situation in Azamgarh was causing much anxiety to the English in Bihar. When Luggard with a superior force arrived there, Babu Kuer Singh who was a great strategist thought it fit to evacuate Azamgarh. Thereafter he proceeded to Ghazipur with a view to crossing the River Ganges there for re-entering into the jungles of Jagdishpur and renewing the contest. Kuer Singh with a large body of sepoys

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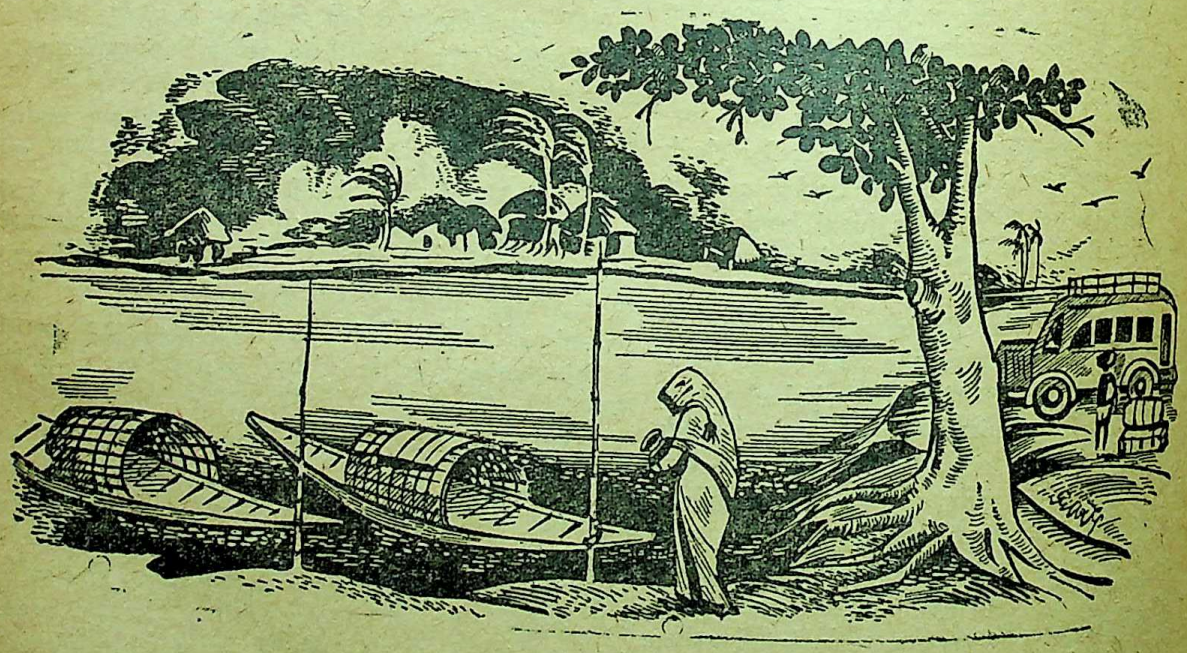
crossed the Ganges at Sheopur Ghat, ten miles below Balia in the night by baffling the efforts of Douglas and outwitting Col. Cumberledge who was sent to intercept him. Hall, a contemporary English Writer, observes, "even his opponents speak of his masterly retreat across the Ganges, when closely pursued by the force under Sir E. Luggard, with respect." But while crossing the river a stray bullet hit the right hand of Kuer Singh who could at once see the danger. So without any quiver he lopped off his injured hand by a stroke of the sword and threw it into the sacred stream saying, "Accept thou Mother, this last sacrifice of a loving son!" Thus mortally wounded the old Lion went to his lair to die. Within 14 hours of his arrival at Jagdishpur, another English force under Le Grand reached Jagdishpur. The old Lion was dying but he could still teach the English a lession. The English army suffered another defeat with terrible loss and slaughter.

But the wound proved fatal and on the 26th April, Babu Kuer Singh expired, a victor at last in his own place. The English historian Holmes acknowledges "The old Rajput who had fought so honourably and so bravely against the British Power died on April 26, 1858."

The personality of Babu Kuer Singh is striking in more than one respect. His personal integrity and high character had naturally influenced in his army the two indispensable virtues of discipline and bravery. Though this outbreak of 1857 was marked by horrible deeds of cruelty on both sides, Kuer Singh did not soil his hands with the blood of any noncombatant European or native Christian. He was as unimpeachable in his private morals as he was unchallengable in his public ability. This rare consistency of character was conspicuous in great degree in the life of this great Indian.

In fact as Mr. Savarkar has pointed out, "Amongst all the leaders of the Revolutionaries in 1857, there was none who could surpass Kumar Singh in military ability." Dr. R. C. Majumdar also pays handsome tributes to Kuer Singh when he observes "We cannot withhold our praise and admiration for the man, who, at the advanced age of eighty, thus deliberately chose a course, the danger and arduous character of which nobody perhaps better understood than he himself. Still more amazing is his display of valour, courage, military skill and strategy, particularly when we remember that he had no regular military training and practice."



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BRAHMO SAMAJ AND SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S CHICAGO LECTURES

By MONONIT SEN

Admittedly, Swami Vivekananda's lectures delivered at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, earned for him name and fame, and he became a world-figure overnight, so to speak. It is an open secret that Vivekananda during his college-days became an initiated and active member of the Brahmo Samaj and had his initial lessons in social and religious matters from the leaders of the Samaj. It is also specifically stated on page 21 of the book "History Of the Ramkrishna Math And Mission", that Narendra (Vivekananda) had some love for the Brahmo Samaj and agreed with the Brahmos in their denunciation of caste, polytheism, image—worship, the institution of the Guru and divine Incarnation, and their advocacy of freedom for women. That was an impressionable age of Narendra, and whatever inspiration he imbibed from the social and religious teachings of the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj, left an indelible stamp on his youthful mind and that, consciously or unconsciously, he was unable to rid himself of those early impressions even on attainment of maturity as Swami Vivekananda, although he had occasions to disclaim it openly. In order to press home my viewpoint, I can do no better than place some of the passages from Vivekananda's Chicago lectures as against the sayings of the Brahma leaders and let the gentle readers form their own judgment on perusal. There are also many other instances, specially in connexion with social reformation and social reformers, where Swamiji re-echoed the same sentiments as expressed by the Brahmo leaders long ago. Besides, a careful perusal of the extract from Brahmananda's lecture on 'Faith' reproduced below clearly indicates that he imbued the idea of the motherhood of God as early as 1866, which, incidentally, counters the ceaseless propaganda of the followers of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda, that the concept of the motherhood of God first dawned on Keshub after his meeting with Ramakrishna in March, 1875. The passages in question from Swamiji's Chicago lectures coupled with similar quotations from the Brahmo leaders are as follows:

"We accept all religions as true . . . . Sectarianism, bigotry, and its horrible descendant, fanaticism, have long possessed this beautiful earth. They have filled the earth with violence, drenched it often and often with human blood, destroyed civilisation and sent whole nations to despair."—(Swamiji's Chicago Addresses—"Response to Welcome" on 11th September, 1893).

"I am a Hindu, I am sitting in my own little well and thinking that the whole world is my little well. The Christian sits in his little well and thinks the whole world is his well. The Mohammedan sits in his little well and thinks that is the whole world. I have to thank you of America for the great attempt you are making to break down the barriers of this world of ours."—(Swamiji's Chicago Addresses—"Why We Disagree" on 15th September, 1893).

"Let not our homage, however, be exclusively confined to any one of them, and withheld from others We must honour all of them, unbiassed by local influences, party feeling, or sectarian bigotry. It is the want of this Catholic spirit, it is the evil of awarding exclusive honour to particular prophets, that has filled the religious world with jealousies, hatred and sanguinary strife, and made their followers plunge the dagger of brutal animosity into each other's breast. In fact, it is this which has mainly originated sectarianism and multiplied hostile churches."—(Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen's lecture on 'Great Men' on the 28th September, 1866).

You have to day given effect to the teaching of our Shastras, that is, "the true

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religion which includes all religions.—We are Hindu still, and shall always be . . .

'The Hindu scriptures are not the only scriptures: Are there not other scriptures also? . . . Our monotheism, therefore, stands upon all Scriptures. ..... No, it was not the Christian missionary that drew our attention to the Bible; it was not the Mohammedan priests who showed us the excellent passages in the Koran; it was no Zorastrian who preached to us the greatness of his Zend-Avesta; but there was in our hearts the God of infinite reality, the source of inspiration of all the books, of the Bible, of the Koran, of the Zend-Avesta who drew our attention to His excellences as revealed in the record of the holy experience everywhere ..... God is infinite ..... All the scriptures sing His glory; all the prophets in the heaven declare His majesty; all the martyrs have reddened the world with their blood in order that His Holiness might be known. God is the one infinite good, ... God is the one eternal and infinite, the inspirer of all human mankind. The path of our progress then lay toward allying ourselves, toward affiliating ourselves, with the faith and righteousness and the wisdom of all religions and all mankind."—(Speeches delivered by Protap Chunder Mozoomdar at the Parliament of Religions, Chicago, on the 11th and 13th September, 1893)

The Hindu does not want to live upon words and theories. If there are existences beyond the ordinary sensuous existence, he wants to come face to face with them. If there is a soul in him which is not matter, if there is an all-merciful universal soul, he will go to him direct. He must see Him, and that alone can destroy all doubts. So the best proof a Hindu sage gives about the soul, about God, is—'I have seen the soul, I have seen God'."—(Swamiji's paper on 'Hinduism' read at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, on the 19th September, 1893).

"He is within us, and He is ever near to us. Then, let me feel it. Asks the student—asks the scholar—asks the man versed in all the theology of the world,—is his intellect enough to lead him to God? No, all his Shaster, all his academic divinity will these cannot make him realise his God. God is no God to him,—his eyes see not. He closes his eyes and tries to his God within him,—it is as dark with as without! Man's knowledge is nothing the mere knowledge of God is nothing I cannot feel Him within the inmost cesses of my heart, as a father, as a mother as a friend,—my guide, my companion one in whom I live, and therefore, whom I must love. Such a God is the God, and yet knowledge cannot make draw near to that God. I have recourse my books. I go to my teachers and ministers. I enter into temples, or churches or cathedrals, or masjeeds,—but I see my God, I feel not my God,—my heart vacant,—outside and inside, it is all emptiness, all shadow, all blank,—there is living God! I see my brethren around me I see all the fowls of the air and the beasts of the wilderness, they live, it is true. I see all material objects: they are real to me. But what is it which, in spite of all knowledge, prevents me from realising God in the same way as I realise the material objects—the living beings—of this world? The heart says, there is no faith. ..... You may offer up your prayers day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, but without that faith it is all loss of words, waste of strength, waste of energy, waste of intelligence. Where do your prayers go to? From an empty heart the words emanate,—into empty space these words vanish. But if you have the real God before you, just as the idolator has a real idol before him, one word is enough—one simple or rude word though it be. Unlettered, ignorant you may be, but one little word, one rude word coming from the heart and addressed to the living God, revolutionises the whole life—converts the whole soul—makes man divine! This is the sort of faith we must have in the living God."

(Brahmananda Keshub Chander Sen's lecture on 'Faith' on the 22nd March, 1868).

"The essential characteristics of ancient faith may be reduced to two simple truths—seeing God and hearing his word .....

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The ancient Rishis, we are told, held direct communion with God, and saw His glorious face. No expression is more frequently used in the Upanishads than the 'perception' of God (darshan). It is said that 'the wise fully see God,' that He "manifests himself to His worshippers, and that He is grasped by the soul as a fruit is laid hold of by the hand." It appears that Hindu sages, not content with intellectual conceptions of the Almighty or abstract contemplation of certain Divine attributes, sought earnestly, and indeed successfully, to behold the Supreme Spirit directly and to apprehend Him as distinct and vivid Reality in their inner consciousness. The truly devout sat under the shade of their favourite tree on some high peak of the Himalayas, and saw the Lord above, around clear was the perception that they rejoiced and below as a 'burning fire'. Nay, so greatly in the presence of their God, ... We see men inspired by the direct influence of God. The Holy spirit of God, descended upon men's hearts, revolutionised their whole being, put in new thoughts, new ideas, exalted conceptions and renovated energies, and in short transformed the whole life of those who received such inspiration in the most mysterious manner. There is no deep philosophy in the process; every thing, if we read the records, seems so simple and natural. Man sees his maker and discourses with Him. The Father sits by the side of His child and the child sees Him, and rejoices. Just as we see matter without any effort of reasoning, so the ancient prophets saw their God, and communed with Him face to face. The whole process is described as a matter of marvellous simplicity and sweetness which touches the inmost hearts. But the question is—is there any truth in all this? Did the Rishis and prophets really see God? Is it possible for man to see God as I see the magnificient pillars and the beautiful lights before me? Is it possible to hear His voice as I hear external sounds? Surely it is possible spiritually, but impossible physically, ... When therefore we are told that in ancient times men saw God, we are to understand that they perceived a fire or a light or a human figure not with their outward eye or their imagination, but that they felt the nearness of the Holy Spirit and vividly realised his solemn presence. This, I believe, is the whole secret of perception of God. In this sense He is seen to-day, and can be seen more or less by every living man. The process is miraculous and mysterious, yet natural and simple. Every child of God has direct access to Him and may see Him with his own eyes. Nay, it is possible for the greatest sinner, if he is penitent and has faith, to feel the nearness of God in this manner. I say this is quite possible even in this age of material civilization and besetting rationalism. ..... What was possible before is possible today. Time cannot work a change in the nature of Him who changeth not though centuries roll away, nor in His dealings with mankind. He is what He was. If He revealed Himself to our forefathers, He will not, He cannot hide Himself today from our vision. To think otherwise argues absence of faith in the fixedness of the Divine economy."—(Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen's lecture on "Primitive Faith and Modern Speculations," on the 23rd January, 1872).

"Ye venerable Rishi and Devotees of ancient India! at your holy feet, modern India lays her humble tribute of gratitude for this priceless legacy! Gentlemen, was the God of our forefathers a mere metaphysical abstraction, a prolongation, as it were into the outward universe of men's intellectual consciousness? Was their Deity nothing but a thin air or a romantic fancy? I emphatically say, no. It was the reality of God-head that our ancestors sought and worshipped. ..... They never recognised an unreal divinity. ..... They did not dream, but they saw. They imagined not, but they handled the Great Spirit. To them God was as "a fruit held in the clutches of the hand,"—"Karatala nyasta amalakavat." .....Not only did they see Him with the eyes of faith, but they also held him in their hearts. In the Rig Veda, the Lord is spoken of as a friend, a father and the most fatherly of fathers,"—"Sakha, pita pitri-

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tama pitrinam," ..... Nay, their conceptions rose higher still and even recognised the motherhood of God. The Deity is represented both as father and mother of mankind." Let none then say that the ancient Hindus worshipped an abstract Deity." (Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen's lecture on "Our Faith and Experience" in January, 1876).

"Much has been said of the common ground of religious unity. I am not going just now to venture my own theory. But if any one here hopes that this unity will come by the triumph of any one of the religions and the destruction of the others to him I say: "Brother, yours is an impossible hope. Do I wish tha the Cthristian would become Hindu? God forbid. Do I wish that the Hindu or Buddhist would become Christian? God forbid.....The Christian is not to become a Hindu or a Buddhist, nor a Hindu or a Buddhist to become a Christian. But each must assimilate the spirit of the others and yet presserve his individuality and grow according to his own law of growth."—(Swamiji's Chicago Addresses,—"Address at the Final Session" on the 27th September, 1893).

"But the future Church of India must be thoroughly national; it must be an essentially Indian Church. The future religion of the world I have described will be the common religion of all nations, but in each nation it will have an indigenous growth, and assume a distinctive and peculiar character. All mankind will unite in a universal Church; at the same time, it will be adapted to the peculiar circumstances of each nation, and assume a national form. No country will borrow or mechanically imitate the religion of another country, but from the depths of the life of each nation its future Church will naturally grow up."—(Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen's lecture on "The Future Church" on the 23rd January, 1869).

"I am not indulging in abstractions, but I speak because I feel strongly on the subject. I would beseech you humbly to cast away at once and for ever the spirit of sectarianism. Let ministers of the various sects exchange their pulpits with each other. Let ... brothers and sisters of one Church now ... then go into another Church and ... hands with the utmost wormth and ten... ness of heart with their brothers and sis... in that Church; then we shall find..... one grand universal Cathedral, where ten thousand voices of ten thousand nations shall commingle in one sweet and swelling chorus and proclaim the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man." (Brahmananda Keshab Chunder Sen's lecture on "Christ and Christanity", on May, 28, 187...

"We do not ask that the Christians should cease to call themselves Christians. Let the Christians remain Christians, the Mohammerans remain Mohammedan, the Hindus remain Hindus. But let each of them worship in his heart so purely, so spiritually, and in such a spirit of love that all men may be brethren and in spite of all differences of nationality and climate, they may recognise each other as members of that kingdom which their God will some day establish."—(Protap Chunder Mozoomdar's "Lowell lectures" delivered at Boston).

"If the Parliament of Religions has shown anything to the world it is this. It has proved to the world that holiness, purity and charity are not the exclusive possessions of any church in the world, and that every system has produced men and women of the most exalted character. In the face of this evidence, if any dreams of the exclusive survival of his own religion and the destraction of others, I pity him from the bottom of my heart, and point out to him that upon the banner of every religion will soon be written, in spite of resistance: "Help and not Fight," "Assimilation and not Destruction", "Harmony and Peace and not Dissension."—(Swamiji's Chicago Addresses,—"Address at the final session on the 27th September, 1893).

"When all nations and countries will thus absorb each other's goodness and purity, then shall the inward kingdom of heaven be realised on earth, of which ancient prophets sang and predicted. All truth shall then be harmonised and reduced to a beasutiful subjective synthesis in the

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life of humanity. No longer do you see jealousies and enmities dividing the world. The battle-cry is hushed and the sword of sectarian hate has found rest in the sheath. No longer do we see scriptures arrayed against scriptures, churches against churches, sects against sectors—endless groups of fighting zealots. It is one undivided spirit-world, in which there is neither caste nor sect nor nationality. This is heaven indeed." (Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen's lecture on "We Apostles of the New Dispensation".)

"Is it not, then our duty, I ask, and shall we not esteem it a privilege, to render unto prophets and great men the humble tribute of our gratitude and esteem? The immense service they render to mankind, and the noble characteristics which distinguish them —their deep wisdom and invincible power, their rigid self-denial and fervent devotion, challenge the spontaneous gratitude and esteem of all men. To honour them is no meanness, no sycophancy; no sordid "Boswellism", no idolatrous "hero-worship", as some foolishly imagine. To honour them is to honour our benefactors, and to glorify the greatness of human nature, we canont, we dare not, slight them. They are of universal interest and importance. Their lives deserve our careful study; their greatness should excite our earnest aspiration. They are designed by Providence for our study and imitation. "Lives of great men all remind us, we can make our lives sublime;" nay, they stir up our best energies to attain that sublimity of which they afford living examples. In precepts and doctrines there is indeed much to enlighten the mind; but what can more effectively quicken it than examples? Life alone can give life, and, above all, the life of heaven—appointed prophets. It is what they have actually done that makes us understand the loftiness and sublimity which humanity is capable of, and impels us forcibly to attain that loftiness and sublimity. The world is vastly indebted to them; they are the glory, the pride of mankind; we boast of them, we naturally feel grateful to them. We thank Him, who sends them for our benefit, and whom, as His servants and messengers, they in some measure reveal."—(Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen's lecture on "Great Men" on the 28th September, 1866).

Incidentally, I feel tempted to quote below certain passages having some bearing on the subject, from the speeches and writings of a few prominent men of Bengal.

"And it was Keshub Chunder Sen who first taught us to revere the good and pious men of all ages and all countries."—(Lahore Address, November, 1897,—by Dr. V. Roy of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj).

"No man has ever surpassed Keshub Chunder Sen in reverence for the great Masters. He literally bowed himself down to the very dust, as it were, before them. This reverence was the fountain in him of spiritual impulse and inspiration."—("History of the Brahmo Samaj" by Pandit Shivanath Shastri).

"In the New Hinduism of Keshub Chunder Sen you will find all the great religions of the world and all the small religions also brought together and harmonised. Keshub Chunder Sen has not destroyed, but only completed the old religion of our people. Keshub Chunder Sen will come out victorious from every test and you cannot, in any way, escape the conclusion that he was the greatest Hindu reformer of your age."—("Keshub Memorial" Address of 1893,—by Bepin Chandra Pal).

In conclusion, I am constrained to observe whether it is not a travesty of truth to proclaim to the public at large, that Keshub was possessed of one mark of greatness, whereas Naren had eighteen such marks, as appearing on page 24 of "History of The Ramkrishna Math and Mission. This is an oft-repeated saying put into the mouth of Bhagavan Ramkrishna, just to allay suspicion and distrust and stifle comment and criticism. Every one versed in Ramkrishna-Vivekananda literature is well aware that Ramkrishna held Keshub in very high esteem, and if anybody had the cheek to speak ill of Keshub in his presence, he was sure to get a stern rebuff from him. Ramkrishna is also said to have once expressed his desire to pass his remaining days in the sanctuary at the "Lily Cottage", the abode

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of Keshub, which clearly indicates how marvellously sweet was his relationship with Keshub. Besides, it is admitted by Swami Saradananda, author of the "Leelaprasanga", as well as others of the Mission, that on receipt of the sad news of the demise of Keshub, Ramkrishna was literally struck dumb and remained half-paralyzed in bed for three consentive days,—so prfound was his love and attachment for Keshub. It is therefore, quite unthinkable that a pious and virtuous man like Ramkrishna could ever condescend to speak of his dear beloved Keshub in a language designed to lower him in public estimation for the sake of Narendra which, incidentally, does not befit the greatness and magnanimity, the holy name Bhagavan Ramkrishna connotes and denotes.

THE STORY OF THE GAZETTEERS

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

As early as the 9th May, 1797, the Hon'ble Court of Directors addressed a letter which was circulated to the District Magistrates with the directive as follows :

"In order to enable the Company's Historiographer to complete a general history of the British affairs in the East Indies and as we mean that the plan of such a work should comprehend the history of India as is connected with our trade, and also the progress of our trade in general, we direct that such of our servants as may be in situation to promote this public work, be instructed to transmit to you for the purpose of being forwarded to us, such informations on the Chronology, Geography, Government, laws, political resolutions, the progressive stages of the useful arts, manufactures and sciences and of the fine arts and particularly on the former and present state of internal and Foreign trade as they may be in stations to afford or may from time to time be able to collect."

This instruction of the Court of Directors was immediately followed up and in 1801 we find a letter from the Commissioners asking Magistrates forty well thought out questions regarding various aspects of the tract under their jurisdiction. Queries were made about the incidence of crime, reasons for increase or decrease, if private rights and property were well secured against infringement by the Executive Officers or others, exports and imports, the condition of the roads, ghats, passes, incidence of literacy etc. A definite question was also formulated as to whether the people were satisfied with the constitution (the word is actually used).

A letter dated the 8th May, 1800, from Fort William to the Magistrates mentioned "the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council being extremely desirous that every practicable means should be adopted for extending the agriculture and commerce of the country, as well as for the improvement of Police by facilitating the communication between the principal cities and towns throughout the different districts, and by such other measures as may be calculated to promote these objects, I am directed by His Lordship to call your attention to the subject and to desire you will submit to me the fullest information in your power on the following points . . . ." The points covered roads, bridges, ferries, tanks, supply of water to the towns, canals, jungles, tolls, etc.

Buchanan Hamilton, a doctor in the employment of the East India Company, was deputed in the first decade of the 19th century to extensively tour in the country and to give a report. An extract from Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's instructions dated 11th September, 1807, ran as follows:

"Your inquiries should be particularly directed to the following subjects, which you are to examine with as much accuracy as local circumstances will admit :

Topographical account of each district including the extent, soil, plains, mountains, rivers, harbours, towns and subdivisions; together with an account of the air and weather and whatever

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you may discover worthy of remark concerning the history and antiquities of the country."

Buchanan travelled far and wide and has left us memoirs of quite a large number of districts in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and other areas. With all the hazards of the journey of that period, he was able to do the monumental task in an extremely satisfactory manner. It is true that many of his descriptions are based on hearsay and he also appears to have been misled partially due to this zeal and curiosity for details. The magnitude of the task he did would be appreciated by a casual reference to his report on Purnea district. He discussed the topography and antiquities, the people, including the causes which operate on the increase and diminution of population, social customs, religions, and sects etc. He went into details regarding the wild animals, birds, reptiles, fish and insects. The flora and minerals did not sccape his attention. He devoted hundreds of pages on agriculture, the land system, arts, manufacture and commerce. Buchanan Hamilton could well be described as the father of the District Gazetteers.

The administrative authorities, however, pursued the subject of getting more and more information regarding the different areas. It is refreshing to find that as early as the 25th April, 1837 Officers were charged with the duties of collecting statistics. On this day the Secretary to the Government of Bengal addressed a letter to the Commissioners of Lower Provinces on the subject one paragraph of which runs as follows:

"Although, on the present imperfect state of statistical knowledge in this country, the first steps of advance must necessarily be short and difficult, His Lordship is well inclined to believe that a full and patient examination of the Government records and a reference to invididual experience, to village accounts, to the Register of Bazar rates, Chowkidaree assessment etc. will afford such general heads of information as may lead to the forming of some conclusions on the points noted in the margin : (1) Census of population; (2) Cause and effect of plenty and scarcity; (3) condition of the poor, their subsistence etc; (4) Wages of Labour; (5) Physical causes of crime; (6) Ratio of mortality; in addition to more obvious and easily attainable information as to the area of districts, comparative productiveness of lands and habits of people."

A mass of materials had been collected in the Archives of the Government by the middle of the Nineteenth Century. It was felt necessary that there should be a compiltaion based on these information. Edward Thornton was employed and his "Gazetteer of Territories under the Government of the East India Company and of the Native States on the continent of India compiled by the authority of the Hon'ble Court of Directors and Chiefly from Documents in their possession" was published in 1854. These volumes give a very fair description of some of the Provinces in Northern India. Thorton had referred to one of his predecessors, Tiffenthelar. Tiffenthelar was a German missionary-geographer and had extensively toured throughout Bihar. He was particmlarly interested in tracing the course of the rivers and finding out the exact position of the towns and villages. His memoirs are in German.

Thronton's Gazetteer was more of a descriptive nature and does not go into the details. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 brought home the necessity of a handy reference book for the District Officers. Another enlarged edition of Thornton's book in a few volumes was published in 1886. But before that the Government had taken up the question of compilation of the Gazetteers from a different level also. Sir William Hunter was employed for this purpose. Sir William Hunter explained in 1871 "my own conception of the work is that, in return for a couple of day's reading, the account should give a new Collector a comprehensive, and at the same time, distinct idea of the district, he had been sent to administer. Mere reading can never supersede practical experience in the district administration. But a succinct and well conceived district account is capable of antedating the acquisition of such personal experience by many months and of facilitating and systematising a Collector's personal enquiries."

Hunter's Gazetters are the monument of scholarship and a gold mine of information. There were three series—first, the Imperial Gazetteer in which there were four separate volumes dealing with matters relating to India as a whole and then 21 volumes giving a brief account of important places. The next series was that of Provincial Gazetteers containing one or two volumes for the different provinces. Hunter died while engaged on this work. The great work that was started by Hunter had to be pushed through.

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The third series was of District Gazetteers which were taken up by the Provincial Governments.

The third series of the District Gazetteers were compiled much later in some of the Provinces when the revisional work of Hunter's books was taken up between 1901 and 1910 because of the initiative of Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon mentioned in one of his minutes that although some of the Gazetteers were wild, nevertheless, they were extremely important documents and should be revised. At another place he mentioned, "In Raiyatwari Provinces it is of the first importance that the District officers should have a thorough knowledge of the revenue history of their charges. Much of the information is given elsewhere but it is scattered through many reports and letters and Government orders and few take the trouble to refer to these original references nor they have time to do so now a days. During my recent tour I have over and over again in reply to an enquiry had the district volumes thrust into my hand, and found all that I wanted to know excellently told. The volume accompanies the district officer in camp or lies on his office table and its condition shows that how constantly it is referred to. It would be difficult to praise too highly some of these productions. Many of them are full of information regarding the customs and peculiarities of the people of the district, its history, its tenures and so forth, a knowledge of which is simply invaluable to the District Officer, and especially to a new comer."

The District Gazetteers in the different Provinces whether compiled in the fourth quarter of the Nineteenth Century or in the first few years of the Twentieth Century followed more or less a common pattern. The District Gazetteers were naturally linked up with the Census Operations and the Survey Settlement Reports. Some of the administrative officers like Risley, Gait, O'Malley, Tanner, etc., who were associated with the Census Operations in the different decades or the Survey and Settlement Proceedings in the different Provinces had much to do with the compilation of the District Gazetteers. The Census Commissioner for India used to set the pattern through personal consultations and issue Gazetteers Circulars to the different Provinces.

These Gazetteers had a particular purpose and that purpose was mainly administrative. The structure was correctly drawn for the purpose in view. The District Gazetteers or the Provincial Gazetteers were not meant for the passing traveller, the industrialist or the social worker. Certain aspects of the people and particularly those that refer to the sector of culture and art were naturally not high-lighted. The Gazetteers were not written with an idea that they could be fitted in the set up of a Welfare State. They were not meant to stimulate interest in a scholar to pursue advance studies on items suggested. The Gazetteers were written from a particular angle of vision and although excellent for certain purposes have to be revised or re-written. As a matter of fact, these Gazetteers being written about 40 to 50 years back have now become scarce. Phenomenal changes in every aspect of life have taken place in all the districts in these 50 years.

The argument that the various Blue Books, Annual Reports and Publicity Literature published on the authority of the Government should make the District Gazetteers unnecessary or an expensive project canot hold ground. As a matter of fact the very mass of Government publications and the Publicity Literature by every State Government make out the necessity of re-writing the District Gazetteers all the more insistent. Lord Curzon's observation ; that few have time to refer to these original references, have a hundred fold more significance now.

In the task of the re-writing of the District Gazetteers, the valuable data in the shape of memoirs written by administratrators, travellers, missionaries etc., will form valuable source materials. Many of these books written in the course of the last one century have already become extremly scarce. Another valuable source will be the old English Correspondence Volumes kept in the District Archieves and the various Consultations and Discussions, original letters and documents maintaied in the the National Archives at New Delhi, etc. There are also valuable data scattered in many periodicals and reviews both in English and in the vernaculars. All such materials should be fully utilised after a proper appraisal and the District Gazetteers should be so written that they should not be merely an administrator's guide book. The should be much more than that and give all that is worth knowing regarding the district and to form an authoritative reference book for the administrator, the

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traveller who has more than a fleeting interest in the country he sees, the social worker, the public man and the student who wonts to go in for further research. A new alignment of the collective facts will be necessary to suit the requirements of the Welfare State. It has to be remembered that these books will remain authoritative for at least the next 3 or 4 decades. Attention should not be concentrated only in the Archives or Libraries but investingations at the countryside have also to be simultaneously carried out.

THE PLAN MUDDLE

By KARUNA K. NANDI

Status and Responsibilities of the Planning Commission

Muddled thinking and equally confused performance in implementation, as seems to be only now being fully realised, appears to have been all along characterising our efforts at development planning. The position of the Planning Commission in the pattern of Government would seem to be characteristic of the confusion that seems to be obtaining in this regard. The Commission is a non-statutory body without any visible and tenable constitutional status or authority ; it is not a department of the Government, although it has been invoked into existence by a resolution of the Government of India. Nevertheless it has come to be regarded in popular estimation as almost a *super-Cabinet* of the Government of India, independent of and wholly without any responsibility to Parliament.[1] It is really and, at best, only advisory body charged with the responsibility of formulating the over-all lines of development that the process of planning is intended to pursue, fixing priorities, determining targets and objectives and, presumably, coordinating the many different facets and aspects of development to enable an evenly balanced progress to be achieved. The implementation of the programmes of development formulated by the Planning Commission, however, is mainly the responsibility of the concerned Ministries of the Union Government, over which the Planning Commission, as such, has neither any control nor, understandably enough, in respect of which it is not expected to bear any responsibility. Again, so far as such programmes which are integrated into the Plan but which fall within the special sphere of the States' responsibilities and prerogatives are concerned, their execution and implementation have to remain the principal responsibility of the Governments of the States concerned and over which, again, the Union Government's control is necessarily correspondingly circumscribed.

Status and Responsibilities of the Planning Commission

The relations between the Union Government and the Planning Commission is also something which would appear to be somewhat loose-jointed. The Commission, as has already been observed, has been created by a resolution of the Government of India and, presumably therefore, it exists at the latter's pleasure. And, yet, the only formal link between the Government and the Planning Commission would appear to be the Planning Minister who, presumably, is expected to function as a *liason* as well as a co-ordinating fector between the two, especially between the Commission and Parliament on the one hand and between it and the many concerned Ministries responsible for the implementation and execution of the particular programmes of the Plan falling within their respective jurisdictions. The successful functioning of the Ministry of Planning in this respect would seem to be obviously dependent upon the basis of supposedly joint Cabinet responsibility of the Government as a whole, a fact, however, which notoriously has been predominantly in default for many years now. The recent down-grading of the Ministry of Planning from its former Cabint rank and its virtual reduction to the status of a mere department of the Ministry of Finance and Defence and Economic Co-ordination, would seem to be difficult to understand in this context. Was it intended to reduce the erstwhile status and authority of

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the Planning Commission ?—a presumption which it would be difficult to reconcile with the obviously vital role that the Commission is still expected to continue to assume in the economic reconstruction and regeneration of the country. Otherwise, it would seem to be intended to make the Commission even more irresponsible to and independent of Parliament than it has been ? Taken as a whole, in all the aspects of its powers and responsibilities, it would not be reasonable to conclude that the Planning Commission has been progressively allowed to degenerate into a rather flabby and loose-jointed machine which can no longer be expected to continue to function in firmly integrated cohesion.

Wasteful and Expensive

In the process, the entire business of development planning appears increasingly to have been developing into a runiously expensive and utterly wasteful experimentation, yeilding cogent points to the usual detractors of Planning in their effort to bring the whole machinery into public disrepute and plead the more insistently for a fresh reversal to the traditional pattern of a so-called free economy. Things, without doubt, would seem to be ominous enough as they are. The Second Plan achievements are already acknowledged to have fallen dubstantially short of pre-determined targets, especially so in the agricultural sector, as well as in such vital economic bases as power, transportation, coal etc. The performance in respect of the implementation of Third Plan programmes, as evidenced during the first two years since its inauguration that have already elapsed, would seem to have an even more disc... showing in most sectors of the economy. In the result, the growth rate of the economy as indicated by the rise in the national income has been less than a third of the average annual rate envisaged in the Plan and actually falling short of the pace of the population growth in the country during this period as it is now acknowledged to be, the index of per capita income, which stood at a little over 127 at the end of the Second Plan, appears now to have fallen below the 1960-61 mark to something like just above 125 at constant prices.

Agricultural Performance

Performance in the agricultural sector is now admitted to have been especially retrogressive in terms of the pace of population growth and is actually held to be responsible, in principal measure, for the present stagnant state of the national economy. It is significant that during the first decade of planning, progress in agricultural production in respect of both food grains and other commercial crops (except for Jute where it was substantially less) was both rapid and substantial. Agricultural production as a whole registered a 76 per cent rise during the decade while food grains production registered an increase of as much as 46 per cent. But even so, the pace of progress as evidenced during the Second Plan period appears to have considerably decelerated and slowed down compared to what it was proved to be during the five years of the First Plan period. The following figures will demonstrate the rate of its pace :[2]

		Production Rate 1950-51 to 1960-61					Third Plan Targets.	
Commodity	Measure	1950-51	1956-57	% increase	1960-61	% increase	1965-66	% increase
	mill.							
Rice	tons.	20.9	28.7	32%	32	10.6%	45	41%
Wheat	,,	6,6	9.3	35.4 %	10	7.5%	15	50%
All Cereals	,,	43.7	57.4	24%	64	11.5%	83	30%
Pulses	,,	8.5	11.4	34%	12	5.2%	17	42%
All Food Grains (Pulses & Cereals)	,,	52.2	68.8	31.8 %	76	10.6%	100	32%
Oil Seeds	,,	5.1	6.3	23.5 %	7.1	11.1%	9.8	38%
Sugarcane (Gur)	,,	5.6	6.8	21.4 %	8	17.6%	10	25%
Cotton	mill. bales.	2.9	4.7	62%	5.1	8.5%	7	37%
Jute	,,	3.3	4.3	30.3 %	4	7.5%	6.2	55%

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It was generally admitted by the concerned Ministries of the Union Government that agricultural production as a whole has been more or less stagnant over the first two years of the current Plan and has been especially unencouraging in the food grains sector. In fact, even as early as about the middle of last year (only a few weeks before the emergecy occasioned by the massive invasion of our northern frontiers by the Chinese in October last year), the then Planning Minister, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, publicly expressed his apprehension that what with stagnant agricultural output and rising prices, the achievements of the Third Plan would be likely to be substantially jeopardized even as the Second Plan were in some measure. This did not seem to find any responsive echo in other concerned Ministries as would be normally anticipated and while the Finance Minister remained indifferently silent and wholly ignored what Shri Nanda had to say on the subject, the Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri S. K. Patil, even sought to justify rising agricultural prices on the specious plea that it was some evidence of a welcome shift in economic initiative from the microscopically small but dominant urban and industriaal sector to the overwhelmingly larger rural and agricultural sector. This, he claimed, was an inevitable result of the overall economic upsurge flowing from successful development planning. Later, during the Budget session of Parliament this year, Shri Nanda again brought the matter up for the consideration of the Parliamentary executive of the Treasury party when it appears to have slowly begun to dawn upon the powers that be and, especially, upon the Prime Minister, that here was a question too vital to be either ignored or cavalierly by-passed with a few platitudinous shibboleths. Even then, it may be recalled, Messrs Morarji Desai, S. K. Patil and others of their way of thinking, continued to ignore the implications of the situation and Shri Patil even went so far as to confirm that agricultural self-sufficiency, even in the matter of food grains, as earlier envisaged, would be wholly impossible to attain within the Third Plan period; may be, he was reported to have added, it might be possible to do so within the following decade or so. He, as Union Food Minister, had therefore arranged to do the next best thing, that is for ample imports of wheat and some rice from the U.S.A. under PL 480 to enable a sufficiently large Central buffer stock to be built up to tide over periods of lean supply. This was necessary, he said, because agriculture, in India, by and large, was still very materially dependent upon the mercy of the seasons.

Even, then, it is significant, that no factual assessment of the situation was available. It was not until after the debacle over food prices in West Bengal that supervened last October, that official attention would seem to have been seriously focussed on this very vital need. Possibly, the concern that the new Union Finance Minister had begun to evince over the poor growth rate of the economy may have been an additional factor. However, it is only now that information has been released that the total production of food cereals in the country during the year 1961-62, the first year of the Third Plan, had been of the comparatively modest order of 79.7 millions tons—which was less than five per cent higher than that of the preceding year—and fell back, during the following year, (1962-63) to 77.5 million tons, which was less than 2 per cent higher than that of the last year of the Second Plan and was actually very nearly 3 per cent less than that of the preceding year's output. Firm estimates do not yet seem to be available, but it is prognosticated that crop prospects for the current year (1963-64) are very much brighter and what may be considered to be a bumper yield may now be looked forward to during this, the third year of the current Plan period. It would not seem, however, that the average rate of increase in food grains production over the whole of the first 3 years of the Plan would be, in any case, likely to be anywhere above 3 per cent per annum and would be bound to be far below the average 6.4 per cent per annum rate (32 per cent over the whole Plan period) assumed in the Plan. This, it should be realised, will just about cover the pace of annual population growth over the corresponding period which has been assessed to be of the rather alarming order of some 2.4 per cent per annum.

Plan Reappraisal

All this now seem to have pursuaded Government to undertake a mid-term reappraisal of Third Plan performances upto date, with a view to assess, in realistic terms, its shortfalls

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to date and to diagnose the causes of the *malaise* and devise effective remedial meassures. This, the National Development Council has already done at a two-day session in New Delhi recently which, significantly, was immediately preceded by a conference of State Finance Ministers convened by the Union Finance Minister. The N.D.C., like the Planning Commission, it may be important to remember in this context, is equally a mere advisory body and has no statutory status, but since it includes Chief Ministers and representatives of all the constituent States of the Union within its personnel, it is bound to wield a considerable measure of influence and authority. Both the Finance Ministers-in-conclave as well as the NDC accepted the assessment that for the acknowledged inadequacy of the growth rate in the economy during the current Plan, the stagnation in agricultural performance must be held to be primarily responsible. Nothing very much more has been known to have eventuated in this process of plan reappraisal and the two-day session of the NDC concluded with a rather vague and indefinite official statement and the announcement by Government of the appointment of an "Agricultural Production Board" under the chairmanship of the Union Food and Agriculture Minister and with several concerned Central Ministers and the Member in charge of Agriculture of the Planning Commission as members. Obviously, this is intended to be a Central authority without, in its present composition, any representation of the States on its personnel. It does not seem to be clear what the actual functions of this new Board are intended to be and what its contributions to agricultural progress are expected to be in concrete terms. Agriculture, primarily, is the responsibility of the States and any attempt to find solutions of its problems while ignoring the States which would have to deal with them to obtain results, would be likely to be a futile exercise.

Third Plan Objectives

A reiteration of the Third Plan objective in terms of the progress in the national income at factor cost should be helpful in assessing the situation in realistic terms at this stage. The Second Plan was stated to have raised the level of national income from Rs. 10,080 crores at the end of the First Plan period to Rs. 14,500 crores per annum at the end of the Second Plan. Later evaluation of Second Plan achievements, however, revealed that the actual level of the national income as in 1960-61 was really Rs. 14,150 crores and not Rs. 14,500 crores as originally estimated. The Third Plan was expected to take the level of the annual national income at the end of the Plan period on to Rs. 19,000 crores at 1960-61 prices, that is, in terms of the earlier estimates of the Second Plan achievements in this behalf, the national income was assumed to rise by a little over 31 per cent over the entire Third Plan period or at the average annual rate of just over 6 per cent at 1960-61 constant prices. But if this projected rise to the rate of Rs. 19,000 crores per year has to be achieved in terms of the actual level of the national income as more accurately assessed later, the gross rise in the national income over the Plan period will have to be of the order of 34.3 per cent or at the average annual rate of just about 6.86 per cent. Appraisal of the current Plan's growth rate as now assessed, it appears that the actual rise of the income rate during the first two years of the Plan has been of the order of 2 per cent during the first of these years and just under 2.5 per cent during the following year at constant prices. So far as indications are available to date, it is not likely that the economy may have been evincing a higher growth rate during the current year and much of the residual growth during the current year such as it may prove to be eventually, will have been very substantially wiped out by the steep rise in the price level that has been evinced, especially in the food and other essential consumables' sector during the last 12 months and more since March 1962.

It would seem to be hardly likely now that the targets of the current Plan would be reached in this regard. Inspite of the present rather belated awakening and concern over this matter and the Prime Minister's rather forceful exhortations that immediate and effective implementation of the agricultural and other Plan programmes must be sufficiently speeded up in order that the overall Plan achievements over the five-year period may reach the initially targetted levels, it is very doubtful if that would at all be physically possible. Some eminent economists have already given expression to their apprehension that whatever may be done to inject additional effort in

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this direction, the growth rate of the economy as a whole canot be realistically expected to rise beyond an average rate of between 3.5 and 4 per cent per annum during the remaining period of the current Plan.

Planning Commission's Evaluation

The reappraisal in concrete terms of Plan progress just released by the Planning Commission would seem to bear out such an apprehension. They have now assessed the rise in the national income during the first two years of the current Plan at an average 2.5 per cent per anum over the base achieved in 1960-61. It would seem, therefore, that of the 34 per cent rise in the national income over the Third Plan period initially assessed, only 5 per cent have so far has been actually achieved, leaving a further 29 per cent or so to be covered within the following 3 years. This would mean, to enable the initially formulated objectives to be reached, that an average 9.6 per cent annual growth rate in the national income will have to be achieved during the remaining 3 years which, on the very face of it, would be a physical impossibility. The Planning Commission, in course of this reappraisal, confess that although the national effort during the first two years of the current Plan has been "more broad-based than before" and that the advances "in several basic branches of industry, coal, power and transport, have strengthened the economy," there has been "this heavy shortfall in the aggregate national product despite the fact that *aggregate investment has increased significantly* (emphasis mine)." Even in industry, therefore, the Planning Commission is now obliged to visualize, "there will be shortfalls in certain crucial sectors and, because of this, the Fourth Plan will *start at a lower base* (emphasis mine, again) than originally contemplated." It is also very significant that in this reappraisal the Commission take serious note of the price situation. It may be recalled that all the assumptions and prognostications of the Third Plan, as well as the projections into the Fourth and Fifth Plans included in this Plan document, were predicated on the base of 1960-61 constant prices. The Planning Commission now find that "since April last, when the third year of the current Plan began, the increase in the general price index exceeded 8 per cent after having declined by 3.6 per cent during the first year of the Plan and increased by 3 per cent during the second." Prices, there is ample evidence to confirm, are still on the rampage, although the Commission claims that the various measures to "regulate prices and distribution of commodities" already taken have had "some effect." But they are obviously seized of both the inadequacy as well as the comparative ineffectiveness of such measures when they emphasize that "the position is such that further action may become necessary to arrest this trend."

Estimates of Outlay

Estimates of outlay during the Third Plan now included in the Commission's reappraisal disclose, that Plan outlay in the public sector "during the first three years will be Rs. 4,198 crores and over the entire five year period Rs. 8,000 crores." It may be recalled that the original estimates of the Plan envisaged a gross public sector outlay of Rs. 8,300 crores, but actual provision of resources covered only Rs. 7,500 crores out of this, leaving an unbridged gap of some Rs. 800 crores to be filled in from till then unspecified sources. Since then some additional programmes have also been included in the Plan.

It would seem, therefore, that actual Plan outlay will, according to the results of the current reappraisal by the Planning Commission, cover very nearly 93.4 per cent of original estimates, over the entire Third Plan period. The Commission, however, frankly admit that possible ultimate achievements of the Plan is not likely to approximate to any where near such a proportion of the original assumptions. Even if it were to be assumed that during the last three years of the Plan the rise in the national income could be as high as an annual 5 per cent—which, it should be very explicitly stated would, on present showings, be a gross over-estimate—the achievements of the Third Plan as a whole would not be likely to exceed, in terms of the rise in the national income, an annual level of Rs. 16,980 crores. It would, on the face of it, be difficult to achieve even a 4% annual rise in the national income during the last three yaers of the Plan, but assuming prospects at this lower level, the national income would not be likely to rise to a level of any more than Rs. 16,555 crores at the end of the Third Plan period. The rising

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price factor which, over the last two and a half years has been of the very alarming order of over 8 per cent, is bound, further, to vitiate the assumption and achievements of the Plan. After necessary adjustments for the higher price levels —and inspite of the Planning Commission's observations that further measures must be devised to arrest the trend there is every likelihood of the price level rising substantially higher during the remaining period of the Plan —have been made in the estimation of the national income, the level attained in this behalf at the Third Plan end would be likely to be correspondngly attenuated and fall still lower than assumed above. It would seem inevitabe, therefore, that the Fourth Plan, as already apprehended by the Planning Commission, would have to start on a far lower base than originally visualized in the current Plan.

Fourth and Fifth Plan Projections

Projections into the Fourth and Fifth Plan estimates and objectives included in the Third Plan document visualize a growth of the national income to the level of Rs. 25,000 crores at the end of the Fourth Plan and to Rs. 34,000 crores at the end of the Fifth, all at constant 1960-61 prices. Assuming the level of the national income at 1960-61 prices at Rs. 19,000 crores as originally envisaged in the Third Plan, the Fourth Plan would, therefore, appear to have visualized an annual rise of approximately 6.25 per cent in the national income or an aggregate rise of 31.5 per cent over the Plan period. Assuming, therefore, that the actual level of the national income, as now apprehended, would not be likely to rise beyond Rs. 16,555 crores at the end of the current Plan, a 31.5 per cent gross rise over the entire Fourth Plan period—which, again, would be a patently gross over-estimation in view of the fact that the Plan would have to start at a far lower base than originally envisaged—would take the level of the national income at the end of the Fourth Plan period to no more than Rs. 22,540 crores. Again, the original projections as regards the fifth Plan, which estimated that the national income level at the end of this Plan would be of the order of Rs. 34,000 crores per annum starting on a base of Rs. 25,000 crores, a 36 per cent aggregate increase or an average annual rate of some 7.2 per cent would seem to have been assumed. Even granting that this rate of growth will be maintained, the national income level at the end of the Fifth Plan period would not on the now estimated lower base go beyond some Rs. 30,640 crores per annum.

Investment and Achievement

It has already been seen that the Planning Commission now admit that aggregate Plan outlay over the whole of the current Plan would be of the order of Rs. 8,000 crores or, roughly, about 93.4 per cent of what was originally assumed. But on present showing and considering the consensus of independent and expert opinion, it does not seem likely that actual achievements of the Plan, as indexed by the rise in the national income, would be likely to cover any more than just about 60 per cent of original estimates. The Planning Commission, of course, do not give any definite prognostications of what the actual incidence of the shortfalls in this behalf are likely to be, but that it would be quite substantial in any case has not been sought to be played down.

This, now provenly inescapable lag between the size of the investments and the equally inevitable and very substantial shortfall in the yield from their potentials, is an index of the huge national waste that the muddled thinking and confused implementation of Plan objectives have been burdening the country with. An additional index of the muddle in this behalf would be evident from the fact that while, on the one hand, the Government and the country were already seriously exercised over the failures and shortfalls of the current Plan and their very grave implications to the national economy, an eminent and senior Member of the Planning Commission in a recent public address made the boastful assertion that the Planning Commission would integrate into the Fourh Plan programmes for ensuring a minimum target of family incomes. He was reported to have said that it would be definitely ensured that by the end of the Fifth Plan period, that is by 1975-76, even the poorest family in the country must have an assured family income (for a family of 5) of Rs. 100 per mensem. Even if Plan fulfilment fully appro-

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ximated to the assumptions on which they were based, and were to be wholly achieved and it was possible to take the level of the national income to Rs. 34,000 crores per annum by 1975-76, this would, on the basis of the present pattern of income distribution (and for a basic modification of which there has never yet been any practicable approach integrated into the Plans), be a manifestly impossible task. Present shortfalls jeopardising future Plan estimates as they are bound to do in a more or lesser degree, such an assertion would seem to be all the more hypocritical and hyperbolic in actual effect.

Key Industries

The Planning Commission, in course of their appraisal, deplore that the rate of progress in industry has also been far less than anticipated. The index of industrial production demonstrates a rise by only about 6.5 per cent during the first year of the Third Plan and 8 per cent in the following year. It was anticipated that the average annual rate of increase in this behalf should not be less than 11 per cent. While some industries have evinced very commendable progress, some of the key industries, especially alloy, steel, etc. have not been pulling their weight in the process.

Of especial significance in this connection is the steel industry which has to provide the essential base not merely for industrial advance, but on which also must materially depend the propects of agricultural progress. It is necessary, therefore, to deal with this particular industry in the present context in somewhat greater details to enable a proper factual evaluation of the situation to be arrived at in this behalf.

Fourth Plan Projections on Steel

Steel is one of the very few items in the key industries sector on which some work has already been initiated in respect of the Fourth Plan programmes. A national Plan is already reported to have been formulated which calls for the production of 18 million tons of mild steel, 1 million tons of alloy steel and a further 3.5 to 4 million tons of pig iron by the end of the Fourth Plan period. These targets are said to have been predicated on the estimates of demand arrived at by various agencies. This is what the actual estimate of demand that would eventuate during the period concerned is said to be. It seems to have been finally decided to pitch the steel capacity by a higher margin of some 17 to 20 per cent to enable this measure of actual production to be achieved. The steel Plan as now formulated by the Steel Steering Group, therefore, calls for setting up two further new plants in addition to Bokaro and it is understood that the siting of these plants may be decided to be, one in Goa, and the other at Vishakhapattanam, each with a 1.5 million ton capacity. It is understood that Messrs M. N. Dastur & Co. who have already been made responsible for the design and projections of the Bokaro plant, have undertaken preliminary technical studies on Goa, while the Hindusthan Steel's Central Design Bureau have been made responsible for the Vishakhapattanam project. Prsumably, these proposed two new plants with a gross 3 million ton capacity have been predicated upon the idea that each Plan should leave behind "a legacy of construction in progress" for the following Plan period. This, on the face of it, would not appear to be the same thing as suggested by the Steel Steering Group which seeks to present this as a capacity target as distinct from production targets which would seem to have the obvious implication that very nearly a sevenh of the country's gross steel capacity would be left idle, possibly as some sort of an insurance against future shortfalls. They could not be said to be very far wrong in their estimations in this behalf for, so far, a like proportion of the over-all laid down steel capacity has been found to be actually inoperative so far as production-yields are concerned. At the same time, however, such a view of the matter would seem to ill accord with the Steel Minister's insistence on a 100 per cent production norm, against the considered recommendations of the Tariff Commission that a 90 per cent norm should be adopted as both feasible and fair, in assessing the retention price payable to the steel producers last year.

It is not quite clear if the Steering Group really intended that the proposed two new plants, possibly in Goa and at Vishakhapattanam, would be completed and go into production within the Fourth Plan period or would be left as "constructions in progress" to spill-over into the next Plan. Leaving aside these two proposed new 1.5 million ton plants, the Plan so far

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formulated by the Steering Group appears to be as follows :

Units	Capacity in 1965-66 (million tons)	Capacity in 1970-71 (million tons)	Estimated Cost (Rs. Crores)
Tisco	2.00	3.00	120
Indian Iron	1.00	1.90	50
Bhillai	2.50	3.25	75
Rourkella	1.80	2.50	70
Durgapur	1.60	3.00	140
Bokaro	....	4.00	600
Total :	9.90	17.65	1,055

It would seem that, on the very face of it, there are various inaccuracies in the above projections. It is almost certain, for instance, that the steel capacity assumed to already exist by 1965-66 at Durgapur and Rourkella, would only be completed well into the Fourth Plan period before which they could not be commissioned into production operation. It is just possible that the capacity now under expansion at Bhillai would just be completed and be ready for production op ration at the end of 1965-66, but for the rest, it will be quite sometime later into the Fourth Plan that they may be ready to yield production. The actual laid down capacity that would be likely to be available for production at the end of the current Plan, therefore, would be something like as under, assuming, however, that the expansion of the Billai plant to the 2.5 million ton level woud have been actually completed within this period :

Unit		Capacity (million tons)
Tisco	..	2.0
Iisco	..	1.0
Bhillai	..	2.5
Rourkella	..	1.0
Durgapur	..	1.0
Total :	..	7.5

It would seem, therefore, that the very bases upon which the Fourth Plan Steel projections appear to be estimated are, in themselves far too optimistic and unrealistic. Secondly, it is very doubtful with all the new construction activities related to the expansion programmes of the already existing and operating steel plants, whther production would approximate, within the Third Plan period, to the level of already laid down and operating capacity. According to a press report early last month, the Steel Minister was said to have estimated actual production rate at something like 5.8 million tons by 1965-66 which is roughly 22.6 per cent less than the estimated capacity. It would seem, therefore, that until production actually materialises to capacity level from the investments already made in this behalf, the resulting shortage can only be met by deficit-covering imports of a correspondingly large measure. The strain that this would be bound to involve upon the balance of payments position would be bound to make it correspondingly difficult to raise the additional reseurces that would be necessary for further expansions of steel capacity. It may be pertinent to recall in this context that apart from the estimates of the Steel Minister as regards the likely level of production as in 1965-66, there has also been an official warning issued by the Planning Commission that the 1965-66 production targets are not likely to be actually realised until 1968-69, the third year of the Fourth Plan.

Import Contents of Steel Development

A factual understanding of the cost of development of steel as programmed for in the Plans in realistic terms would call for an assessment of the import contents that would be required for the process. The Steel Ministry has, no doubt, been making breezy assertions that massive efforts and crash programmes would be undertaken to reduce the import contents of steel development. It is doubtful, however, if any sizeable cuts in this behalf would be possible in the present circumstances of industrial development as a whole as well as of the steel industry in particular. It should not, of course, be impossible to reduce the cost of imported technical personnel both for construction and initial operation of steel plants by a sizeable measure, which incidentally account for quite a substantial proportion of the foreign exchange costs involved, if sufficient forethought and pre-programming for the purpose were brought to bear upon the matter. With 5 major steel plants operating in the country, two of which, in the

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private sector, have been very long in this business to have already acquired a sufficient stature and maturity, and 3 already operating in the public sector, it should not be difficult to plan and initiate programmes for personnel-development to cover, in very substantial measure, the requirements of future development in this behalf. All of these already operating plants in both the private and the public sectors are under programmes of further expansion in current and the Fourth Plan periods. In should not be impossible, given a well thought out plan and programme, to train adequate personnel in both construction and operation techniques, if immediately initiated, to largely cover the requirements of future development and to correspondingly eliminate present dependence upon foreign technical assistance. But this seems to be a matter upon which, so far, there does not seem to have been much forethought expended. Even the suggestions of as experienced a leader of this industry as Sir Biren Mookerjee who, in course of this annual address to the shareholders of the IISCO last year emphatically suggested that the present practice of sending out large numbers of callow, untrained young men abroad for training in this behalf was both unnecessary and wasteful. They should be acclimatized, he said, to the techniques involved in both erection and operation from the very construction stages on plants under erection or expansion, so that they may acquire the necessary measure of knowledge and experience of the industry at its various stages and with Indian materials and personnel as also in the particular conditions in which they would be required to operate. This was, obviously, very wholesome and a very timely advice by one who can be depended upon to have spoken with unquestionable authority. Unfortunately, however, scant notice so far appears to have been taken of such valuable suggestions as these.

Published details about the Bokaro plant disclose that by current Indian estimation the foreign exchange contents of the Plant shall be something like 41 per cent of the total outlay on it. The U.S. estimates put this down at some 60 per cent. Going by our own figures that we must do, the question would, nevertheless, be bound to arise as to whether, although by maximizing the indigenous contents of one particular project it may be possible to substantially reduce the import contents of this one plant, it may be possible to do so wholesale for the entire steel development programme without vitally cutting down the requirements of competing demands for scarce materials, services and personnel.

Apart from all other considerations, the full mobilization of existing and potential capacity in the country for harnessing them to the steel development programme would call for something like a fully coordinated battle plan worked out in great details to enable wholesome and desired results to be obtained. Equipment manufacture in the more developed countries from where we are now obliged to obtain them for our steel plants, is essentially a fragmented operation. The plant for Bhillai, it may be well to remember in this context, came from 400 different sources in the Soviet Union. Such a battle plan simply does not seem to exist in the country to-day. What we have are a multiplicity of committees composed of more or less the same set of men named, simultaneously on a dozen or so other panels, working groups, task forces, teams and what not. They cannot produce such a plan, not merely because it would call for infinite patience, competence and innumerable days of hard, singleminded and unremitting labour. That in most cases these men possess hardly any of these essential capabilities, their appointments having been mostly guided by political considerations rather than otherwise, there can be no question about. Individual manufacturers have, of course, been pushing their respective ideas of how each can contribute to the process, some of which may be very useful in themselves, but in the absence of a fully co-ordinated master-plan—of the existence of which there does not seem, so far, to be any visible sign—much of it would be bound to prove both wasteful and futile. It would seem inevitabe, therefore, that there would be hardly likely to be any sizeable reduction in the present level of the import content of the Fourth Plan steel development programmes.

The conclusion would seem to be inescapable, therefore, that inspite of the pious prognostications of our Government leaders to the contrary, we shall have to remain as helplessly dependent upon foreign credits for the implementation of the

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Fourth Plan steel targets as we have been in the Third. Experience has proved that credits will arrive only when the aid-givers choose to grant them and not when we think we should have them to neatly dovetail into our targets and time-schedules. One can hardly blame the aiding countries if they choose to drag their feet until they are satisfied with the results that may already have been flowing from the credits they had made available in the past. It is already confirmed by the Planning Commission that results will be late in eventuating and the question as to whether we would, once again, be compelled to lag a long way behind the targets set for the Fourth Plan and the results that may actually eventuate by the end of that period, would be a serious one to ponder our.

Cost of Steel Development

According to the figures of capital cost for steel development in the Fourth Plan, it would seem that in order to be able to lay down an additional steel capacity of 8.75 million tons during this Plan, the capital cost involved would aggregate Rs. 1,055 crores. This, of course covers only the cost of plant, equipments and construction and does take into account the many ancillory outlays in services and materials development, like power transport, water, etc., the size of which would also be bound to be additionally very substantial indeed, and would correspondingly enlarge the requisite capital base for steel development of the order envisaged. Apart from the question as to whether resources available would be sufficient to cover our requirements in this behalf, the cost of per ton capacity would also seem to work out at a very high figure. The economic justification for such high level of capital outlay for steel development is a matter which needs to be worked out in great details and towards which there does not seem to have been any visible endeavour so far. Less than twelve years ago, India was the cheapest steel producing country in the world. Much of it was, no doubt, due to any absence of steel development over many decades and, in some part, to the low labour and materials costs in this country. The cost of steel development and, correspondingly, the cost of production of steel, has been progressively mounting upwards over the last decade of Planning and development, the present level of which now very nearly approximates to the existing world levels. It is a matter of the gravest concern as to how much higher it may be economically justifiable to raise the per ton cost of steel development as well as the cost of actual production of steel. With an average 17 to 20 per cent idle capacity, as is now, intended to be provided, there would be a corresponding load on working and production costs. In addition, the mounting costs of plant, equipments, servicing and other facilities, appear to have been carrying the cost of steel production steadily upwards to a level which, at this rate, may very soon outpace the level of world costs in this behalf. It has to be seriously considered as to whether the country can at all afford such a situation.

Pattern of Development

The pattern of development of the economy as a whole as projected in the Plans, apart from considerations of targets and achievements of individual targets, whether they be in the agricultural or the industrial sectors, would also seem to demonstrate of measure of uncertainly and confusion. In the agricultural sectors, the emphasis, visibly has been very appropriately on flood contro, irrigation and fertilizers development measures. But so far there does not seem to have been any very sizeable effort contemplated in the development of mechanized farming with a view to accelerating both the pace and the volume of agricultural yields. There are a variety of reasons why this could not be done, not the least of which are the absence of a rationalibed and uniform land tenure system, but the question of employment has also been playing an important part in this lack. India's has been tranditionally a predominantly agricultural economy and even now some 70 to 75 per cent of the population are agriculture-based. Any very sizeable effort in mechanization of agriculture would be bound to correspondingly dislocate the proportion and the problem of underemployment which is already immensely widespread and chronic in this field, would be bound to assume correspondingly alarming proportions. In the programmes of industrial development, top priority has, so far been accorded to such producer bases as steel, coal, power, transport, machine building, small-tools and other such

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obviously for two principal reasons. First and foremost, because they provide the base for further industrial development towards what Rostow describes as the take-off stage in an economy and, incidentally, also because these industries have great potentials for stimulating savings and corresponding acceleration in spontaneous capital formation.

The problem of both complete unemployment as well as partial underemployment has been of such a tremendously rising incidence correspondingly with the rapid growth of the population that necessarily capital-intensive as most of these new basic producer industries in our development programmes have been, in most cases their operational and maintenance organizations have, under the compulsion of the situation, been developed along primarily labour-intensive lines. The impact on the per unit cost of production has, necessarily, been correspondingly heavy which, in turn, has inevitably been having the most unhealthy impact upon the general price structure in the country.

It is understandable that scarce resources have had to be unusually concentrated upon laying down essential industrial bases for future development with their inevitably lower employment-content. But unless such efforts are matched in some measure with efforts at development of essential consumer industries, inflationary pressures would be bound, as they have been proving already, to prove an inescapably retarding factor in developmental efforts. There is, of course, a school of opinion which considers that a certain measure of inflationary pressure helps to stimulate the bouyancy of developmental progress. Prof. Charles Pigou of Cambridge, who must till be regarded as one of the foremost thinkers in the science of monetary techniques, sets the limit of the helpful contens of inflationary pressures at no more than 1 per cent when the pace of population growth is within the 2 per cent per annum mark and who seems to consider an incidence of inflation which proceeds at a greater pace than the growth of the population as simply ruinous and destructive of all developmental potentials. Short supply of consumables and heavy measures of new investments with the corresponding increase in the supply of money in the market, have been steadily contributing to such a measure of inflationary pressure on the general and, especially on essential consumer price indices that in this, the third year of our third quinquennial Plan, the assumptions upon which its programmes have been based are well now threatened with complete dislocation.

In fact the process of planing in this country would seem to have been constitutionally defective from the very beginning when regard is had to the fact that each Five Year Plan has been finally confirmed and adopted for implementation piecemeal, only after we have been well into the projcted Plan period. Besides, neither the First nor the Second Plan included any adequate future projection of the lines and measures along which development will have to eventually follow after the immediate Plan period has been over. It is only as late as the Third Plan when some projections were undertaken into the following Plan periods at the end of which, it was expected, the "take-off" stage would be reached. But these projections, merely predicate the objective which, in terms of the size of the national income at factor cost and at 1960-61 prices would be achieved at the end of each of these respective Plan periods.

An important point to consider in this respect is the traditional pattern of distribution of the net aggregate national product as between the different sectors of the population which, it was claimed, planning would correct to ensure a progressive abridgment of disparities in income and wealth. Unfortunately in the absence of any definitive thinking of the so-called architects of our planning machinery in this behalf and of any appropriate machinery for directional changes in the pattern of traditional distribution, a contrary result appears, so far, to have been achieved. If any reliance can be placed upon the findings of the National Income Distribution inquiries so far essayed, there has been, over the Plan periods, a far greater concentration of both wealth and income within certain traditionally favoured sectors of the population than ever before in the history of the country. This, in itself, should be considered the greatest indictment of planning and the muddle-headed and confused manner of its progressive implementation over the first decade of planned development, as they have been so far attempted in this country.

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1. *Politics And Society In India Today*, p. 46.
2. *Towards A Self-Reliant Economy*, p. 172.

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U.S. SCHOOLS TEST 'DO-IT-YOURSELF' TEACHING TECHNIQUE FOR BASIC PHYSICS

There was a run on soda straws in the Woodrow Wilson High School cafeteria here recently. But not because the students were extra thirsty.

They had just learned how to make a set of scales sensitive enough to weigh the wing of a fly using only two soda straws, a needle, a brass screw and a matchbook cover.

This "do-it-yourself" physics apparatus was explained to them by Elbert P. Little, executive director of the Physical Science Study Committee, which is centered at Massachusetts Institute of Technology near Boston.

Little's committee has developed a new physics course now being tested in eight high schools in the United States. Out of the window are the ancient problems of levers and pulleys. The student sumps right into the fundamental area of wave theory, which involves the crucial questions of modern physics.

By 1960, Little estimates, more than 100,000 U.S. high school students will be exposed to the new concepts of physics. But judging from the reaction of Woodrow Wilson students, 1960 is just too long to wait!

In Washington to attend an MIT regional conference, Little toted a 60-poud wooden case containing the science apparatus developed in conjunction with the physics curriculum to Woodrow Wilson for an impromptu demonstration.

Almost all the equipment can be built by the student in his own basement at a cost of a few pennies or a few dollars.

"I could make those scales in 10 minutes" said John Harllee Jr. "I think I'll get a couple of straws from the cafeteria now."

Static electricity which is produced by a moving belt rubbing against an obstacle inside a globe, jumps into the hands of a student at the Woodrow Wilson High School

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"I often scrounge things that way," said Little, who with drapery rings, cake pans, snap beads, mirrors, clothes pins and orange juice containers was able to open up a new world of science for the students.

The equipment most pertinent to the course is a ripple tank, which projects wave motions onto the ceiling. With this tank, it is possible to measure wave lengths and frequencies, to demonstrate reflection, refraction and interference patterns, to explain the principles of lenses, telescopes and spectroscopes.

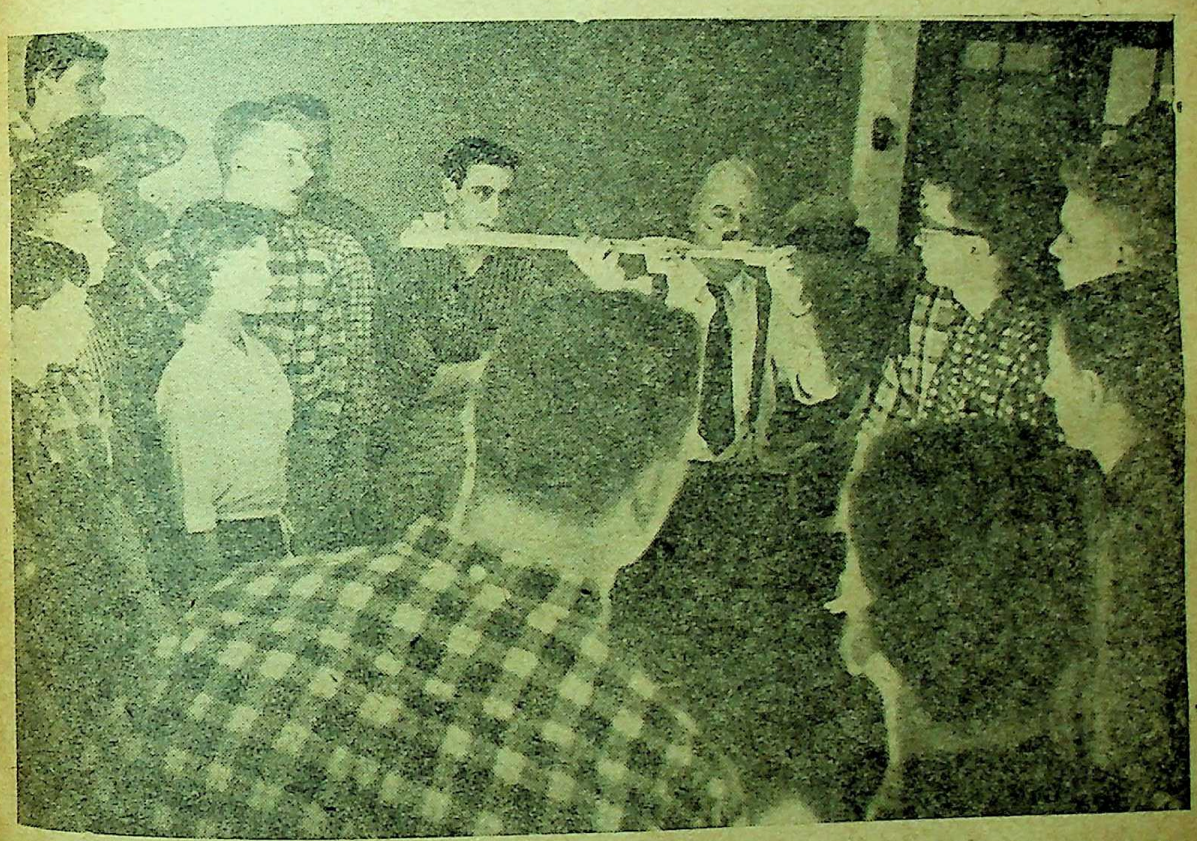
Usually such tanks are priced at $100 or more. But Little's model costs $6 or $7. The tank is made of an ordinary window frame into which a pane of window glass is set. On the floor under the window pane a 100-watt light bulb is placed. Driving mechanisms, to make either plane or spherical waves, are made of wood, clothes pins and beads powered by six-volt motors from toys that can be bought for $1 or less.

Similarly, students examined a high-voltage generator, made out of a cake pan, orange juice mixer and world globe, which is capable of producing 50,000-volt sparks, and looked through telescopes made of linoleum and lenses positioned by wooden curtain rings.

"It's amazing what a little imagination will do," said Bill Steele, a Woodrow Wilson senior.

Instruction in using the new equipment and textbooks will be given to 250 teachers at institutes this summer. By the following summer they are expected to give instruction to 2500 additional teachers. In that way, the course can be introduced easily into the public schools. Initial response in the eight pilot schools is enthusiastic.

Little's committee, supported by $1,695,000 in foundation funds, also is developing 60 first-rate films for classroom demonstrations and a series of paper-back books on special science subjects. The project was begun in 1956 by



A range-finder home-made at the Woodrow Wilson High School, Washington, and built on the model of a camera's range finder, enables it to bring together images reflected from two built-in mirrors

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Jerrold R. Zacharias, MIT physics professor and chairman of the Physical Science Study Committee.

Light Waves—Woodrow Wilson High School students in Washington, D.C., study physics on the ceiling of a classroom. With them is Elbert P. Little of the Physical Science Study Committee at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who creates ripples of light—or simulated wave lengths—on the ceiling by placing a lightbulb beneath a shallow pool of water. The tank for the water is an ordinary window frame. Little's committee plans widespread use of this low-cost physics apparatus.

Home-Made Stroboscope—Alice Sokolov, a student at Woodrow Wilson High School in Washington, D.C., holds a home-made stroboscope with which she can "stop" light ripples on the ceiling. The device she uses consists of the box, inside of which is a circular cardboard with a minute slit in it. By sighting on the ripples as the cardboard turns, Alice gets only a momentary view of them through the tiny slit and the ripples seem to have stopped moving.

Soda Straw Scale—Elbert P. Little of the Physical Science Study Committee at Massachusetts Institute of Technology explains the mechanics of "build-it-yourself" scales to Sandra Boorstein, a student at Woodrow Wilson High School in Washington, D.C. Made of two soda straws, a needle, brass screw and match... cover, the instrument is so sensitive it can weigh... the wing of a fly. Little believes 100,000 students... in the United States will soon be making and... using these devices.

Drapery Ring Spectroscope—That's a spec... troscope made from an ordinary drapery ring... that Bill Steele, a student at Woodrow Wilson... High School in Washington, D.C., is holding... Cut into the strip of dark-coloured plastic in the... center of the wheel are tiny slits. When Bill... looks through the slits, they break up the light... into the colors of the spectrum.

Static Electricity—Static electricity jumps... from a globe to the hand of a student at Wood... row Wilson High School in Washington, D.C.... The electricity is produced by a moving belt... rubbing against an obstacle inside the globe. The... materials used in this scientific device: a globe... juice can, cake pan and coat-hanger wire.

Range-Finder—Elbert P. Little of the... Physical Science Study Committee at Massachu... setts Institute of Technology holds up a home... made range-finder for students at Woodrow Wilson... High School in Washington, D.C., to examine. Built on the principle of a camera's range-finder, the device enables its user to bring together the... images reflected from two mirrors. The apparatus is used in the study of optical science.

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POPULATION OF GREECE ABOUT 1200 B.C.

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

Sometime ago we estimated the population of India at the time of the Great War of Kurukshetra to have been 60 to 70 million. The traditional date of the war is 3102 B.C., but a majority of scholars think it to have taken place about 1450 B.C. Some have doubted the correctness of our estimate; but they have not pointed the errors in our method of estimation.

The population of Greece about 1200 B.C. we estimate to have been 11 lakhs. How we have estimated it is given below. The population of India of old i.e., "India" i.e., Bharat plus Pakistan is 433 million in 1951; and that of Greece 7.6 million. The ratio is 57 :1 now. Three thousand five hundred years ago it was some 50-64 : 1. The mean figure is about 56 :1.

Having regard to distance in time, the nature of data, and factors of history, especially as to immigration and emigration, war and pestilence, and the possible differences in area, the agreement is sufficiently close, if we assume that the growth of population in these two different countries, rather regions, have been at the same rate throughout the thirty-five centuries.

In 1886 Beloch estimated the population of Greece at the death of Augustus, 14 A.D., to have been 30 lakhs. Beloch's Greece was smaller than the present Greece. During 1200 years the population increased 2.6 times. The population of India at the time of Chandragupta Maurya (320 B.C.) has been estimated to have been 186 million (see MAN in India, Oct. 1962). In India the population has increased during 1150 years some 2.9 times. Here again the agreement is close.

Just as we depended for our data upon the Mahabharata in the case of India, we depend entirely upon Homer for Greece. The traditional date of the fall of Troy is 1184 B.C., the Greek expedition to Troy started ten years earlier in 1194 B.C. Schlieman's explorations have shown that there is a solid kernel of truth in Homer. The date of Homer is generally taken to be 850 B.C., but recent researches have pushed it back to 10th century B.C. We have used Rien's translation of the Iliad and Rouse's translation of the Odyssey; and our references are to their pages.

Thucydides (C.457-401 B.C.) in his History of the Peloponnesian War (E.L.S. —Crawley) says:

"He (Homer) has represented it (the Greek expeditionary force to Troy) as consisting of 1200 vessels; the Boetian complement of each ship being 120 men, that of the ships of Philoctetes 50. By this I conceive he meant to convey the maximum and the minimum complement; at any rate he does not specify the amount of others in his catalogue of ships. That they were all rowers as well as warriors we see from his account of the ships of Philoctetes, in which all the men at oar are browmen. Now it is improbable that many supernumeraries sailed if we except the kings and high officers; especially as they had to cross the open sea with munitions of war; in ships, moreover, that had no decks, but were equipped in the old piratical fashion. So that if we think the average of the largest and smallest ships, the number of those who sailed will appear inconsiderable, representing as they did, the whole force of Hellas. And this was due not so much to scarcity of men as of money."

According to Thucydides, the Greek totalled $1200 \times \frac{120 + 50}{2} = 1,02,000$ men.

But the above figure requires, several minor corrections. The total of ships is not 1200, but 1206 (Iliad, pp. 53-59). Now for the supernumeraries, kings or war-leaders mentioned by name number 43. If for each king there is 1 high officer and 1 esquire, the

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total would be 129. The helmsmen did not fight; they were left behind to take care of the ships, to serve as stewards and deal out provisions (Iliad, p. 355). They were usually two (of Odyssey, p. 83; 99-100; p. 39).

After adding these, the total is 2541 and the grand total is 1,02,510+2,541=1,05,051.

The validity of Thucydides' argument depends upon the number of big and small ships being equal. There are three direct statements as to the number of big and small ships. (Iliad, pp. 53, 58, 296). The strength of other fleets may be inferred: (from Iliad, pp. 55, 57; Odyssey, p. 31).

Tabulating them, we get

	Big ships	Small ships	
Boetians	50	....	Direct mention
Philoctetes	...	7	Direct mention
Achilles	...	50	Direct mention
Agamemnon	120	....	Inference
Nireus	...	3	Inference
Nestor	...	90	Inference
	150	150	

In a sample of 300 ships out of 1206, the numbers of big and small ships are equal. So Thucydides is right in his argument.

That the Greek army numbered 1,05,000 is supported by internal evidences from Homer. The Trojans made an all-out attempt to drive away the Greek invaders and invading fleet; they camped in the open after reaching the wall built to protect the plain before Troy for the night and lit camp-fires. Homer says:

"Such and so many were the Trojans' fires, twinkling in front of Ilium midway between the ships and the streams of Xanthus. There were a **thousand** fires burning on the plain; and round each one sat **fifty** men in the light of its blaze." (Iliad, BK. VIII, p. 159).

The number of Trojans is 50×1000 =50,000. Next day when the Trojans were attacking the Greek camp, and trying to burn the ships, Homer says:

"And now like reapers who start from opposite sides of a rich man's field and bring the wheat or barley tumbling down in armfuls till their swathes unite, the Trojans and Achaeans (i.e., Greeks) fell upon each other to destroy. Their numbers were equal, and panic was unthinkable to either side." (Iliad, Bk. XI, pp. 198-199).

So the Greeks on that day numbered 50,000.

While the Trojans were encamping in the open, Agamemmon, the Greek Commander-in-Chief, was telling his audience of captains and counsellors of the Greeks:

"Now to my bitter disappointment (Zeus) bids me retreat to Argos in disgrace, with **half** my army lost." (Iliad, Bk. IX, p. 161).

Agamemnon proposed to "retreat to Argos in disgrace, with half my army lost . . . Nine fateful years have passed. The timbers of our ships have rotted and their rigging perished." (Iliad, Bk. II, p. 43).

So the initial strength of the Greek army was 2×50,000=1,00,000 men.

This was without including Achilles and his contingent of 50×50=2,500 men. Because, he having quarrelled with Agamemnon over the captive girl Briseis, was not taking any part in the war.

This brings the total to 1,02,500 without the supernumeraries and helmsmen. Had Achilles' contingent been under Agamemnon at the time of the Trojan attack on the Greek camp, they would have outnumbered the Trojans.

The Greek army consisted of both conscripts and volunteers. Thucydides says:

"When Eurysthenes did not return, Atrens ascended the throne with the goodwill of the Mycenaeans, who were afraid of the Heracliolae. Thus the Pelopidae surpassed the Perseidae, and I imagine that it was this heritage, combined with naval predominance, that enabled Agamemnon to momilise his forces, "who were **conscripts** rather than volunteers."

On the other hand, Nestor says to Patroclus:

"My friend, do you remember what your father Menoetius told you, that day he sent you from Phthia to join Agamemnon? I and King Odyesseus were in the house and heard it all. We were on a **recruiting** tour through the fertile land Achaea, when we came to Peleus' splendid house, where

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we found the Lord Menoetius and yourself, and Achilles with you." (Iliad, Bk. XI, p. 217).

When we remember that it took Agamemnon two years to collect the expeditionary force, there cannot be any doubt that it consisted largely of volunteers.

Agamemnon and his brother Menelaus, both sons of Atreus, were 'the two commanders' of the Greek army. Nestor speaks of Agamemnon as the better man 'since he rules more people' and as 'Sceptered king.' He furnished the largest number of ships—100, besides the 60 he gave to the Arcadians. 'His following was by far the finest and most numerous.' (Iliad, Bk. II, p. 55).

Menelaus furnished 60 ships. It was to avenge his wrong that the Greeks assembled the army. They furnished 220 ships out of 1206. They are likely to have conscripted their subjects.

The other kings and war leaders had not the same motive; nor were they so powerful. The recruits to their contingents were very likely to have been volunteers, though some of their immediate followers may have been conscripted; and many came with small contingents.

The proportion of conscripts to ovlunteers in the Greek expedition force to Troy we assess at 1 : 5.

Age period 20-35 is generally regarded as the military age; not that older men are unfit for military service. In the Greek army, Odysseus, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Achilles are older men; Nestor was a very very old man. As there was some conscription with a view to gather as large a force as possible, we think the Greek army represented not more than one-seventh of the total population. As it took Nestor two years to recruit volunteers, the army certainly represented less than one-seventh. It was rather nearer to one-eighth.

We have estimated the proportion of conscripts to volunteers in the army to have been 1 : 5. In those regions where conscription prevailed, the conscripts represented one-seventh of the population; and from where the volunteers came, one-eighth of the population may have come as volunteers. Just as some men of military age may have refrained from joining the army; others of 'over-age' may have volunteered.

Conscripts represented one-seventh of the population of region A, where there was conscription; volunteers represented one eighth of population of the remaining region B.

Army = $\frac{1}{6}$th conscripts plus 5/6th volunteers.

Therefore, army represented = $\frac{1}{7}$ of $\frac{1}{6}$ of population in conscript area plus $\frac{1}{8}$ of $\frac{5}{6}$th of population of volunteer area

$$= \frac{43}{336} \text{ or } 12.8 \text{ per cent of entire area.}$$

This is the upper limit of those who joined the army.

Ordinarily there is as much chance of a man of military age joining the army as not. But the old Greeks were extremely warlike. Soil was poor and iron was not plentiful, rather rare; the rewards from joining a military expedition were greater than those from cultivation or horticulture. Piracy was then honourable. Life was held cheap; and it was insecure from wild animals, pirates, and powerful neighbours.

Taking the chance of joining the army to that of staying at home in the proportion of 2 : 1, we estimate that the army represented—

$$1 \times \tfrac{1}{7} \text{ of } \tfrac{1}{6} + \tfrac{2}{3} \text{ of } \tfrac{1}{8} \text{ of } \tfrac{5}{6}$$

$$= \frac{43}{504} \text{ or } 8.33 \text{ per cent of population.}$$

Pareto's Law of Distribution of Incomes has been found to hold good for all countries and all ages. It is if (= the number of persons having an income of Rs. X and above) to be equal to $NX^{-\alpha}$, where N and α are two constants. The value of α is generally between 1.5 and 1.67 for agricultural communities, especially when the disparity is not great as in the ancient world.

Taking x = 1, as the income of those who can just maintain themselves and their families; and taking y = 100 for all such persons of a normal community not in grip of famine, we can find the proportion of those who have twice that income; i.e., an

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income at which persons may taste some comforts and primitive luxuries.

The proportion is some 33.4 per cent.

Two-thirds, or 66.6 per cent of the population had an income between 1 and 2. They were the poorer people, whose condition of life was more or less hard. Fertility is generally higher among poorer people; and pressure of population was greater amongst them in static economies. War offered them opportunities for acquiring wealth; it is very likely they would volunteer for active service.

So, we take two-thirds of the people of military age, i.e., one-eighth of the population, volunteered to go to Troy. This would work out to

$$\frac{1}{4} \text{ of } \frac{1}{6} + \frac{2}{3} \text{ of } \frac{1}{8} \text{ of } \frac{5}{6}$$

$$= \frac{7}{84} \text{ or } 8.33 \text{ per cent of the total population.}$$

Population in ancient times increased very slowly. The people of the Indus civilisation increased by 4-6 per cent per century. There is no reason to think that the ancient Greeks increased faster. The average life of the Greeks in the 5th century B.C. is 30 years. We take the Homeric Greeks to have been of Sundbarg's stationary type, i.e., their age- distribution was:

0—15	15—50	50 & over
330	500	170

Sundbarg has shown that persons between the ages of 15—50 are always half the total population in all countries and in all ages.

Though not as universally true as the above major age-distribution, the subdivisions of age-group 15—50 are of the following pattern in stationary types:

15—20	20—35	35—50	15—50	50 & over
90	245	145	500	170

Age 20—25 is the military age. Men over 20 begin to think of their future. Their fathers are mostly of ages 50 and over. When the fathers die patrimony is divided among his descendants. To live as comfortably as their fathers did is the objective of many. This the ancient Greeks could only do by bringing virgin lands under cultivation by cutting down trees, uprooting trunks and roots, and ploughing painfully with wooden hoes—as yet iron was rare; and arranging for irrigation. It was not an easty task in the hilly and unfertile Greece, where the rivers are non-perennial streams. Trade and arts were as yet undeveloped.

Of the 410 (245+165) persons in the age group 20—50, 170 would expect to be provided on the death of their fathers; the remaining 240 would have to 'find fresh fields and pastures new.' Dividing these 240 in the proportion of 165 : 245, the number of those in the age-group 20—35 would be 162. These are most likely to volunteer for an army carreer. For the males and females in a community are more or less equal, the proportion of such males is 16.2|2 = 8.1 per cent of the total population.

The Greek army to Troy is

$$\frac{1}{4} \text{ of } \frac{1}{6} + \frac{8.1}{100} \text{ of } \frac{5}{6} \text{ or } 9.1 \text{ per cent of the total population.}$$

Giving equal weight to all these estimates we get $(12.8 + 8.33 + 8.33 + 9.1)|4 = 9.64$ per cent of the total population of Greece or Hellas to have been in the Greek expeditionary force to Troy. And the total population was $100|9.64 = 10.37$ times $\times$ 1,05,000 = 10,88,850 or 11 lakhs in round numbers. The population may have been a little greater; but we think we are not in error of more than 10 per cent.

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INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE: THE STEELFRAME OF NEW DEMOCRACY

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Mr. Llyod George truly described the Indian Civil Service as the steelframe of the British Political structure in India in his famous speech in the House of Commons in 1922. But with the approaching end of British rule the I.C.S. was wound up and in October 1946, the Premiers' Conference which met at New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel decided to replace that service by the All Indian Administrative Service (later renamed as the Indian Administrative Service) the recruitment for which began in 1947.

As the new service has to work in a totally different environment in which the sovereignty of the people of India has replaced the extra-territorial soverignty of the British Parliament, it would be both interesting and instructive to analyse its role in the new political set up in the country. The service like other Civil Services in the world has to act as the instrument of executive policies. It cannot itself formulate those policies as that is the work of responsible ministers in the Parliamentary system of Government. It has, therefore, to work within a limited sphere, i.e., the frame-work of policies and programmes laid down by Ministers responsible to the legislature. But while the policies of particular Ministers and cabinets are subject to modification from time to time because the Ministers are birds of passage, the Indian Administrative Service has to maintain continuity of administrative policy without which the work of Government cannot be carried on. Moreover, although changes in Ministry are likely to disturb the even tenor of Governmental policies, the Constitution of India has liad down some Directive Principles of State policy which are the guiding principles of the Indian polity and are morally binding on Ministers and cabinets. Article 38 of the Constitution provides that the State shall try to establish "a social order in which justice, social, economic and political" shall prevail. Above all, the Indian National Congress, which is running the administration of the country has as its aim the establishment of a socialist pattern of society.

These are noble ideals for implementation by any Government. But the political leaders are by themselves incapable of implementing them like the many wild promises that they make to the electorate at the time of general elections. They are, therefore, in great difficulty when they are put in positions of power where they have an opportunity of executing their policies and programmes. At that time the Civil Service comes to their rescue. It is, therefore, clear that the dream of the new political, economic and social democracy cannot be realised without the help and co-operation of the premier service of the country.

But the Indian Administrative Service can only work as the steelframe of the new edifice if it is organised on proper lines. It is, therefore, necessary to inquire into the defects to the organisation of the Service and to suggest the methods of improving its composition and working.

It must, however, be stated at the outset that the problem of reorganisation of the public services has been long overdue in this country. The present writer concluded his paper on the "Future of the Indian Civil Service" read at the Seventh Session of the Indian Political Science Conference held at Jaipur in December 1944 with this remark: "There is no doubt about the fact that the Civil Service would be radically reformed in the future constitution of India."[1] But no step has yet been taken in that direction which does not mean that there is no need for reorganisation of the public services. In fact, the White Paper published in 1933 suggested that an inquiry should be held in 1942. The Joint Parliamentary Committee also suggested an inquiry by a committee of experts. Moreover, it was reported in May 1944[2] that the Government had appointed Mr. Rowland, a retired I.C.S. Officer as Special officer on duty in the Home Department of the Government of India to collect data and prepare a scheme for the reorganisation

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of the Civil Service after the war. But after the cessation of hostilities the British Government decided to abdicate power and, hence, it could not accomplish that task. Moreover, when the Premiers' Conference met at New Delhi in 1946 it was faced with the immediate task of filling the void created by the stoppage of recruitment to the Indian Civil Service. Therefore, at that time the work of undertaking a thorough inquiry into the working of the public services could not be taken up. But the need for such an inquiry should not be underrated as the only Commission which went into the details of the various questions relating to the public services was the Islington Commission which was appointed in 1912 and whose report, although it was ready in 1915, could not be published before 1917 when it became out of date. No doubt, the Lee Commission of 1923 did inquire into the various Civil Service questions but it did not do so with any thoroughness. After independence the Planning Commission requested Shri A. D. Gorwala to submit a report on Public Administration in India which he did in 1951. The Government of India also utilised the expert services of Dean Paul Appleby who submitted two reports to the Government of India. But these reports had a limited objective in view and were more of the nature of snapshots of the Indian administrative wing rather than comprehensive reports on the organisation and working of the administrative machine. Consequently, a full-scale inquiry into the structure and working of the Civil Services in India is long overdue.

But the new Service has been christened as the Indian Administrative Service which term gives a better idea of the nature of its work than the term Indian Civil Service which seemed to imply the whole army of public servants in India, although it actually meant only the higher Civil Servants belonging to a few executive departments.

The importance of the problem of recruitment and control of the Service cannot be overemphasized because if the original selection is carelessly made, no amount of in-service training can rectify the initial mistake. But the members of the Indian Civil Service occupied an anomalous position, as they were recruited and controlled by the Secretary of State for India, although they were borne on the cadre of the provincial Governments and a majority of them also worked under those Governments. The Governments under whom they worked had only minor disciplinary power over them. With the disappearance of the Secretary of State as the ultimate head of the Indian administration after the transfer of power, the functions of that high dignatory have devolved on the Government of India. Consequently, the Government of India recruits the personnel of the Indian Administrative Service, although its members are borne on the State cadre and work under the various State Governments. This provides for the indirect administrative control of the Union Government over the State Governments through a control of their Civil Service personnel. This fact also leads to administrative uniformity and is a safeguard against fissiparous tendencies, although it is indefensible on the basis of the principles of public administration. It also offends against the federal nature of our Constitution. But, in fact, in the present circumstances of India we require more such services. Hence the proposal of the Government to establish three more All India Services i.e. Medical, Forestry and Engineering has been hailed on all hands.

The recruitment to the Indian Administrative Service is made on the result of competitive examination held in October every year. The examination is held at various important towns of the country. It is open to all Arts, Science, Commerce, Agriculture Graduates and Engineering and Law Graduates of some Universities who are between the ages of 21-24. The upper age limit is, however, relaxable in favour of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, bona fide displaced persons from Pakistan, residents of the former French Settlements, candidates from Andaman and Nicobar Islands and certain categories of Government servants.

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Public Services (Qualifications for Recruitment) Committee, the Government of India decided that with effect from August 1960 a candidate appearing at an open competitive examination will have only two chances with the exception of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, displaced persons and departmental candidates for certain services. The Committee thought that "The mental qualities as also the personality can best be tested in one or at the most two examinations." There is, no doubt, some substance in this argument as a candidate who fails twice has comes out successful in the third attempt is

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generally one who has mastered the technique and attained success on the basis of his experience rather than brilliance. But from the candidates' side it may be argued that the first attempt is to make them familiar with the system of examination. The second is a real attempt. But if a candidate fails in it he should be given another opportunity. This is a plea for reverting to the old practice of allowing three chances to every candidate.

But before we discuss the problem of recruitment it has to be pointed out that the calibre of Candidates who are selected for the Indian Administrative Service is not as high as that of entrants to the Indian Civil Service. The most important reason for this is that after the transfer of power and simultaneous partition, the British members of the Service retired and the Muslim Civil Servants opted for the new dominion of Pakistan with the result that the cadre of the Indian Civil Service became depleted. Therefore, a large number of vancancies had to be filled during the post-partition period. Before this, not more than half a dozen appointments used to be made annually from the same recruitment area but when a large number of candidates had to be selected from this field the standard was bound to go down as even those candidates who obtained a very low position and who would have been rejected before, were also selected for appointment. Even at present there is a shortage of personnel in terms of the authorised strength of the I.A.S. which was 2147 on 1st January 1962,[3] but the number of officers in position was actually 1830. The average annual recruitment to the Service during 1956 to 1959 was 65. And on 28th May, 1962, the Home Minister disclosed in the Lok Sabha that the Government proposed to recruit about 90 candidates a year to the Indian Administrative Service during the next few years.[4] This fact has affected the efficiency of the public service in yet another way. Due to the retirement of a large number of seniors, the field was left open for the juniors, some of whom were appointed to many highly responsible posts.

The syllabus consists of three parts. The first part consists of compulsory papers carrying a total of 450 marks. This group consists of three papers, viz., English Essay, General English and General Knowledge, each, carrying a maximum of 150 marks. In part two consisting of 23 subjects, three subjects carrying 200 marks each have to be offered. In Part three two subjects carrying 200 marks each have to be selected out of a list of 15 subjects. The last part consists of a personality test carrying a maximum of 400 marks. Thus the total number of marks including those fixed for the personality test is 1850. Only those candidates who reach a qualifying standard in the written examination are called for the oral examination. Till 1956 the candidates had to secure qualifying marks in the latter examination in order to be eligible for appointment but now the marks obtained in the oral test are added to those obtained in the written examintaion.

The advisability of providing for a maximum of 400 marks for the personality test is not above controversy because the reliability of this test has not been established so far. It was responsible for pulling down many a brilliant candidate on the list of successful candidates for the Indian Civil Service when the maximum marks for the same were only 200. But when the maximum marks have been doubled in the Indian Administrative Service the problem should be handled very carefully. In this connection it will be useful to examine the results of anyone year, say, 1947.[5] In that year the candidates who stood third, fourth and fifth in the written examination obtained the seventh, eighth and twelvth positions in the list of successful candidates because they scorded less than 200 marks in the viva voce examination while the candidates who obtained the third, fourth, fifth and sixth positions in the list of successful candidates obtained less marks in the written examination than the above-mentioned candidates but they were pulled up in the list due to a high score in the oral examination. Another instance of the defective nature of the viva voce examination was the fact that the candidate who obtained the thirtieth position in the written examination obtained the fourteenth position in the list of successful candidates as he scored the highest number of marks in the viva voce test.

According to the Union Public Service Commission the interview test aims at "an assessment of the mental calibre of the candidate when that term is understood to include not only intellectual qualities but also social and moral traits of personality. Some of the qualities to be judged are mental alertness, critical powers of assimilation, clear and logical exposition,

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balance of judgment, variety and depth of interests, ability for social cohesion and leadership, intellectual and moral integrity." But it is not clear how within the short space of about a quarter of an hour the "Board of Competent and unbiassed observers" are able to judge these diverse qualities of candidates.

It would, however, be wrong to presume that the majority of I.A.S. officers consist of those who have been selected through a competitive examination. In fact, out of 1830 officers in position at the end of 1960, 216 were members of the I.C.S., 91 "War Service" officers, 198 recruited on the basis of two special recruitments in 1949-51 and 1956-57, 598 directly recruited on the basis of open competition and 727 promoted from State Services. Thus the number of I.A.S. officers recruited on the basis of open competitive examinations is less than 33 per cent of the total number of officers in service.[6] It may also be pointed out that the promotion of a large number of P.C.S. officers to the Service is bound to tell on its efficiency and all India outlook. The selection for the State Executive Service is not so stiff as that for the highest service which is recruited from among the best graduates throughout the country. Moreover, the officers of the State Service generally suffer from a provincial bias. It would thus be desirable to reduce the percentage of promotions from the State Service and fill such vacancies on the basis of direct recruitment.

Till recently the probationary training was imparted at the Indian Administrative Service Training School at New Delhi. But on 1st September, 1959, the I.A.S. Training School at Delhi and the I.A.S. Staff College, Simla were merged into the National Academy of Administration at Mussourie. During the period of training the probationers are taught Indian Criminal Law and Procedure, General and district Administration, the Administrative History of India, General Principles of Economics and the five year plans, regional languages and Hindi, auto-mechanics and horse-riding.

But the real training, however, begins with the assumption of duties by the new entrants to the Service after they have successfully undergone the probationary training. They are posted to work under a senior collector in a district where they learn by doing. It is this part of their training which is most important and most neglected at present. One reason for this is that very few senior and experienced collectors have been left in the districts. Moreover, the Collector has so many calls on his time due to the democratic nature of the Government and his increased responsibilities in the field of planning that he has hardly time to pay attention to the training of the young recruits. A. D. Gorwala categorically states : "In the I.A.S. there is undoubtedly good material. If in the years to come it so happens that it does not bear comparison with the best men of the past, one reason will be failure in training."[7]

In U.P. there is in-service training also at an officer's Training School at Allahabad. But here it must be stated without equivocation that the period of probation is not utilised for keeping the new entrant under the constant observation of his superiors so that he may be rejected if foud unsuitable for service and everybody who is appointed on probation is almost always absorbed in the permanent cadre of the Service. In this way a very good opportunity to weed out unsuitable candidates is lost due to carelessness.

In 1961 the Government of India decided to increase the period of probation for new entrants to the Service from one to two years. Earlier the question of their confirmation was decided on the basis of their work during the period of probationary training but henceforth their work in the field for one year also would be taken into consideration before they are confirmed. But, however, for those candidates who have been promoted from State Service the period of probation would remain one year only.

In regard to work the new Service has been assigned a far inferior role to its predecessor. This is natural when India has attained freedom from foreign rule. The powers of the Civil service were bound to shrink under a full-fledged parliamentary system of Government which has been established in India by our Constitution. But although the Civil Servant's political duties have come to an end, his administrative importance has increased due to the impact of planning. Thus in addition to his normal duties the Collector has to act as the district development officer and in this capacity has to co-ordinate the various schemes of social and economic development sponsored by the Central and State Governments in his district.

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The members of the Indian Civil Service enjoyed generous conditions of service due mainly to the foreign composition of its personnel. They were entitled to long periods of leave and received large salaries. But with the disappearance of the foreign element those conditions do not obtain in our highest service. The members of the Indian Administrative Service are entitled to the same amount of leave as is admissible to class I officers of the Central Government in terms of the Revised Leave Rules of 1933. In this matter, therefore, they are not given any preferential treatment over other Union Civil Servants.

Their salary scales have also been recast and are more modest in comparision with the salary scales in the Indian Civil Service in which a new entrant received a basic starting salary of Rs. 450|- and reached the maximum of the time scale, *i.e.*, Rs. 2,250|- in 25 years. In Madras Presidency, however, the maximum grade in the time scale was Rs. 2,500|- because there are no commissioners in that State. But in the Indian Administrative Service the basic starting salary till 31st March, 1960 was Rs. 350|- and the maximum of the junior scale to which a new entrant is posted on joining service was Rs. 950|-, attainable after a service of 19 years. There was also a senior scale with salary ranges of Rs. 800|- and Rs. 1,800|-, attainable after 25 years' service, to which a member of the Service of over six year's standing was eligible for appointment. Along with those grades dearness allowance was also admissible. But from 1st April 1960[8], the junior scale carries a salary of Rs. 400|- to Rs. 1,000|- and the senior scale has been divided into Time Scale (Rs. 900—1300) and Selection Grade (Rs. 1,800—Rs. 2,000). The span of the time scale has been reduced from 25 to 22 years to bring it on *par* with Central Services

A very serious charge against the Indian Civil Service was that it was bureaucratic in nature. No doubt, bureaucratic tendencies are present in the Civil Service of all modern states which fact is due to the increasingly numerous and complex problems of present-day Governments and the lack of time and capacity on the part of the legislatures to deal with them due to which the latter leave more and more matters for the Civil Service which has to bear full responsibility for its actions and, therefore, proceeds with caution and, circumspection. But the main reasons for the critical attitude of Indian leaders towards the Indian Civil Service were its foreign composition and the overwhelming nature of its powers. No sphere of Government—executive, legislative or judicial—was outside the scope of its functions and powers and it dominated over all the three branches of Government. As the legislatures in India were non-sovereign bodies, the Civil Service ran the whole show of Government for a very long time. It was only after the passage of the Reforms of 1919 that the legislatures were given some powers and since that time the sphere of work of the Indian Civil Service began to be curtailed. But the new Service has started its life in an entirely changed atmosphere. Consequently, its functions are confined to the administrative field only. But in spite of this fact its influence on the Government is bound to be great because without its expert advice the Parliamentary System of Government, which puts an amateur at the head of a Government department, cannot succeed. But this need not cause any unnecessary alarm.

N. C. Roy is of opinion that "We cannot say that it has built up any tradition worth the name."[9] But traditions are not built in a day. Moreover, the Indian Administrative Service has inherited the traditions of its predecessor—the Indian Civil Service. In this connection Leo M. Snowiss aptly points out: "The question is not whether the I.A.S. has a tradition: it is rather whether the tradition it has is appropriate for contemporary India."[10] The Indian Civil Service developed the traditions of anonymity, neutrality, loyalty and integrity. The moot question today is whether the first two are unmixed blessings in the circumstances of a welfare state which is embarking on gigantic schemes of social and economic reconstruction with a view to raising the standard of living of the people who are steeped in poverty and misery. In this context it is pertinent to ask whether the Civil Servants should not be infected with the crusader's zeal for reforming the social and economic set up in the speediest manner possible.

This also raises another problem. Whether the civil servants should continue to be recruited on the basis of a general liberal education or they should be required to possess a knowledge of the social sciences particularly Economics. Some people have questioned the utility of the generalist administrator in the economic state of today. It has even been suggested that an Economic Service should be set up to look after the economic activi-

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ties of the state. But knowledge of Economics does not necessarily carry with it executive and managerial ability which are of greater consequence. In the opinion of A. D. Gorwala also "There would seen to be no case for a special Economic Civil Service."[11] Actually, however, for manning the senior managerial posts in the public enterprises the Government of India decided in 1957 to set up an "Industrial Management Pool" organised in seven grades. But the idea of an Economic Service as such has not found favour with the Government.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the organisation and role of the I.A.S. in administration are the same as those of its predecessor. But due to the federal nature of our polity and the erosion of national feeling and its supersession by regional sentiments, the role of the I.A.S. as a stabilising and unifying force has become even more important than that of the I.C.S. This is not an easy task as due to its heterogeneous character, the I.A.S., itself has not been able to develop that *esprit de corps* which was a characteristic of the old service. But as in view of the falling standards of University education it would be unwise to recruit all the Civil servants—a large number of whom would be needed to make planning a success—on the basis of a written competition and some candidates from higher age groups would have to be recruited, special efforts would have to be made to develop such a spirit. It may also be confessed here that although some defects of the old Civil Service have been removed in the new service, many still persist except where they have automatically disappeared due to changes in the political set up. These defects would continue to exist and detract from the efficiency of the Indian Administrative Service to act as the instrument of the new social, economic and political forces so long as the Service is not reorganised on a scientific basis.

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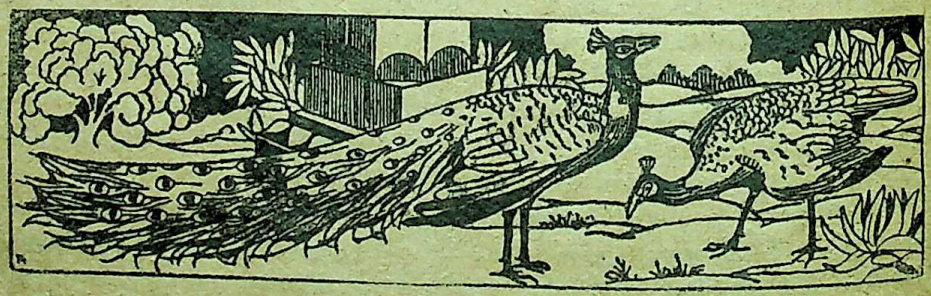
1. Published in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. VII, nos. 1 & 2 (1945-46).
2. Vide *Leader* dated May 30, 1944.
3. V. T. Krishnamachari, *Report on Indian and State Administrative Services and Problems of District Administrative Planning Commission*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 7.
4. The *Statesman* dated 29th May, 1962.
5. Based on information contained in the pamphlet for the combined competitive examination, 1947.
6. T. C. A. Srinivasavaradan, Some Aspects of the Indian Administrative Service in *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VII, No. 1, Jan.-March 1961, p. 26.
7. *The role of the Administrator: Past, Present and Future*, p. 31.
8. The Selection Grade was not introduced from this date.
9. *Civil Service in India*, p. 242.
10. *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VII, No. 1, Jan-March 1961, p. 24.
11. *Report on Public Administration*, p. 64.



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THE RT. HON'BLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI : A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY : By P. Kodanda Rao. Asia Publishing House, Ballard Estate, Bombay, D/Demy 8vo. Pp. 476. Price : Rs. 28.

Truly as Chakravarti C. Rajagopalachari says in course of his short but pithy foreward to this very fascinating volume, this, the first comprehensive biography of the late V. S. Srinivasa Sastri by one who has been his Personal Secretary for more than a decade, has been "a great service . . . . by giving us all an authoritative political biography" of one who has been "one of the most brilliant among those who, in the first decade of this century, dedicated themselves entirely to the cause of freedom."

Born in a very orthodox Brahmin family in 1869—his father was a professional priest and a great Sanskrit scholar—V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, after he had passed through a brilliant educational career in School and College, took to the teaching profession soon after his graduation in 1888. Even as a teacher he began to evince keen interest in the burning social questions of the day like marriage reform, educational progress etc. It was with the turn of the century that Gopal Krishna Gokhale, an adrent liberal in his political views and deriving his inspiration mainly from the late Mahadev Govinda Ranade, an eminent scholar, social reformer and a Judge of the Bombay High Court, whom he acknowledged as his Guru, felt the need for creating an organization of dedicated workers for fostering the spirit of liberalism and constitutionalism with a view to rescuing the mind of the patriotic elements in the country from the increasing grip of the nationalists under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak with their philosophy of extremism. It was with this end in view that Gokhale established the Servants of India Society in Poona in 1905 as a sort secular missionery organization and a training ground for a band of devoted workers dedicated to the service of the country and her people. The philosophy of the Servants of India Society deeply moved Sastri and he immdiately decided that this was somethng for which he had always been seeking to reach out in his own inner mind. It was the same year that Gokhale was scheduled to preside over the Benares session of the Indian National Congress at the comparatively young age of only 39 and Sastri attended the Congress as a delegate, primarily to meet Gokhale and confirm the decision which he had already tentatively taken to join the Society as one of its workers. The meeting only hardened this earlier decision and he duly applied for admittance into the ranks of the chosen. This led to a second meeting in Poona during the following Easter and it was during the following year that he finally resigned his job in the High School where he was working as Head Master and joined the Society. He remained an ardent worker and eventually became the leader of the Society on Gokhale's demise a position which he retained to the end of his very full and fairly long life.

Kodanda Rao's is an authentic record of Sastri's entire political life and of his eminent contributions to contemporary political thinking

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and movements in the country. His was a different path from those who came to assume the active leadership of the nation, notably from that of Gandhi and his followers. Political differences notwithstanding, however, he had such catholicity of views and a natural reverence for the other man's bona fide points of view, that these differences have always been tempered, throughout his life, with a measure of sweet reasonableness and accomodation, that deep and abiding personal friendships grew through these apparent differences to last to the end of his mortal days. The present reviewer, who had the very great privilege of working in close association with this great man for a very short while, remembers one occasion when, on account of the differences between the National Liberal Federation and Mahatma Gandhi and his school in their respective attitudes to the Government of India Act, 1935, the late Sir C. Y. Chintamoni, Editor of the "Leader" and then President of the Federation, was almost near-abusive of Gandhi in one of his editorials. Sastri immediately reacted with vitriolic sarcasm and asked Chintamoni if he thought that he only had a monopoly of patriotism ?—bonafide differences in points of view notwithstanding, he did not se what right Chintamoni had to doubt the quality Gandhi's love of country.

Sastri had represented the nation on a variety of international formus on a variety of assignments and everywhere he both raised the stature and enhanced the prestige of his country and her people. Of him one could truly say that he epitomised in his person all that India could desire to be but, unfortunately, was not.

KARUNA K. NANDI

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GADHI : **Volumes Eight (1962) and Nine (1963). Pp. xxiii + 603 and xxiv + 668 respectively. Publications Division, Government of India. Rs. 9 each.**

The period covered by the volumes under review are from January to August, 1908 and September, 1908 to November, 1909, respectively. This coincides roughly with the ascending curve of the struggle in South Africa in which Gandhiji led the Indian community in peaceful rebellion against racial discrimination and human indignity. The Editor correctly draws attention in his introductions to some of the salient features of **satyagraha** as it gradually evolved during its formative period: how untiring negotiation and an effort to educate both the contending parties politically as well as morally, and a transparent concern for Truth with the determination to be always in the right form two of its most outstanding characteristics.

The Publications Division deserve congratulation for the excellent work they are doing for rendering all of Gandhiji's writings available at a very reasonable price.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

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Indian Periodicals

Village Plans

Tarlok Singh, writing in the *Yojana* has something of immense topical interest to say :

A village plan has to provide for (a) things which the people of the village can and should do themselves and (b) the services and other assistance which should be made available to them.

Village Agricultural Plan : The main resources of the village are land and labour. The core of the village plan has to be agriculture. For agriculture cultivators require certain technical guidance and assistance. Technical advice is needed, for instance, in the better use of water, improved seeds, fertiliser and manuring practices, plant protection, etc. Assistance is required for raising the productivity of land through soil conservation, irrigation, supply of fertiliser, etc.

For advice and assistance to be effective a number of conditions have to be fulfilled. The extension machinery, including block level extension officers and village level workers, must be adequate to the task entrusted to them. In practice, their quality varies a great deal and often they do not give the intensive attention needed for agriculture. Secondly, the total resources available to the block may not be sufficient for intensive work in all the villages. It is, therefore, necessary to make a selection of villages in which concentrated work will be done. At the same time, efforts should be made to obtain larger resources for the block. Thirdly, it is difficult to carry advice and assistance to every farmer individually. Cultivators in each village have, therefore, to be organised to function as a group, both for doing things and for receiving assistance and advice.

The two essential organisations are the Village Panchayat and the Co-operative. There may be difficulties in making these organisations work efficiently, or in getting all the cultivators enrolled as members of the co-operative. But, under our conditions, organisation through the village Panchayat and the co-operative is absolutely indispensable for village planning.

An agricultural plan for a village should provide for two groups of measures. Firstly, those things which the people themselves can do have to be organised and facilitated. These would include minor irrigation, including sinking of wells and local irrigation schemes, soil conservation and contour bunding, digging of field channels for utilising irrigation from the larger schemes, digging and maintenance of village tanks, village fuel plantations, schemes for utilisation of local manurial resources, etc. These are works which require labour on the part of the people, usually functioning in groups, with some technical and financial assistance. For some works, specially irrigation from the larger projects, responsibility lies with the beneficiaries. If they fail, the village Panchayat must have the work carried out the cost being charged to the beneficiaries.

The second group of schemes are those which involve assistance to individual cultivators. Of these, the most important is credit, both short and medium-term, e.g., for fertilisers, seeds, wells, etc. The second important aspect is making supplies available, notably fertilisers, improved seeds, insecticides, etc. For credit and supplies, it is necessary to ascertain in detail the requirements of individual cultivators and to meet these to the greatest extent possible. This does not require production plans for individual farmers in the sense of fixing targets of production. But it does require that an attempt will be made to ascertain the handicaps from which each cultivator suffers and to provide against these as far as possible. There are some handicaps such as small uneconomic holdings such as high rents or insecurity of tenure which can be overcome, provided the existing legislation concerning land reforms is implemented vigorously in co-operation with the village community and collusion and false entries are not permitted. While an agricultural plan for a village would not ordinarily specify targets of production, it should be based on a broad crop plan, indicating which lands and to what extent would go under different crops. It should also specify the works to be carried out on a group basis and those works which individual cultivators have agreed to carry out with necessary help from the Government and other agencies.

Amenities : Next to agriculture the most important task in the village plan is to ensure

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supply of drinking water and to provide for certain minimum amenities. The latter must include a village school, where boys and girls can receive primary education, and an approach road linking the village to the nearest road or railhead and to the nearest market.

Employment

The question of employment at the village level is also extremely important, specially in those areas where there is heavy pressure of population. Development of rural industries is a long-term programme. Meanwhile, wherever there is considerable manpower, there must be a rural works programme which operates at the block and village levels, with initiative both for the Block Panchayat Samiti and the Village Panchayat.

Under this programme, depending upon the unutilised manpower available, additional works should be taken up and wage rates paid according to the season. These works are not intended to take labour away from normal agricultural operations, but to supplement existing employment opportunities. Works bearing on agricultural production, communications as well as amenities could be taken up, but it would be an advantage to give the first preference to productive activities and to communications as these would strengthen the local economy.

Area Plans Are Essential

One of the main lessons learnt over several years is that while there has to be an approach to every village, this must be part of a wider area approach. Taken in isolation it is difficult to make a success of village plans. For this the reasons are obvious. A principal limiting factor in development is the resources, both financial and material, which can be made available from outside. These resources have to be allocated at the State level for districts, at the district level for blocks and at the block level for villages. The available resources are never sufficient for the various needs to be met, and claims from different areas have to be dealt with on some acceptable criteria. Secondly, the needs ascertained at the village level have to be brought together into demands for blocks and districts before they can be processed at the State level Thus, for the successful implementation of village plans there must also be block plans and district plans.

From this it does not follow that all the resources for district, block and village plans have to come from outside. In fact, the aim must be to generate the maximum resources possible from within the area itself and to undertake those activities in particular which will attract local manpower and make for the better utilisation of local resources.

Other Conditions

Intensive village planning, both for agriculture and for amenities, calls for much larger resources than are available at present under the Five-Year Plans. Therefore, it is inevitable that there should be a measure of concentration in some areas, and specially in those areas which have a large agricultural potential.

Finally, village and area plans cannot be undertaken through the official machinery alone. A great deal of local leadership and initiative are called for. Therefore, non-official leaders and institutions through which the people can function have a role of critical importance. Even Panchayati Raj institutions by themselves are not enough, because inevitably they have their own problems and conflicts. Co-operative institutions, voluntary bodies and other representative organisations have to be drawn fully into the effort of preparing and implementing village plans, both in themselves and as part of block and district plans.

In all local planning the major emphasis must be on resource development, on development of skills and on improvements in technology. The combined effect of these is to raise the general level of productivity. Various process of development are closely inter-connected. All of them require detailed, intensive and continuing attention. Different activities should be regarded as supplementing one another. Frequently, progress in one direction depends on equal progress being made in others.

While there have been attempts over many years to work out and implement village plans, many of them have been incomplete and the measure of success has varied a great deal. This is partly because the tasks are difficult in themselves and extension personnel may lack both in experience and in resources. Also unless the people in the village are organised to co-operate with one another in various specific tasks and to receive and utilise the assistance that may be available, many possible opportunities for expanding production and employment and increasing general welfare are not availed of. The benefits are, therefore, not well spread and are often confined only to a small proportion of the population. In each area precise experience and methods must be developed in some villages and these should serve as the base for more rapid expansion.

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Swami Vivekananda as an Advaitist

Principal Amiya Kumar Mazumdar, writing in the Presidency College Magazine, evaluates Vivekananda's **Advaitism** thus :

Vivekananda's conception of God in some detail. Vivekananda's conception of God is basically the Vedantic conception of God—everything is divine. 'All this is indeed Brahman.' But while in Sankara's view there is a distinction between God and the Absolute, in Vivekananda's view the distinction is not absolute. God is the Absolute endowed with Maya, says Sankara, and since the world is eternally negated in Brahman, God as creator of the world is not ultimately real. Hence, from the orthodox point of view, Brahman (Absolute) alone is real, God (*Isvara* —qualified or determinate Brahman) is ultimately unreal. Personal God or Isvara is a living and dynamic reality according to Vivekananda.

> The difference between personal and impersonal is this, that the personal is only a man, and the impersonal idea is that He is the angel, the man, the animal, and yet something more which we cannot see, because impersonality includes all personalities, is the sum total of everything in the universe, and infinitely more besides. As the one fire coming into the world is manifesting itself in so many forms, and yet is infinitely more besides, so is the Impersonal.

Although the idea of Impersonal God is the highest according to the Swami, yet it is true that the concept of Personal God stands on a better base when strengthened by the concept of Impersonal God. A generalisation ending in the concept of personal God can never be universally acceptable. For, Personal God must necessarily have attributes. He is all-merciful. He is all-good. Our experience, however, shows that this world is a mixture of good and evil. Therefore, the acceptance of Personal God as the ultimate reality entails exclusion of evil and suffering from the domain of the Personal God. This means eventually acceptance of two realities—Personal God and Personal Devil, the former being the source of everything that is good ; the latter, the source of everything that is evil. This metaphysical dualism is not however tenable, for it goes against the teaching of the *Upanishads*. It follows, therefore, that the idea of Personal God is not a true generalisation. We have to go beyond, to the Impersonal. The Impersonal God is not a relative God. It is the Absolute. It would be wrong to say that it is either good or bad. In fact, it is beyond good and evil.

The Impersonal God is unaffected by the epic creation with love. Vivekananda was always

problem of evil, which is a standing difficulty in a theistic conception of God. According to the *Upanishads*, good and evil are aspects of the same reality ; death and immortality are two sides of the same God. Good and evil belong to the relative world, they are phenomenal. What is good for one may be bad for another. The Swami gave an example to prove his point. The storm that kills my friend, I call evil, but that may have saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of people by killing the bacilli in the air. They call it good, but I call it evil.

The Swami puts the question : What is the effect of accepting such an Impersonal Being as ultimate ? What shall we gain by such a conception ? He replies : "The Personal God will remain but on a better basis. He has been strengthened by the Impersonal God. We have seen that without the Impersonal the personal cannot remain. If you mean to say there is a Being entirely separate from this universe, who has created this universe just by His will out of nothing, that cannot be proved. Such a state of things cannot be. This universe in its various forms is but the various readings of the same Impersonal, and the Personal God is the highest reading that can be attained to of that Impersonal by the human intellect".

Vivekananda did not allow the teachings of the Advaita to remain hidden in the scriptures and the monasteries. He urged : "The abstract Advaita must become living, poetic, in everyday life". The sense of unity in diversity is not a theoretical dogma nor a logical conclusion reached through a chain of reasoning. This must transform my life in a manner suitable for the realisation of my identity with Brahman on the one hand and my fellow-beings on the other. The worship of suffering humanity as embodiment of God is in itself a programme of spiritual practice which, if observed with selfless devotion and love, can lead one to the goal of self-realisation which is the same as God realisation. Vivekananda's outlook in this respect was far more radical than the Buddhistic or the Christian outlook. Since Buddhism does not believe in worshipping God in any definite form, love of man amounts to a mere code of right conduct, while the Christian maxim 'Love thy neighbour as thyself' does not mean more than what it literally conveys. In the attitude of Vivekananda 'Self' and 'God' are synonymous expressions. The *Advaita Sadhana* prescribes that one should realise one's own self in others, and it is the surest way of removing hatred between man and man and suffusing the

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alert in reminding his audience of the spiritual heritage of man. He said :

When the life blood is strong and pure no disease germ can live in that body. Our life-blood is spirituality. If it flows clear, if it flows strong and pure and vigorous, everything it right; political, social, any other material defects, even the poverty of the land, will all be cured if that blood is pure. For, if the disease germ be thrown out, nothing will be able to enter into the blood.

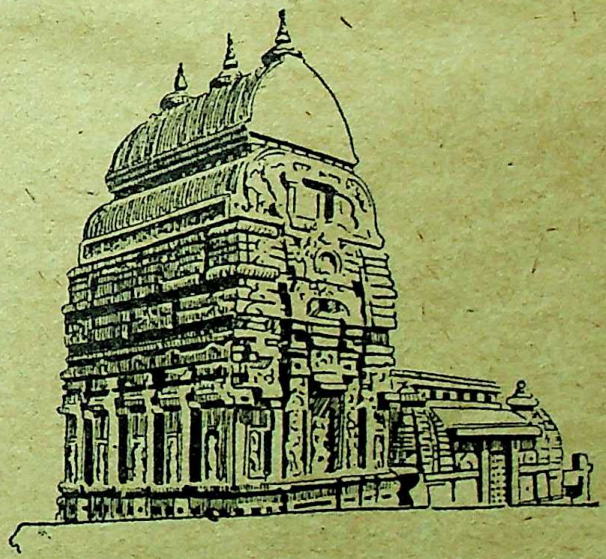
Again, said the Swami :

My idea is first of all to bring out the germs of spirituality that are stored up in our books and in the possession of a few only, hidden, as it were, in monasteries and in forests—to bring them out . . . I want to bring out these ideas and let them be the common property of all, of every man in India.

The age-old misunderstanding that the Advaita does not provide room for moral endeavour has been ruthlessly criticised by Vivekananda. Said the Swami :

Our boys blithely talk now-a-days that Advaita makes people immoral, because if we are all one and all God, what need of morality will there be at all? In the first place, that is the argument of the brute, who can only be kept down by the whip. In the second place, Advaita and Advaita alone explains morality . . . . what is the reason that I should be moral? You cannot explain it except when you come to know the truth as given in the *Gita*. "He who sees everyone in himself, and himself in everyone, thus seeing the same God living in all, he, the sage, no more kills the self by the self." Know through Advaita that whomsoever you hurt, you hurt yourself they are all you. Whether you know it or not, through all hands you work, through all feet you move, you are the king enjoying in the palace, you are the beggar leading that miserable existence in the street, you are in the ignorant as well as in the learned, you are in the man who is weak and you are in the strong; know this and be sympathetic. And that is why we must not hurt others. That is why I do not even care whether I have to starve, because there will be millions of mouths eating at the same time, and they are all mine.

One striking feature of the Advaita that is very often stressed by Vivekananda is its unshakable optimism. The Advaita alone can make man strong and self-reliant, non-resisting, calm, steady, worshipful, pure and meditative. By urging that every man is potentially divine, the Advaita gives hope of infinite progress to every man, however degraded and lowly he may be. As a true Advaitist, Vivekananda restored the lost spirit of man and thereby made him conscious of his heritage, dignity and responsibility.



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Foreign Periodicals

Prometheus Bound

Karl E. Meyer, of the Editorial Board of the *Washington Post* offers these interesting comments through the *New Leader*, on the indirect role of the U.S.A. in the Viet Nam debacle :

The crisis in South Vietnam is a conspicuous example of the ebbing influence of the United States in countries where dollars are supposed to purchase power. For a decade, the Communists have scornfully derided President Diem and his family as American puppets dancing to the Wall Street tune. The ruling clique is conservative, Catholic and dictatorial—the archetype of the kind of regime the U.S. has tended to support uncritically. But Diem seems grandly oblivious to the laws of economic determinism, and he has succeeded in making Washington look ridiculous while he continues to receive his daily retainer of more than $1 million in Yankee aid.

As of this writing, American policy is a mass of contradictions. President Kennedy mildly chided the Diem regime last week for its repression of Buddhists and stressed that the persecution jeopardized the war against the Viet Cong guerrillas. In private, U. S. officials speak with bitter bluntness. They see no hope of winning the war so long as Diem clings to the Nhus—and they see small hope that the President will purge his brother and sister-in-law (Rasputin and the Dragon Lady, as they are called here). Thus present policy is to whistle in the dark and hope that something will come along. There is little disposition as yet to heed the French suggestion to withdraw U. S. forces and settle for a unified, neutralized Vietnam on the model of Laos. But continuing disintegration might alter this mood as it did two years ago in Laos.

Dismay, bafflement and anger—these are the emotions that Administration officials convey. But the sense of frustration is not confined to Vietnam. Two years ago the President told a visitor that his most chastening discovery as chief executive was the unexpected feebleness of American influence on the domestic affairs of other countries. Everywhere in the world, in varying measure, the U.S. copes with similar problems.

In its own hemisphere, the United States was unable earlier this year to unseat President Duvalier, unsavory dictator of the poorest and worst-governed Latin American country. As in Vietnam, embarrassment was compounded when the White House hinted that something dramatic was about to happen in Haiti. But after Washington huffed and puffed, Dr. Duvalier was still in his palace.

Last year, when a military coup occurred in Peru, President Kennedy took the unprecedented step of issuing a strong disapproving statement. Economic aid to Peru was momentarily halted; but the junta survived and finally yielded power only when it was certain that an army-approved candidate won the presidential election. In Brazil, President Goulart was personally instructed on the evils of inflation by Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Nonetheless, Goulart has defaulted on his pledges to slow down inflation and the U.S. is currently debating whether to suspend aid and thereby risk losing friends and influence in Brazil.

In the Middle East, the U.S. is in the paradoxical position of supplying economic or military aid to all sides—Arab kings, Arab revolutionaries and Israel—while its influence often seems marginal. Not long ago, State Department officials assured reporters that President Nasser was heeding American advice to concentrate on internal affairs instead of foreign adventures. Then came Yemen.

On the subcontinent, Washington has been arming both India and Pakistan and is involved now in the military metaphysics of deciding which aircraft can be sent to Nehru without outraging Ayub Khan. Moreover, Pakistan, once the peerless ally, has confounded the Administration by flirting teasingly with Red China. In Asia, besides Vietnam, there is South Korea, another country heavily dependent on American help. There, General Park has increasingly come to resemble Diem in his attitude towards Washington and his contempt for freedom. Last week, the Korean dictator jailed his most prominent critic and shrugged off the scolding sermonette that issued from the State Department.

The *tour d'horizon* could be extended to Europe, but the purpose is simply to set South Vietnam in a general context. Plainly, specific local blunders contributed to the debacle. From the outset, American policymakers have subordinated political considerations to what have been regarded as military realities; only a few

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months ago, criticism of Diem was brushed aside with the impatient argument that the war was going well and that besides there was no alternative to the existing regime—a self-fulfilling prophecy that has come true with a vengeance.

It is also widely felt here that ranking American diplomats in Saigon have done a better job of representing Diem in Washington than vice-versa. Former Ambassador Nolting, who has been succeeded by Henry Cabot Lodge, virtually became an honorary member of the Diem clan and referred to "this Buddhist thing" as if the matter could be waved away, like an annoying gnat.

Yet beyond the particular circumstances there is the prevailing wind of change in relations between the superpowers and erstwhile client states. The time is gone, it is keenly felt, when a Secretary Dulles could order the CIA to squash a Leftist regime in Guatemala. The failure of the Cuban invasion confirmed the moral of Suez—that the gunboat and big stick have ceased to be acceptable methods of persuasion, and that even if these methods were acceptable, the incompetence of intelligence agencies makes certain success doubtful.

Smaller countries have learned to use the United Nations and to play off the big powers—especially since Nasser first showed that it was possible to get guns from Russia and still throw local Communists behind bars. Nations getting help from America have become adroit at setting one arm of the U.S. bureaucracy against another. President Diem once ordered an American Ambassador from his office when the diplomat strongly urged that the Nhus be sent out of Vietnam. Diem's contempt reflected his knowledge that the Americans who counted in Saigon were in the military mission and the CIA, not in the State Department.

There are no glib answers in Washington to the dilemmas of the new power relationship. It is noted that Khrushchev is encountering similar strains in Cuba, where Fidel Castro refuses to sign the limited test-ban treaty and ignores Russian economic advice—even though the Soviet Union is pouring in an estimated $1 million a day in aid to Havana.

Both sides are living in the twilight of imperial power. The irony is that Kennedy can force Khrushchev to take missiles out of Cuba in a confrontation that imperils the world, but the President cannot get Diem out of Saigon though every bullet in the Vietnamese army is made in America.

The De-Regionalization of a Problem

Writing editorially under the above caption, The *Saturday Review* offers a fresh view on the problems of race :

The problem of race in the United States today is different in at least two major respects from what it was only a few years ago. First, the struggle of the American Negro for equality is no longer being fought primarily on the battlefield of civil liberties. The main field of combat today is the economic arena, for jobs.

Second, the geographical center of the race problem is fast shifting from South to North. The traditional symbolic issues—and the resultant headlines—may continue to originate n the South, but the showdown forces and the combustibles are fast gathering in the North.

A strong inter-relationship exists between these major developments.

Until very recently, the eye-catching issues coincided with the central ones. The fight to admit an Autherine Lucy or a James Meredith to a state university in the South, or a few Negro children to a public school, or the difficulties attending desegration of buses or trains or railroad stations, or the sit-down strikes in restaurants—these news-making events were at the heart of the race problem in America. Even though the main spotlight may still be trained on these and similar issues today in places like Birmingham, the developments that have the deepest long-term significance are building up without corresponding visibility or attention. These developments go beyond the Bill of Rights in that they are concerned not just with how a man lives but what he does for a living. To be sure, this aspect of the race problem has always been a vital one but it has not been at the top of the agenda in the campaign against Jim Crow. All this, however, is now changing ; a new and more complex phase of the struggle now opens.

The important bridge between political and economic equality is represented, at least theoretically, by education. Good jobs require special training. Trained and educated Negroes are now entering the economic arena in substantial numbers. As educational opportunities are expended, these numbers will be multiplied. But American Negroes, highly trained or otherwise, as Joseph Lyford points out in this week's *SR*, are not finding jobs proportionate to their number or equal to their competence. With respect to both skilled and unskilled manpower, therefore, a problem of titanic dimensions is fast coming to

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head. And the North will be even more of a testing ground than the South.

One reason for this, of course, is the redistribution of the Negro population. The greatest density now exists in Northern cities like New York, Chicago, and Detroit. And it is here that the war for jobs will produce its most explosive battles. Explosive, because the North has done so little thinking about the problem and is unprepared to deal with it on a showdown level, and because this is where the Negro will be able to make his stand with maximum effect. Whether or not the Negro is entitled to expect more in and of the North is not particularly relevant. What is relevant is that all the backed-up pressure from the social, political, and regional struggles will seek a substantial outlet in the North, much of it on the economic level.

As this happens, the total situation of the Negro in the North will be up for national scrutiny. It will no longer be possible for Northerners on their high-fare commuter trains to ride through Harlem without seeing it because their heads are buried in newspapers that tell of outrages in the South. The fact of massive squalor, such as the Harlem ghetto, will no longer be a secondary matter to Northerners who energetically deplore Southern race riots. Similarly, the helplessness of the Northern Negro in coping with a whole host of predators—in housing, employment, and commercial dealings—will no longer be a submerged issue for those Northerners who use a regional filter for their indignation.

The problem of the Negro has always been a national problem. But the focus and locus have been in the South. Now there is no longer any natural division between the centres of crisis and the centres of concern. The entire nation—horizontally, vertically, diagonally—is now involved. No longer need any individual feel oppressed by disconnection or distance from the problem. It lives where he lives. If he has business dealings, he is able to ascertain whether the firm has a policy against hiring Negroes. He is able to determine whether Negroes in his city or village have decent living conditions and whether their rent is within reasonable limits. He can look into hospital facilities available to the Negro. He can find out something about the practices of tradesmen who deal with them. Conscience need no longer operate at a distance.

The de-regionalization of the problem does more than offer potential relief for the frustration of concerned individuals. It deprives the entire nation of further excuses for further delay

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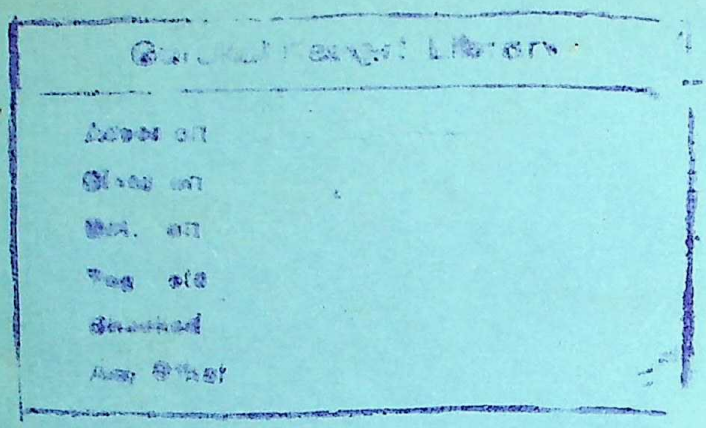

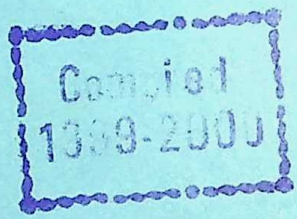

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